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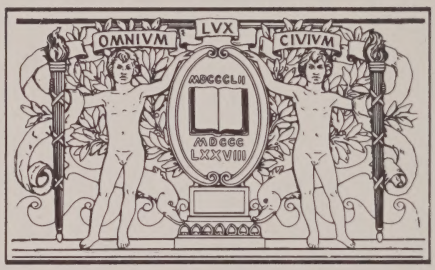

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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I.

THE FISHERY AWARD.

THE fishing rights exercised by American citizens in the neighborhood of the eastern coast of British North America have been for nearly a century the subject of irritation and controversy between the peoples and governments of the two countries. Every effort to compose disputes and prevent difficulties has usually produced only a fresh and copious crop of doubtful questions and new points of collision.

At the peace of 1783 the banks of Newfoundland and the islands and coasts of the Gulf of St. Lawrence had been the common and productive fishing-ground of all his Majesty's northern colonies—chiefly indeed of those whose independence was acknowledged by the treaty of that year, for the population and enterprise of what are now known as the maritime provinces of Canada were then much less than those of New England and New York. By the third article of the treaty of 1783, then, it was agreed "that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank and all the other banks of Newfoundland, also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish; and also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that island),

and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks of all other of his Britanni Majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fisherme shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bay harbors, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labra dor, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as th same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful fo the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, propri tors, or possessors of the ground."

Thus the whole waters and shores of British North Americ with a certain limitation as to Newfoundland, were open to th American fishermen. There was no exception of waters within th marine league from the shore, which marks the limit of territori dominion. Wherever there was sea, there was the place of righ ful fishery. In like manner, and with the like exception, the use o the shores for curing and drying was secured, subject to the right of private possessors. It would not be easy to find any general la guage that should establish a clearer or more definite right; but th jealousy of British fishermen, beaten in the equal contest with th winds and waves and the erratic denizens of the sea on those drear coasts, led British statesmen to find difficulties, and to maintain tha the treaty was finally abrogated by the war of 1812, and not re vived by the peace that followed it. So by the treaty of 1818 ne provisions were made, by which, along certain parts of those coast the Americans were in terms excluded from fishing within th league line, and which defined by fixed bounds those parts of th coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador where the Americans coul fish within it. Thus the United States "renounced" all the i shore fisheries excepting the coasts of Newfoundland not occupie by the French fishermen, the Magdalen Islands, and that for th most of the year almost unapproachable shore of Labrador, exten ing from Mount Joli, through the strait of Belle Isle, to the Arcti where the most abundant products of nature are storms, fogs, ic bergs, and floes, for a territorial definition on the Newfoundlan coast, in the place of common fishery with the British, and for th right to dry and cure fish on the unappropriated shores of th island. The causes of "irritation and dispute" were to be remove by renouncing the larger part of American rights, the enjoyme of which produced them, and by the establishment of a new bou dary to the enterprise and industry of American fishermen, not alon shores whose location and identity could not be easily misunde

tood, but upon a line of sea three miles from the coast—a line lways indeterminable with precision by any means within the each of the persons who are bound to respect it. Nevertheless, early forty years passed by under this treaty without producing ny insoluble difficulty of ultimate consequence between the two ations, although continuing to give rise to collisions, more or less rious, between the authorities and people of the Provinces and ie fishermen of the United States, until the so-called reciprocity reaty of 1854 came into force, which by its first and second articles rovided for American fishing for ten years in the same waters (not ming Newfoundland and the Magdalen Islands, where the right ready existed), without regard to distance from the shore, but ith the exception of certain places to be ascertained by a commis- on and umpire. This arrangement terminated in 1865, under tice from the United States for that purpose; it having been und by experience that the treaty as a whole was made to operate reatly to the disadvantage of the United States. Whatever of nflict existed before was of course revived, when her Majesty's overnment made use of those collisions as an indirect and con- nient means of opening for discussion and settlement the great air of the depredations upon American commerce by cruisers ilt and fitted out in her ports, manned chiefly by inhabitants of r territory, and sailing under the Confederate flag.

Negotiations thus introduced ended in the treaty of Washington 1871. Every matter of difference between the two nations was reed to be submitted to the decision of the various tribunals cre- d and described. We have now only to deal with the provisions that treaty on the fisheries question, though it is not easily for- tten that, in the face of the most comprehensive and general lan- age, the Government of Great Britain, exercising a right she un- ubtedly possessed, and one which the United States might have ercised as well in the Halifax affair, refused to proceed with the neva arbitration until all claim for a certain class of injuries, which re in one point of view the most serious and important of all, had en taken out of the consideration of the tribunal to which, it ap- ared plain to the United States, everything had been submitted.

The fisheries articles of this treaty are the eighteenth to the enty-fifth inclusive, and the thirty-second and thirty-third. The hteenth purports to grant privileges additional to those of the aty of 1818 by obliterating the three-mile line on the coasts of ebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island,

and to grant, subject to private rights, landing privileges for curin and drying fish upon all their shores. The nineteenth gives Britis fishermen the same rights in American waters north of latitude 39 The twentieth provides for commissioners and an umpire to decid upon the excepted places. The twenty-first allows free trade in fis and oil. The twenty-second recites that "it is asserted by th Government of her Britannic Majesty that the privileges accorde to the citizens of the United States under Article XVIII. of th treaty are of greater value than those accorded by Articles XI and XXI. of this treaty to the subjects of her Britannic Majesty and provides that "commissioners" shall be appointed to determi the amount of any compensation which in "their opinion" ought t be paid by the United States therefor; and that any sum of mone which "the said commissioners" may award shall be paid with twelve months. The twenty-third provides for the selection an meeting of the three commissioners. The twenty-fourth provid for the mode of procedure, limit of time, etc., and that "the co missioners shall be requested to give their award as soon as poss ble." The twenty-fifth also regulates procedure, etc. The thirt second puts Newfoundland, in a certain contingency, under th operation of the eighteenth, and the thirty-third fixes ten years, an two years after notice, for the termination of the arrangement.

It will be seen from the language of all the treaty provisions b tween the two countries upon the fisheries, that no permanent ga for American interests has been made since the treaty of 178 While the line of demarkation has been moved offshore and i shore, the obliteration of one point of collision and dispute has a parently produced one or more others equally troublesome.

What the treaty of 1871 gave to the United States that th were not entitled to under that of 1818 was in substance: first, t removal of the three-mile limit in respect of the Provinces of Qu bec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island, a such part of Newfoundland as was not covered by French righ and the treaty of 1818; second, the right to land and cure fish those shores and the Magdalen Islands, where no private rights occupation of British fishermen should exist. That was all. B almost every mile of the shores of those provinces, excepting c tain parts of Newfoundland and the Magdalen Islands, has co into the possession of settlers and local fishermen. It is inde chiefly the shore lines that in the best fishing regions are settled all. A girdle of exclusion has thus, consistently with the trea

ome into existence, that must for all practical purposes keep Amer-an fishermen afloat unless they purchase landing privileges, which ney might do without a treaty. The provisions of this last treaty ere "in addition" to those of 1818, and so added little as to New-undland, and did not touch the Labrador fishing at all; and as to ne Magdalen Islands, it only secured the right of landing to cure sh, subject to the private rights, etc., before mentioned. A study f the population and shore development of the coasts and islands which the treaty of 1871 admits American fishermen, or a single ip upon the steamers that in the summer season ply along and nong them all, will show that the landing rights thus secured are bstantially of little importance; and every year of prosperity in ne maritime provinces will, of course, make them less so by still rther settlements along the shores, and the increased occupation of ne best shore-fishing stations by resident British fishermen.

Although it appears as nearly certain, from all the evidence efore the Halifax Commission, as any such matter can be, that the alue of the privileges acquired by the Americans was not greater, rtainly, than those acquired by the British, yet it is plain that the nore line, as a boundary of right, is far better than the invisible ne three miles at sea, even though the space between contain no aluable fishing; for no misunderstanding can arise as to any trans-ression of the boundary. But this is, of course, of equal advan-ge to both countries, for it tends to peace and mutual good will, which no preponderance of money value can be attributed. The ghtful power of the United States, however, to protect their fisher-en by force against unlawful interference on the high seas, might ot exist on waters within the territorial jurisdiction of Great Britain.

The recent publication of the correspondence between the two overnments will enable the reader, with the text of the treaty efore cited, to form some opinion upon the question of valuation ably argued by Mr. Evarts, and so wisely avoided by Lord Salis-ury. But the American side must, we think, take two not unim-ortant circumstances in connection with it as facts: First, that the ning the Americans obtained was a "privilege," the value of hich, if it had any at all, must be measured by what a full use nd the utmost reasonable diligence might get from it, and not hat may have been or may be actually obtained by a use and a ligence short of that. Second, that the value of such a privilege catch fish on the inside of a certain arbitrary line in the sea is as uch incapable of definite proof or ascertainment by any means or

process known among men, as any that can be conceived. We may perhaps count or measure the sands upon a given section of coast, but we can not number or weigh the inhabitants of a single square mile of the sea, or attribute to inshore waters any definite proportion of the nomads of the great deep.

It is perhaps not too much to say, then, that notwithstanding the extremely able and ingenious discussion in the letter of Mr. Evarts on the subject, it can not be *demonstrated* by proof or reasoning that the award of Mr. Delfosse and Mr. Galt of $5,500,000 as the excess of the value of a *chance* in the Canadian waters over the value of a like *chance* in American waters, and the free importation of fish and oil to American markets, was excessive; but this very infirmity in the American argument should have been fatal to the British case, for it was the duty of that Government to prove affirmatively such claimed excess of value. Still less could it be maintained that an award, otherwise regular and fair, could be ignored on that ground. Indeed, it is hardly necessary to say that Mr. Evarts does not so contend: he only appeals to the enlightened good sense of the other party to consider whether it ought to eat the fruit, sweet as it might be, of such wild guessing; but it seems the other party did not wish to consider.

The interests of peace and good will among nations are so transcendent, and the practice of international mediation and arbitration is so essential to those interests, that a proud and self-respecting people would always submit to the consequences of very great errors of judgment, and sometimes even to those of bias and prejudice in international arbitration, rather than to refuse to execute an award; but it should be kept in mind that there are occasions when such obedience would be a crime against the true interests of peace and good neighborhood, and destructive of international arbitration as the best of their safeguards. If, as Vattel tersely states it, "the arbitrators, by pronouncing a sentence evidently unjust and unreasonable, should forfeit the character with which they are invested, their judgment would deserve no attention." A just nation, however, in whose favor an award has been made, should be willing to forego the advantage of a victory on far less evident grounds than those which would justify a refusal by the losing party to perform, and to readjust and retry the matter in dispute, if it had reason to think that any serious error had been committed, or that anything of corruption or unfairness had played a part in the affair, for no honorable government could consent to profit by a success so gained.

Upon such principles Congress at its last session authorized the President to reopen, if he should see cause, certain awards in favor of citizens of the United States against the republic of Mexico. The extravagance of the Halifax award does not, under the circumstances, raise any implication, or even suspicion, of corruption or conscious partiality in the eminent gentlemen who made it. That they may have had an unconscious bias in favor of Great Britain is, when the relations of the governments and their people are considered, quite probable; and a similar contrary bias may have existed with the American commissioner. But that they placed little or no confidence in the evidence and contention as to value put forward on the British side is manifest. According to the British case and to Lord Salisbury's statement, the two concurring commissioners awarded only about one third what the proofs and arguments thereon purported to make out. The trouble was that the British assertion in the treaty of excess of money value of the fishing chance in question was one in its very nature incapable of that kind of proof which convinces the understanding. So Mr. Delfosse and his British associate must have thought, for they evidently failed to believe the British evidence as applied to the question. They, then, forgetting apparently that it was for Great Britain to make out its assertion of superior value, and that nothing could be found to exist that had not been proved, without disclosed or defined elements or computations, or declared bases or reasons, came to a given sum as proved. Such a finding is of course as incapable of explanation as a verdict of a jury in those actions of tort where punitive or exemplary damages are allowable; but the case at Halifax was not of that nature. It was, so far as any right of recovery could go, a question of measurable substance and not of sentiment.

The sum awarded has been paid. It could not, within certain limits, be refused as excessive *merely*, for that, as Lord Salisbury observes, would be for the losing party to set up its own opinion against that of the commissioners on the very point submitted. It might, we think, have been lawfully and justly refused at first—but not at last—on the ground that, wanting the concurrence of one of the three commissioners, no award existed. But that question Mr. Evarts proposed to waive if, in the opinion of the British Government, there was a valid award; and on that point the decision of Lord Salisbury was against him.

That Congress, which under our system controls the issues of war, and to a large degree foreign intercourse, and can alone pro-

vide the means of executing money treaties, should have transferred to the Executive the responsibility of determining whether there had been any award within the treaty, is, on principle, perhaps to be regretted ; but when it is considered, in view of the scrupulous delicacy the whole people as well as the Government felt in respect of declining to treat the Halifax decision as an award on their own judgment alone, however clear, it may be cause of congratulation that the question was left for diplomatic consideration, and, through it, to Great Britain itself. It might not be wise to resort to this process in all cases. Her Majesty's Government did not think so when it insisted that the American case presented at Geneva claimed compensation for matters not submitted to the tribunal. But in this particular instance it was possibly best, for the comedy of errors has been played harmoniously through all its acts, and is ended, and the diplomatic stage is clear for a different representation.

Accepting with cheerfulness the foreseen consequences of the judgment which our Government has invoked on this last question of the existence of any award, its correctness may now be questioned without exposure to the suspicion of a selfish desire to escape the payment of money.

It may, we take it, be assumed that commissioners appointed under a treaty have only the faculties and powers imputed to them by the instrument of their appointment ; and that the meaning of that instrument is to be found in its language considered in the relation of all its parts, and in the light of similar transactions between the same parties. Upon the mere grammatical meaning of the language in Articles XXII., XXIII., and XXIV., of 1871, it is presumed that no one would deny that the matters in dispute were committed to the consideration and decision of all the three persons named, and not to a part of them. They are never named as a tribunal, or board even, but as "commissioners"—"one" to be named by the President of the United States, "one" by her Britannic Majesty, and the "third" by a friendly power. "The commissioners" are required to meet ; the case is to be submitted to the "commissioners" ; "*the commissioners*" are to "give *their* award." Such language can only mean, grammatically, *all* of the persons named. If it does not import all, it may as well mean one of them as two. Lord Salisbury endeavors to control this grammatical reading by the argument that it was an arbitration "of a public nature," and so, as he thinks, within the rule of municipal law, both in England and America, that where the law

creates a tribunal or board for public purposes connected with the administration of justice in any of its forms, the judgment of a majority is taken as the judgment of the body. But was this such a case? The two nations, in respect of the matter in difference, stood exactly like two persons in a state of nature. There was no tribunal, public or other, to which either could appeal. The treaty then was, as between them, a private agreement to submit the determination of a dispute to three men. It was public only in the sense that it was a contract of two great public bodies, and that it involved the possible payment of money from one to the other. The analogy with a statutory enactment, conferring powers upon a tribunal composed of many persons, does not then seem to hold. But let it be supposed that the treaty of Washington had been a statute of Great Britain or the United States, to dispose of disputes between the people of either. We should then have had in the same act—first, for the Alabama claims, "a tribunal of arbitration," composed of five arbitrators, with the provision that "all questions considered by the tribunal, including the final award, shall be decided by a majority of all the arbitrators"; second, for the Alabama claims in one event, "a board of commissioners," composed of three persons, with the provision that "a majority of the commissioners in each case shall be sufficient for a decision"; third, for other claims arising during the rebellion, "three commissioners," with the provision that "a majority of the commissioners shall be sufficient for an award in each case"; fourth, in respect of the location of excepted places in the fisheries, a "commission" composed of two persons, with the provision that "the commissioners shall name some third person to act as arbitrator or umpire in any case or cases in which they may thus differ in opinion"; fifth, for the valuation of fishing privileges granted to the Americans, three "commissioners," with the provision that "the commissioners" shall hear, etc., and that "the commissioners" shall be requested to give "their award as soon as possible," etc. In such a case, would not a court of justice feel bound to decide that the legislative will did not intend to confer upon a *part* of the three last-named commissioners any power of binding the parties against the judgment of the other? Following acknowledged and universal principles in construing and applying written law, would not a court say that the same act in respect of the three separate subjects of dispute between the same parties has studiously provided that the views of the majority shall be valid; and in respect of the fourth, on a difference of opinion, an umpire

shall decide; and in the fifth it has not conferred upon nor recognized the existence of any power in any other than all the persons to whom the duty was intrusted; and that the affirmation of it in the four cases and the non-affirmation of it in the fifth would negative such a power in the last case, even if, standing alone, it would have been held to exist?

But the treaty of Washington was a written agreement between two parties, and not a statute; and the history and language of previous treaties between them may be justly resorted to to throw light upon a disputed interpretation. The fifth article of the treaty of 1794 provided for three commissioners to decide upon the river intended by the "St. Croix," named in the treaty of 1783, but it was silent as to the power of a majority. The same treaty created five commissioners to ascertain certain damages to British subjects, and conferred decisive power upon three of them. It also established a similar commission of five to ascertain certain losses of Americans, and conferred full power upon a majority. Can it be doubted that in that case both governments intended, for obvious reasons, to make different and more elastic provisions respecting decisions touching private claims from those relating to their boundaries? The article as to the St. Croix was followed by Article V. of the treaty of Ghent on the same general subject, which provided for two commissioners and the umpirage of a friendly power. The treaty of 1822 created a commission to ascertain the value of slaves, etc., under the award of the Emperor of Russia, and provided for the decision of "the majority." The decision of the Emperor on the subject in dispute referred to him is worthy of notice, as declaring a wholesome rule in interpreting treaties. He says that, with the concurrence of the two powers, he has "given an opinion founded solely upon the sense which results *from the text of the article.*" The claims treaty of 1853 provided for two commissioners and an umpire. The same was done on the fishery question in the treaty of 1854. By the slave-trade treaty of 1862 the judges of the mixed courts and the arbitrator were authorized to decide by a "majority of the three." It appears, then, from the history and language of the long series of treaties between the two governments, that they never treated upon the idea that by the rules of public law, as between them, a majority of commissioners or arbitrators, or even of members of a court, had decisive powers unless the contrary was expressed; and that, on the contrary, they had treated in conformity with the well-known rules of law of both countries, that the de-

ision of conventional arbitrators, commissioners, or courts must be unanimous to be valid, unless the instrument of their creation provided otherwise ; and that, as in the article of the treaty of 1871 respecting places excepted from fishery, when they were willing that a difference between two commissioners of their own appointment should be decided by a single other person or power, they knew how to say so, and did say so.

The necessary limits of this article do not permit an extended discussion of the questions of inconvenience and probable failure of a decision in such cases, were a majority not sufficient, put forth by the British Government. It is sufficient to say that if they existed, they could not be allowed to subvert the clear meaning of the language of the treaty, and that experience has shown that in all cases that have rested upon definite principles and proofs, the concurrence of the commissioners or arbitrators of the two nations has usually been obtained ; while in a matter like that submitted to the Halifax commissioners, no prudent government would be willing to consent in advance to anything less than unanimity when the commissioners are only three. Such prudence, there is some reason to believe, was in the minds of the British public and some officials before the commissioners acted.

Lord Salisbury appears also to repose his belief in the efficacy of a majority on what he thinks to be rules of international law. It was competent for the treaty in this instance, as it did in some others, to make other provisions ; but it is hardly competent for either party to reverse the meaning of the treaty by invoking the law. Let us examine, however, exactly what the rule of international law is. Halleck, whose valuable book was, as he states, made up from notes and extracts, is quoted as follows : "The following rules, usually derived from the civil law, have been applied to international arbitrations when not otherwise provided in the articles of the reference. If there be an uneven number, the decision of the majority is conclusive." This may be true. The rule named may have been so applied ; but under what circumstances ? Heffter, the only writer cited by Halleck who refers to the point, states how and when such a rule is applied. He says (Bergson's French translation of the third German edition, livre deuxième, chap. i., sec. 109) : "Lorsque plusieurs arbitres ont été nommés, sans que leurs fonctions respectives aient été déterminées d'avance, ils ne peuvent, suivant l'intention présumée des parties, procéder séparément. En cas de désaccord entre eux, l'avis de la majorité doit prévaloir, *conformément aux principes de la procédure ordinaire.*"

This is a statement to which every power ought to subscribe, for it rests on the solid principles of justice and philosophy, that require us to seek in the language of the instrument and the situation of the parties their true intent; and so, in a case in which they have not spoken, it is presumed that they intended that the "*principles of ordinary procedure*" should govern. What are the principles of ordinary procedure in arbitration? In Germany, France, and other countries whose jurisprudence is founded on the Roman law, they are one thing—allowing a majority to decide. In Great Britain and the United States, where the common law prevails, they are and always have been the opposite—not allowing a majority to decide without a stipulation to that end. Halleck's statement, then, is practically correct; but the rule he lays down does not apply between all states, and the structure of his sentence does not import that it does so. Thus Heffter, the accuracy and precision of whose writings has made his work a universal authority, states the complete rule. Bluntschli, also cited by Lord Salisbury (whose book was published in 1868 without notes or citations), states boldly that "the decree of the majority serves as the decree of the entire tribunal" (sec. 493, German edition). He, too, was a civil-law writer in a civil-law country, and in that light states the rule correctly without, like Heffter, giving the foundation of it, viz., the principles of ordinary procedure.

Calvo, the only other authority referred to in the British letter, is also an author of a country whose jurisprudence is based upon the Roman law, and he naturally refers to the *droit civil* as the guide in the absence of a compact, as representing the presumed intent of the parties, and containing the principles of ordinary procedure (Calvo, "Droit International," deuxième édition, tome premier, livre xiv., sec. 667). That he means precisely what Heffter states, and nothing more, is made manifest from another part of section 667, a sentence of which is quoted by Lord Salisbury. Preceding the statement that, in the absence of an obligation traced in the treaty, the decision is by a majority, he says: "L'arbitrage international dérive de la même cause et repose sur les mêmes principes que l'arbitrage privé en matière civile ou commerciale." Applying this plain principle, so clearly stated by Calvo as well as by Heffter, to an arbitration between Great Britain and the United States, it necessarily follows, in the absence of a stipulation, that unanimity is essential to an award; for that is acknowledged to be the rule of law of both countries in "private arbitra-

tion in a matter civil or commercial." Again, in section 28 of the same volume, Calvo shows that the Roman law is only to be invoked by those peoples who are obliged to have recourse to the "Corpus Juris Civilis" for the decision of their conflicts and the determination of their law. Neither the English nor the American people have ever adopted that practice.

On a full view, then, of the authorities referred to, in connection with the observations of other writers on the subject, and its history, is it not a just and inevitable conclusion that international law, so far as any such thing exists, lays down no other rule on the subject than that, in the absence of an intention to be drawn from the text of the treaty, the powers of the arbitrators or commissioners are to be measured by the principles of ordinary procedure of the treating nations?

A question of more immediate practical importance in connection with the fisheries remains unsolved. Has the American fisherman a right under these treaties to fish freely and without restraint in British waters, or is he subject to such regulations while within the municipal jurisdiction of Great Britain as her laws may establish?

The events occurring at Fortune Bay, on the southern coast of Newfoundland, in January last, have raised the question. There, it is said, the Americans, fishing on Sunday, were forcibly interrupted and driven off under color of a statute against Sunday fishing, while the pious islanders continued to fish! The correspondence on the subject appears to leave the English position somewhat obscure. It is indeed admitted that the provisions of the treaties are supreme, and can not be impaired by colonial legislation; but the question whether reasonable municipal regulations, affecting all persons equally, are consistent with the treaty right, is left yet undecided. As to Newfoundland, Labrador, and the Magdalen Islands, the treaty of 1818 declares the right to take fish, "in common with subjects" of Great Britain; and the same language is used in the treaty of 1871. The natural meaning of such language would seem to be to admit the foreigner to a footing of equality with the subject. It is not a grant to the subject, whose position is left untouched; and he is undoubtedly under the control of the municipal law. If, then, the American is given a liberty in common with him, is it not such a liberty and such only as he has? Again, the municipal jurisdiction of a state is not understood to be different, either in kind or degree, as regards its waters and its land. If this be so, it would seem to follow that whatever restraint

upon legislative power is created by such provisions as these would also occur under all treaties of commercial intercourse, unless special reservations were made. To hold, then, that an absolute immunity from any municipal legislation, in respect of the exercise of privileges conferred, exists, would involve very serious consequences, and appear to put the foreigner upon a footing not common with, but superior to, the subject or citizen of the nation granting the right. On the other hand, if the power of legislation still exists in such cases, has it any and what limits? If it has no limits, the fishing rights acquired and paid for under these treaties have no other value than such as is measured by the will of the power granting them. If the scope of such laws must be measured by reason, justice, and equality, and they are enacted in that spirit, then they ought to be enforced. But suppose a British colony chooses to extend its mercy and pardon to its own subjects who break the law, and not to the stranger; what then? On the whole, it is difficult to maintain that the exercise of a just and equally applied power of regulation ought to be surrendered by such treaties (although particular provisions on analogous points in some of those we have referred to lead to the inference that where the exercise of the right is to be subject to regulation, it is so provided in the treaty); and it is at least equally difficult to get the benefit of actual fair play in cases where the regulative power is exercised by governments whose people and local authorities look with jealousy and discontent upon the enjoyment by others of privileges which they have regarded as exclusively their own. It is evident that under such circumstances the power of regulation, if it exists, may be exercised to the extent of a practical defeat of the right.

These fishing privileges, such as they are, have been paid for by reciprocal grants and in cash for a few years yet to come. The Government of Great Britain and the Canadians believe that they have been greatly undervalued by the Halifax Commission. The Government and people of the United States are equally earnest in the opinion that, aside from the money paid, the British have largely the best of the bargain; and it is evident from the Fortune Bay affair, and others, that the arrangement has not improved the sentiments of kindliness and friendship so much to be desired. In this state of things, both governments ought to be glad to terminate by mutual consent what remains unperformed of the agreement immediately.

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

II.

UNPUBLISHED FRAGMENTS OF THE "LITTLE" PERIOD.

By Thomas Moore.

As the bird with trembling pinion
  First attempts the faithless gale,
Till the Tempest's rough dominion
  Drives her to the sheltered vale,
On the dripping spray sits mourning,
  There replumes her little wing,
Soon triumphant Sol returning
  Bids her soar aloft and sing:

So fond dreams of embryo pleasure
  Early taught my breast to glow;
While I grasped illusive treasure
  Sober wisdom waked to woe.
Still kind Hope a ray discloses
  Peeping from the winter's frown;
Thorns of anguish teem with roses,
  Sorrow's thistle has its down.

I saw her where in life's first bloom
  She sprung, and marked the spot;
And when the wintry weather came,
  I took her to my cot,
And watched her growth, that none might tread
Where sweetly, from her modest bed,
Raised her unassuming head
  My lily of the vale.

Then stay to-night, and deign for once
To bless a poor man's home;
For you my simple store I'll spread,
For you my ale shall foam:
But turn aside, and do not tread
Where sweetly, from her modest bed,
Lifts her unassuming head
My lily of the vale.

Dame Nature first laid down the rule,
And Time has improved on her plan,
That he ofttimes may be a great fool
Whom Fortune has made a great man.
For, though ragged Poverty looks melancholy
That she has no charter for madness and folly,
Yet, among Fortune's minions, take this for a rule:
By a wise reservation,
All men in high station
(No doubt for the good of the nation)
Have got letters patent for playing the Fool.

Glowing dreams my fancy fire,
Ardent hopes my breast inspire;
Thoughts harmonious, visions bright
Dance before my ravished sight.
Arranged in sweet confusion,
I catch each gay illusion,
Till Fancy's eyeballs sink in night.

Sweet roses and lilies,
Each Chloe and Phillis
By the poets of old have been settled to be.
They've so rifled of flowers
The groves, meads, and bowers,

There scarce is one left for a poet like me.
Yet if the dear creature resembles a flower,
'Tis a sprig of sweetbrier, where blossoms the rose—
An emblem at once of their sweetness and power,
For it scratches your face while it tickles your nose.

With a maid young and coy
If you wish for to toy,
She disdains with a frown what would give her heart ease;
While a widow of mettle
Resembles a nettle:
The closer you press her, the less you displease.
Yet the whole of the sex most resemble my flower,
The sprig of sweetbrier, where blossoms the rose—
An emblem at once of her sweetness and power,
For it scratches your face while it tickles your nose.

By all bards 'tis agreed
An old maid's a dry weed,
Who forgets while she blossoms that life's but a span;
And the sly hand of Time
Having wasted her prime,
She resolves, when too late, to take pity on man.
Yet maids, wives, and widows resemble my flower,
The sprig of sweetbrier, where blossoms the rose—
An emblem at once of their sweetness and power,
For it scratches your face while it tickles your nose.

Divinity, Physic, and Law,
Of the good things of life have possession;
And who wishes to put in his claw
Must follow a learned profession.
For if each vulgar elf
Through the lucre of pelf
Is permitted to humbug and pilfer his brother,
The sons of the Church
Will be left in the lurch,
And Physic and Law may go hang one another.

Be still, my bosom; beat not so
At thought of finding long-lost treasure;
Hope only brings this dream of pleasure
To wake thee to severer woe.
Yet thus by Hope we're treated:
So sweetly she beguiles,
The oft'ner we are cheated,
The more we trust her smiles.

None but her eye's mild beam of pleasure
E'er can wound with cares my breast,
None but her bosom's fragrant treasure
E'er can lull those cares to rest.
In vain all other scenes impart
A respite from despair;
Her smile alone can heal the smart
Which fixed the arrow there.

Woman still our faith abuses,
Seems to scorn what most she wants;
Only coy when she refuses,
To be kinder when she grants.

Is she cold as winter's bosom?
Cold as wintry winds I'll be,
But with kindness greet the blossom
Which unfolds its sweets to me.

Is her cheek with anger flushing?
Chloe's cheek shall smiles impart—
Chloe's cheek, which, warmly blushing,
Yields her lip to heal my smart.

* * * * *

'Tis fixed; I disdain
Of my fate to complain;
Though the trial I prove is severe,
'Tis better to know
The full measure of woe
Than to live on the rack of despair.

Come, Pride, bring me back my soft hours of rest,
While I blush for the pangs I endure;
Oblivion, erase her false form from my breast,
And scorn and contempt be my cure.

I am a soldier, gentle lady,
And know a soldier's duty;
With heart and hand am always ready
To dry the cheek of weeping beauty.

Then set thy beating heart at rest,
And back recall that starting tear;
For, know, where valor warms the breast,
Soft Pity is an inmate there.

Honor is the poor man's dower,
Peace and sweet content his lot:
Wealth awaits the sons of Power,
Him the lowly russet cot.

Yet, humbly blest, the sons of Toil
From nature's bounty may inherit
As rich a heart, as high a spirit
As the proud owner of the soil.

The cry of battle charms no more,
Where slaughter swells the tepid flood,
And Vict'ry 'midst the cannon's roar
Marks his groaning path with blood.

Farewell to the heart-rousing drum,
And peace to the cannon's rude throat.
Let the loud-clanging trumpet be dumb,
And the fife cease its shrill piercing note.

For Love shall now with sweeter sounds
His Io Pæan breathe,
And on the laurel's blood-stained bough
Ingraft his myrtle wreath.

Hence with wrinkled care and sorrow!
Gloomy thought may cloud to-morrow;
Here to-night, with festive glee,
Mirth shall keep her jubilee.

Still to bless this happy meeting,
Kindred Love with Friendship vies—
Hearts with honest rapture beating,
Glowing cheeks and sparkling eyes.

III.

CITIES AS UNITS IN OUR POLITY.

It has been an accepted truth since the writings of De Tocqueville that the town organization is the unit of American political life. In the preceding number of this Review it was clearly set forth by Governor Seymour. There lies the germ of political wisdom and reform; but it is in the cities that the greatest difficulties are found. The periodical ebb and flow of the great tide of population, the varied interests, the unceasing friction, the banded masses of the unsympathetic foreign-born, with universal suffrage as the basis of power—all these present an organization very different from the simpler unity of a rural town. Yet the cities stand as the great head from which purposes, and the great heart from which pulsations, start for the whole country, and from them good government and reform must arise. Are they too unwieldy for human direction, too discordant to elect their best men, and too debased for universal suffrage? Must they drift without helm through tides and rocks, by negations through imbecility and corruption? or is an intelligent, manly, and affirmative administration practicable?

Of all cities on this continent, New York presents this question with the widest relations and the greatest complications; and success here would be the most emphatic. Its local relations to the whole continent, its wealth, and its energy force it onward to a manifest destiny. It must go on, in spite of every ill fortune and of antagonistic legislation, to receive the growth which nature gives it. It must become the largest and the most elegant city of the continent, and it must do this on the basis of universal suffrage. *Noblesse oblige.* If it works this out well (and it must work it out well or ill), it will present a new unit and germ of political life to the honor of the whole country. It is in this aspect that its fortunes are worthy of especial study.

It has the best climate, the unmatched advantage of a central position on a north and south line of coast, the best harbor for ship-

ping from the Eastern world, the best waterways to the West; and, as Horace Greeley said, every railroad in the country has one terminus in New York. Its environs surpass in beauty those of any other city in Christendom. Its career was one of uniform success and rapidity of growth until the last decade, when it began to be loaded down with adverse legislation, with a great debt and costly unfinished improvements. To rescue it from these evils and to guide it on a successful course it needs its best men and their wisest efforts, with an affirmative policy of strong measures into which it will never drift.

The legislation of the country has greatly reduced its share of its own foreign commerce, and the interests of its ship-builders and -owners. The debt it bears for stolen money, for which it received no equivalent in profitable public works, rests on each piece of real estate with a weight as heavy as a permanent mortgage for twenty per cent. of its value, on which the owner must pay the interest and can not pay the principal. Its unfinished public works were planned without forethought and inadequately, and were constructed extravagantly and corruptly. Terminal facilities for the interchanges and transit of its merchandise have been almost wholly neglected. It has been built up on a plan devised in the colonial times and in the earlier years of the present century, with little study of its wants, so that its domestic economy is conducted with great and needless expense. It is as if a great hotel had been built up on a plan which occupied each floor wholly with lodging-rooms, and its need of halls, staircases, and offices was first discovered after it was inhabited, and they then had to be constructed with great waste and expense. Its taxation has been heavy, its public works and its growth have been stopped, its population has been drawn and driven away into the neighboring towns and cities, its business is not prosperous, and its population is not profitably employed.

There is a policy, comprised in a few affirmative measures, by which these evils can be remedied, greater economy induced, and a course of business prosperity again commenced. Many of these measures are within its own direct power. Not one of them would be beneficial to it alone, at the expense of any other community. The present era of resumption is auspicious. Its money will be the money of the world, by which the prices of all its commodities are fixed, and no longer irredeemable credits; the fluctuating price of gold will no longer be a factor in every transaction; and the attempt to make a second standard in silver will be as futile as it

would be to make two gold dollars, one worth a hundred and the other eighty-five cents. This much has been prepared. It will remain for Congress to enact such changes as will enable Americans to own their own vessels and carry their own goods, and to amend the tariff laws in the direction of free trade, so as to secure a market for its great surplus of productions. In other respects New York can help itself and work directly for its own reform. The subjects are: first, increased facilities for the internal movement of passengers and goods, and better terminal facilities; second, the judicious prosecution of its public works; third, a broader basis of taxable property to support its taxation; fourth, greater economy in its domestic life; fifth, working its unexplored sources of city revenue.

When measures are taken for these results, and the end comes that all its citizens are profitably employed, the general cause of its evils will be removed, and the first condition of prosperity will be met. The causes of the misfortunes of the past have been a waste of capital and labor in premature and unnecessary public works; a currency which forced an element of unregulated fluctuation into every contract and checked operations; a large proportion of men thrown out of employment who did not return to productive labor, but remained idle waiters; and tariff legislation that led to overproduction without a market. The salutary change brought about by five years of hard times is, that men give up living upon the labor of others and seek to be productive laborers themselves. We therefore stand at the threshold of great national prosperity; for wealth follows the employment of all hands in productive labor.

New York lives upon its foreign commerce and the interchange of commodities which its wealth and position bring to its doors. The facilities for this interchange are those of the last century, while other competing cities have put in use the closest connections. It remains for the city to bring the vessel and the freight car side by side, and in every way to diminish the expenses and risk of the transshipment of goods. It should be accomplished as a public work by a private corporation, as rapid transit has been accomplished for passengers by the elevated railroads; and the city should derive a revenue from the privilege it gives. If this connection were well designed and economically constructed, it would greatly expand business, save needless expense and damage, and increase profitable employment.

There should be a judicious prosecution of the public works, both those undertaken by the city at its own expense and those un-

dertaken by it at the expense of the property-owners. With land and building materials at low prices, upon a basis of real money, and with the new means of rapid transit, the first revival of business will open a period of rapid growth. This must be kept within the city limits and within its own taxation, and not scattered abroad among its neighbors as it has been for ten years. The completion of the Brooklyn Bridge will bring back this scattered population. The northern sections of the island have every attraction for a new New York. Such works as the Riverside and Morningside Parks, which will surpass the Central Park and draw population as it has never done, should be completed. They fix the highest character to the finest portion of the whole island. The Harlem River as the waterway of a region of which the Third Avenue Bridge is a center, with its channel opened and its bulkhead and bridges built, would concentrate in a location which possesses every natural advantage the manufacturing business which has built up the surrounding towns into cities from Paterson to Bridgeport. Population grows around some business as a nucleus. A port, a water-power, a waterway, or a railroad fixes the location for some great business, and the population follows. Except in a few places of great natural beauty, as Newport, Irvington, or New Brighton, population does not accumulate alone. It does not feed upon itself. A cathedral and a mausoleum will not make Garden City a success, nor change it from the waste place it has been for two and a half centuries. Sydney Smith commended the breed of pigs which, in growing fat, deserted the cheap portions of the carcass and accumulated on the places where it was worth a shilling a pound. The Harlem River is such a place. A small portion of the money expended on the Brooklyn Bridge, the cost of one of the untraveled boulevards, would open it to business, and at the present era of low prices start its growth. Here has been the mistake of the city. It has laid out great areas for population, without providing for the business to support it. If places had been prepared for business first, its wealth and population would have demanded and used its boulevards. The great burden of the city debt is an outcry against, but not an answer to, the progress of improvement. It would raise a great manufacturing compeer to the commercial energy of the southern end of the island, and bear its half of the burden; it would bring in more and new business, and help give to every one profitable employment. It is not an objection to such public works that they are in the interest of the laborers and give them employment. When this follows as

a result from the prosecution of judicious and necessary works demanded on their own merits, it is well. The period of low wages and low prices is the time when they can be done to double advantage. They prepare for natural growth, and they dissipate the delusions about the conflicts between labor and capital which spread in idle times. Such conflicts can not arise in a free country but by some interference with the free working of the laws of trade.

Labor is the law of human life. "By the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." It has two modes: to work enough only to gain the bread of the day, and to work more and accumulate bread. The first is labor and the second is capital. To enforce the first mode, as by the eight-hour law, and limit labor is an interference with freedom that bars labor from capital. No man ever made a fortune on eight hours' work a day. To encourage the second mode by business enterprises which stimulate labor, invites labor to capital. The laborer who owns his spade, his horse, his shop, is beginning to be a capitalist. Many of the great business capitalists of this country began by saving their first dollar. To check business by tariffs, and by paying the laborer with promises instead of money, is an interference with freedom which drives the incipient capitalist back to labor again. The temper of some laborers leads them to prefer fixed wages to the excitement and profits, the risks and hopes of business enterprises; to others they have a fascination which is irresistible. A fixed rate must be met by the profits of the business, and there is a limit which it can not exceed. Its level is not easily raised when the employer is reaping great profits, nor depressed when he meets great losses. The preference for a fixed rate is so strong that few will accept a proportion of the profits of the business in which they are employed if they must anticipate a share in its losses. This binds the multitude within the ranks of the laborers. Three classes are thus produced: laborers who by successful enterprise become capitalists; the unsuccessful, who return to labor or drift outside; and those contented to be laborers, whose only accumulation is in saving. Coöperation and trades unions conflict with this principle by reducing all to one level, and that a low one, or by binding to work for the benefit of all the able man who will soon start out for himself. All these are interferences with freedom, in whose presence the conflict between labor and capital can not continue.

This is illustrated by strikes. A high tariff protects one class of manufacturers. Their profit is at the expense of those who use

their products, who in turn want like protection. One after the other obtain it, till prices are artificially increased. The laborer on a fixed rate of wages has to pay larger prices for all he consumes, and the burden all falls upon him. Under adverse circumstances, local or general, his wages are reduced. He sees before him the starvation point and begins to resist. The weight of the whole false system is upon him. He can not control legislation, nor wait for a change of parties or policy. The resistance to his appeals is solid, and against his wrongs and the parties who are protected at his expense he strikes. It is ineffectual, but it is all that he can do. It is a revolutionary protest against unjust legislation which interferes with freedom.

The position which the laborers assume when they make a conflict with capital shows that they abandon their right to freedom. The successes which have been won by long generations of laborers against their political and moneyed masters the laborers of to-day give up, and they seek to enter again under the bonds their fathers cast off. They ask everything of a government which, as they conceive it, would be the most intolerable despotism. They want work allotted, and the regulation of wages and hours. They want land, government loans and false money, measures which would reduce them to serfdom. The lesson of individual liberty has been lost on them. Instead of bursting the few bonds by which their liberty is restricted, they seek to forge the iron framework of a despotism to an unknown, indefinite, and irresponsible tyrant, when, if they knew it, with freedom they themselves are sovereign. Their imported ideas of the antagonism between labor and capital are delusions in a free country, which exist here only in so far as freedom has been impaired by restrictive tariffs and false money. It is against these few remaining restrictions that the labor organizations should combine.

Nowhere should these restrictions be more sedulously fought against than in a great city of laborers, whose prosperity depends upon their profitable employment. Every restriction and embarrassment on commerce should be removed. Every encouragement to new business enterprises should be given. In order to accommodate itself to new business, the city has much to do—much to provide for the incoming population which grows upon business; and this work should be done, so that business will be drawn here and the city become as great in manufactures as it is in commerce.

The great objection to city works has been the prodigality and

corruption which have attended them. This has been all wrong, but it need not continue. The remedy is a simple one—rigid professional superintendence. There have been debates between the advocates of city work by contract and by the day; and as the advantages of each have been looked at, and the disadvantages disregarded, each finds advocates in turn; so that in this city, where great success had followed the prosecution of the public works by the day, public opinion swung over with great momentum, because of some disadvantages, to the contract system, at the very time that the exposure of the Canal frauds at Albany stamped the contract system as the source of corruption and enormous extravagances. The secret of good work is thorough inspection—a wise design, a rigid adherence to plan, and a vigilance that thrusts out idle and incompetent workmen. How is such inspection to be obtained? In private work done by the day, under the eye of the owner who is his own inspector, the work is well done, of the best material, and at a fair cost; in private work done by contract, it is the inspection of the contractor who drives his men. Honest inspection compels good material and work from the contractor, whose constant temptation for his own profit is to slight the work. In private work the owner selects the contractor by his character and ability, and not by price alone. City work by contract goes to the lowest bidder without regard to any other consideration—often, therefore, to the bidder who has made a mistake in his calculation, or who has some undisclosed scheme. In such a case, the conflict between the contractor and honest inspection becomes irrepressible. The contract for the Riverside drive is a good illustration. It extends for three miles along the high and wooded bank of the Hudson, through a park with varied and commanding views. It was park work, and required elegance and taste in treatment. The contractors, who were the lowest bidders, took the work at $516,000. The engineers who drew the plans and specifications had estimated the work at $700,000, and most of the bids of the closest contractors indicated a correspondence with this estimate. It was doubtful whether the contractors could complete the work to meet the design at the price they bid. Non-political and superior professional superintendence was established, under Mr. Olmsted. The corps of engineers, under James C. Aldrich, C. E., was as fine a body of men as had ever been gathered on such work. The work was commenced in the autumn of 1876, and at the close of 1877 rigid inspection had driven the contractors from it. The question arose whether this inspection should be

maintained against the contractors, or broken down for them. The Commissioners of the Park Department by a majority vote decided it. As Mr. Wenman, who then became president, naïvely expressed it, they "made such changes in the engineering force as to enable the contractors to continue the work to a speedy completion." Mr. Olmsted and Mr. Aldrich and his corps were displaced. The contractors had bidden high prices for some of the earlier portions of the work and low prices for the later portions, and the work was about half finished. They had two alternatives: the first, to lay the foundation for claims for extra work; the second, to have the quantities of the profitable portions of their work increased, and in the unprofitable portions to force upon the engineer the acceptance of worthless work. The first chance was cut off by a special clause inserted in the contract to prevent it, and the second chance was adopted. A year's prosecution of the work has raised a public discussion at the present moment about its execution. By days' labor, under the professional inspection which was established, economical work of the highest quality would have been produced, worthy of the finest drive in any park in the world. As it is, worthless work has been accepted, quantities have been illegally increased, the general design has been grossly maltreated, portions of the park surface of historical interest and great beauty, and matchless foliage, have been ignorantly destroyed, and the property-owners have been abundantly supplied with "substantial errors" as legal grounds for vacating the assessments on their property, throwing the whole cost of the work upon the city. There is but one remedy, and that is the restoration of the superb professional superintendence under which the work was started. Non-political professional inspection is the condition of honest city work.

If the city be thus adapted to the easier prosecution of its proper business and made attractive to new business enterprises, and such public works as will pay are carried on, the immediate result will be to subject a larger amount of property to its taxation, and its $30,000,000 a year will be raised upon $2,000,000,000 instead of upon $1,100,000,000, as it now is. It is because its policy for twenty years has been the reverse of that now indicated, and because of the lack of steam transit, that Jersey City and Brooklyn have grown at its expense, and New York has enriched its neighbors. A city with a great debt, impoverished resources, and stagnant business, must recover in the same mode that a merchant or a corporation would adopt. They would not attempt it by retrenchment alone,

but by working at their assets, making their capital productive, and enlarging their resources. All the materials for enlarged resources and increase of capital are present, if by wise measures we choose to invite them at the best period of natural growth. The city's taxation is four fifths of it upon land ; and the proposition is broadly discussed and supported that, if all personal property was relieved of tax and made free in this city, the influx of money and capital for all enterprises would so largely add to the business of the city, and so enhance the uses of real estate, that it could easily and profitably bear the additional one fifth of the taxation. The Constitution of this State does not require *equal* taxation, and it would be a very safe measure to try ; it would lead directly to the profitable employment of all its citizens.

With the facilities of steam transit and the improvement of the district north of the Harlem River annexed to the city, all the tendencies of growth due to natural causes will be toward the north, over an area subject to its own taxation. Without this growth the high values for taxation placed upon vacant land in this northern area are unsubstantial, and must disappear. Speculative values placed upon vacant land, because of its supposed future use, are not a sound basis for taxation. They ruin the owners and check improvements. If the values can not be reduced, they must be supported. Speculative values are based upon the expectation that a lot of land will come into a use, in say five years, which will make it worth say $10,000. Those who believe this will make five years' discount on this price, to fix the present value of the lot. Their faith in such prices depends on the nearness of the time in which they believe this use will be reached. There is a law, too, which determines the value of land and places a limit upon its rise. It is this : Where land is improved, the land is worth a sum equal to the value of the improvements. This is true in a general sense over neighborhoods and localities of like character. The real value of land is based upon its net rents and the rates of interest on permanent investments. This value depends on the improvements and buildings upon it. In a good farming district, a careful estimate of the average value of the buildings, fences, and improvements through the district will be a fair measure of the naked value of the land. On Broadway, the value of the building best adapted for the business of the street, and bringing the best rent, will best measure the naked value of the land on which it stands. The same rule holds in any residence

or business section of uniform character, and it deserves a great deal more consideration than this bare statement of it. There are many exceptions, under spasmodic or speculative causes, under transitions from one occupation to another, under cumulated lines of value, like the intersection of Broadway and the Fifth Avenue, and from special improvements in certain places; but the general rule will be found true in all cases of extended and accurate observation, and its bearing is this: that there is a law for the value of land, at a mean between speculative inflations and spasmodic depressions. It fixes a future value to land now vacant lying in the line of improvement, from which its present value is derived by a discount from that value and the cost of making it ready for improvement. In any scheme for placing the taxation on land and making it uniform, this law becomes fundamental.

There should be greater economy in the internal administration of the city's supplies and waste. For this the fault lies with the plan of the city. Places for daily market supplies of all sorts, and for daily waste of sewage, garbage, and sweepings, should have been provided; a plan for a city without these is as defective as a residence would be which had no cellar and kitchen. The colonial plan of the lower part of the city provided for the only great markets of original supply we now possess. Beyond that the plan contained no provision; the collection, deposit, and disposal of the daily waste was not provided for; and all this work is now done at a great expense. The markets of original supply—the Washington and Fulton markets—are wholly inadequate. The producers have insufficient accommodation, and a great army of expensive middlemen and distributors intervenes between the producer and the consumer, who pays a price double that which the producer receives. The producer should have place and space to be brought in immediate connection with the consumer. Places and spaces should also be provided for the daily waste, as they should have been in the original plan. The land which the city owned has long ago been sold, and for such purposes it has in great part to buy land, as it has bought it for its schoolhouses and courthouses, police stations and fire stations. It is a great drawback to the city that its market supplies have to be drawn from so remote a place as Washington Market; it increases the necessary cost of living, makes it a needlessly expensive place for residence, and depresses its advance with a constant blight. Midway along the river border vast areas should be purchased, in immediate connection with ferries leading

to country highways and railroads, where the producer could meet the consumer face to face. A reasonable and moderate rent or license fee on each producer would be a good source of city revenue. To undertake such a reform presents the difficult question, viz., whether such markets should be carried on by the city or left to private enterprise. Private enterprise is the present system; any change and reform must be by markets established and controlled by the city. The single difficulty is a broad area of land. Washington Market presents the right plan. It needs more space and a location farther up town. By such markets, in which the cost of middlemen and distribution—an enforced agency—could be dispensed with, the price could be reduced, and the city, for a fair license fee and for honest regulation, could derive a large income, similar in effect to the *octroi* duties in Paris.

Not only should public places have been provided in the plan of the city for markets and for supplies, but also for the economical disposal of all the city waste. This daily waste is of three classes: that which is useful for manure, that which is useful for filling, and that which is unfit for either. The science of chemistry has established the economy of returning the first class to the soil. Here the soil in the close vicinity of the city from which its daily supplies come, in New Jersey and Long Island, would receive this means of enrichment. Its place of deposit should be on the water-side, whence boats could move it to the water-side near the farms. The second class of waste is needed to the extent of tens of millions of yards in the upper portion of the island, for the necessary filling of sunken lands, within the bulkhead line along the water's edge. A proper discrimination would soon reduce the third class of worthless waste to a minimum, for nothing is absolutely useless. The first requisite is places of local deposit; the second, modes of transportation; the last, the final deposit. These places for disposing of its waste are as necessary in the economy of a city as they are in dwelling-houses. They must be properly located, and space otherwise valuable must be given up to them for the good of the whole. These places of local collection should be frequent and distributed through the city, so that the collection could be made with the least cost of cartage. The surface and elevated railroads should be used, between midnight and morning, to transport the collections in tight boxes to the place of final deposit. They should do the work as a rent-service to the city without expense. There is room for waste of the second class within the bulkhead lines on the

south side of the Harlem River for many years to come. All the lines of elevated and the avenue surface roads would reach it. The expense of final deposit and leveling would not be too great for the land to bear, from the increase of value gained by the filling up into solid streets and blocks ready for business occupation. These are two notable instances in city administration in which greater economy could be introduced.

Most important of all the topics is the development of the unexplored resources of city revenue. In an article in the November number of this Review, the title of the city to its own streets, and its right to a compensation for all uses of the class which have received the legal designation of "mixed public and private uses" —that is, uses which aid and extend the public use of the streets in a mode which also enriches private persons and corporations—were set forth; and the grounds were stated in respect to the right of a compensation from the elevated railroads in the shape of a percentage of their gross receipts. These same reasons support the city's right to take compensation, or fixed rent, for every other kind of street occupation—surface railroads, telegraph poles, gas pipes, news and business stands, and all future uses. In every one of these cases the use of the city property is of great and paramount advantage to the private company, and an equal and just mode of compensation should be established for them alike. Fixed sources of income are better for the city than the payment of a given sum as principal for the privilege. Annual payment is therefore a better mode than the product of the sale of the privilege at auction; the latter mode might operate as a grant which would be disadvantageous to the city in the future. Income rated by a fixed percentage, which will increase with the growth of the business out of which it arises, is best for the city and just for the company. It obviates, too, the uncertainties which attend any calculation of the value of future rents. To base it upon gross income is better than upon net, for the latter is as variable as the most complicated calculations can make it. An examination of the statistics of the companies who use the streets would show, on well-established principles, what proportion the use of the streets bore to the capital they use, and what would be a fair proportion for the contribution the city gives by the use of its streets toward the general results.

The use of the Fourth Avenue above Forty-second Street by the railroads which occupy it is a notable instance in which the rights of the city were not protected. The Harlem Railroad had a

right to use the avenue for two tracks, for a limited number of years, which were running out. Its tracks ran upon the surface for a portion of the distance between Forty-second Street and the Harlem River. The railroad required four tracks for an unlimited time. A few accidents led to an outcry from the people for a road at an undergrade. "Sink the track," rang in the papers; and the railroad company, following the people, by legislative aid took from them a perpetual right to four tracks, on a plan for the improvement of the avenue, the expense of which was borne one half by the company and one half by the city. In addition to this, the company have occupied by their depot and yards the whole of the avenue and portions of the cross-streets for several blocks. The principles on which the company should have given to the city compensation for the privileges and such use of the avenue were as clear then as now; but there was no city officer to stand forth and ask for it—not even so much as to require frequent trains, low fares, and commutations on that part of the road which ran within the city limits. That alone would have been of great service to the city, in gathering the outflow of its population along with the railroad lines which ran through its own territory.

These thoughts point in the direction of measures to accomplish them, fitted into the contracts, laws, and ordinances by which the several companies enjoy their privileges, and adjusted to what they hold of right, what they assume beyond right, and what they have future need to ask for. The point is open to the city where its claims to revenue and rent service can be inserted and enforced; but at this point the work is more appropriate to a lawyer's office than to these pages. The city of Paris presents illustrations of the closest economy in the directions now presented. Its income for 1878 was 254,063,335 francs, of which 122,203,250 was proposed from *octroi* duties on the supplies of food, etc., which entered its gates, and 28,369,895 of the residue from the use of the streets and other property, for every purpose under, upon, and above the surface. If New York were to begin now to establish on a sound basis a revenue from such uses of its property, within limits which were just to those who paid them, an income would be secured which would, by a reasonable increase with the growth of the city and a return of its prosperity, either provide for its debt within the period of its maturity, or relieve a large portion of the burden of its annual taxes. As a remedy for its financial evils retrenchment is wholly inadequate; and an affirmative policy, by measures through which

its property will be made productive and its unexplored resources be made available, is imperative.

A work of this kind is difficult; it would be beset with antagonisms and obstacles; but it is practicable. It would gather immense momentum by being well stated; the people would help in it. It would insure a rapid recovery from past evils; it would bring returning prosperity into the service of the city. Such an affirmative policy, firmly carried out, would, in a most notable instance of ill fortune, demonstrate that the best government was practicable in great cities, and that the American unit in political life, born in the town organization, did not fail under the complications of great aggregations of energy, population, and business. There is no better time for the practical consideration of any efforts for reform than the accession to power of a new Mayor such as Mr. Edward Cooper. The financial administration of the city is honestly conducted. The policy of retrenchment has been carried on so successfully as to demonstrate its insufficiency for the relief that is needed, and that affirmative measures of some sort are in order. A combination between such a Comptroller as Mr. Kelly has shown himself to be and Mayor Cooper may now produce all that is needed —a far-sighted and energetic administration, with the highest professional and non-political superintendence over all public works. There is no need of men who trifle along the surface of affairs, or who are satisfied with personal distinctions; who are controlled by party considerations, or who drift on the current of abuses. A wise man to foresee, a patient man to perfect measures, and one with influence to combine all forces to accomplish good results, is what the city of New York awaits.

William R. Martin.

IV.

THE PRESERVATION OF FORESTS.

"BALDNESS is perhaps the least of the thousand ills which man is heir to," says De Lamartine, "but it is a rather serious evil if it befalls a country. The value of a nation's territory depends a good deal on its vegetative productiveness."

That "understatements" are in good taste is a rule with occasional exceptions; for it would be about as appropriate to speak, like Aristophanes, of annihilation and death as "annoyances of the first magnitude," as to talk about a "rather serious evil" in referring to the change of a national territory from fertility to desolation. We must think of individual instead of public misfortunes to imagine a *more* serious evil than that. Nay, it is a grave question if we have a right to speak of any other evil as a national calamity in that fearfully literal sense of the word. War and revolution affect the upper strata of society, and pestilence may blight the flower of one entire generation, while yet the deep roots of national life remain intact, and capable of resuming their germinative functions with the next favorable season; but spring and summer return in vain if the soil itself has lost its reproductive force, and neither secular nor religious reforms nor the most pawerful political stimulus can break the death-slumber of a nation whose country has ceased to support vegetable life.

The inhabitants of Persia, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, and the Mediterranean nations, who once "enjoyed heaven on this side of the grave," have thus perished together with their forests, leaving us a warning in the ruins of their former glory, which nothing but a plea of religious insanity can excuse us for having left unheeded for the last eighteen hundred years.

The physical laws of God can not be outraged with impunity, and it is time to recognize the fact that there are some sins against which not one of the Scriptural codes of the East contains a word of warning. The destruction of forests is such a sin, and its sig-

nificance is preached by every desolate country on the surface of this planet. Three million square miles of the best lands which ever united the conditions of human happiness have perished in the sand drifts of artificial deserts, and are now more irretrievably lost to mankind than the island ingulfed by the waves of the Zuyder Zee.

Some of these countries, like Egypt and Palestine, were overtaken by their fate long ago, while the ruin of others has been compassed within comparatively recent periods. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century the population of the four Mediterranean peninsulas has decreased more than fifty-five millions, and the value of their agricultural products by at least sixty per cent. (even without making allowance for the increase in prices) ; and the rate of the decline from year to year bears an exact proportion to the decrease of the forest area of every district.

During the reign of Abul Hassan (1466–1484), the forests of the Sierra Nevada were protected by stringent legislation, and in every district where the original woods had disappeared the proportion of orchards and grain fields was no longer optional, but regulated by a code of "field laws." After the conquest of Granada these laws were abrogated, and the Moorish orchards and chestnut groves disappeared to make room for Christian vineyards. The Moslem inhabitants of Andalusia, who were hunted out of Europe like wild beasts, had created a paradise in southern Spain ; but their Christian conquerors could not prevent that country from becoming a desert.

The Turkish provinces in Europe and Asia Minor, especially those south of the Balkans and southwest of the Taurus range, enjoyed abundant crops and comparative prosperity till after the accession of Amurath III., when the exigencies of the Ottoman navy exhausted the timber stores of those regions, which ever since have been visited by periodic droughts and severe famines. The aridity of the south Italian coast districts and the island of Sicily dates from the time when cotton fields first superseded the mulberry groves of the Neapolitan silk-farmers, and the extensive grape culture of Apulia encroached on the live-oak forests that had clothed the spurs of the Apennines since the days of the elder Pliny. Here, as well as in Greece and Portugal, the introduction of the tobacco plant, which needs a rich vegetable mold, suggested the cultivation of the upper mountain-valleys, that had nursed the fountains of classic rivers in their ancient woods, and from the slopes of Olympus to the Sierra Morena the beds of former watercourses are

now marked only by barren ravines, choked with rocks and a maze of withered brambles.

Afghanistan, Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, the southern islands of the Mediterranean, and the whole of northern Africa from Cairo to the western extremity of Morocco—countries which were once blessed with abundance and a glorious climate—are now either absolute sand wastes or the abodes of perennial droughts, hunger, and wretchedness ; and wherever statistical records have been preserved, it is proved, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that their misfortunes commenced with the disappearance of their arboreal vegetation.

In view of these facts, it may not be quite uninteresting to know that since the year 1835 (the date of the first reliable South American statistics) the forest area of the western hemisphere has decreased at the average yearly rate of 7,600,000 acres, or about 11,400 square miles ; and that in the United States alone this rate has advanced from 1,600 square miles in 1835 to 7,000 in 1855, and 8,400 in 1876. Between 1750 and 1835 the total aggregate of forests felled in South and Central America (especially in southeastern Mexico), and in the Eastern, Southeastern, and Southwestern States of our republic, may be estimated at from 45,000,000 to 50,000,000 acres. In other words, we have been wasting the moisture-supply of the American soil at the average ratio of seven per cent. for each quarter of a century during the last one hundred and twenty-five years, and are now fast approaching the limit beyond which any further decrease will affect the climatic phenomena of the entire continent.

When Ojeda and Vespucci landed at Rio Hondo in 1499, the mainlands of the New World contained already a greater proportion of barren territory than the northeastern continent (Asia and Europe) in the century of Herodotus and Xenophon. Three hundred years after the foundation of Rome, Europe, as we call all the western portion of that continent, was covered with continuous woods from Iberia to the foot-hills of the Caucasus, while the deserts of the East were limited to the table-lands of Gobi and the northern half of the Arabian peninsula. But the seemingly interminable forests that excited the admiration of the first American colonists are in reality confined to an alluvial belt along the eastern coast of South America and the eastern third of our northern mainland. The eighteenth degree of longitude west from Washington marks very nearly the boundary between *America Felix* and *Ameri-*

ca Deserta, as we might distinguish the fertile eastern garden lands from the alkali plains of the West. This line, which passes through western Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, the Indian Territory, and eastern Texas, is approached here and there by the great East American *Sylvania*, which once reached from the Missouri to the Atlantic, and is bounded in the West by table-lands which, on the whole, exceed in sterility the so-called deserts of Central Asia, and contain regions which for hundreds of miles are absolutely without a vestige of vegetation.

Between the Great Slave Lake and the Saskatchewan, our British neighbors own a track of barren territory which surpasses the treeless plateau of northern Tartary in repulsiveness as well as in size ; and, owing to the lower temperature of America, the same degree of latitude that passes through extensive Siberian forests lies far to the north of a line that divides the last North American timber lands from the dismal snow wastes of the polar regions.

Adjoining the British boundary, we have a piece of sand land which reaches from the Red River of the North to the Indian reservations of Washington Territory, and southward to a line drawn from Virginia City to the mouth of the Big Cheyenne, and which, after subtracting a few strips of cottonwood-trees along the main watercourses, may be described, in the words of General Hazen, as "a blank from the Columbia to the Missouri—a hopeless and absolute barren, 300,000 square miles in extent." Viewed from a sufficient elevation, the Black Hills of Dakota and the mountains of eastern Colorado would appear as forest islands in the midst of a sandy ocean—the fabled Great West, or the central plateau of our continent, which, instead of being an "emigrants' paradise," is perhaps the most forbidding region which an intending agriculturist could encounter outside of northern Africa. The word barrenness is hardly sufficient to describe the *azoic* and utterly unimprovable character of enormous sections of these plains. Sixty thousand square miles in Utah and Nevada, 45,000 in Arizona, and 180,000 between the Rocky Mountains of New Mexico and the sand hills of western Texas, are as unfit for tillage as the crater of an active volcano. Twenty inches of annual rainfall may be considered as a minimum, below which no inland region can repay the trouble of cultivation ; but twelve inches is all that can be hoped for in the most favored districts of Arizona, while in the southern part of Utah and New Mexico the average yearly moisture-supply (even including occasional heavy dews) falls short of seven inches, and in

the center of the *Llano Estacado* amounts hardly to three inches and a half. There is no *soil* on these bleak hills, if that word implies any admixture of vegetable mold, but only a thin stratum of drift-sand or alkali dust, spread over the flinty rock; and during the six summer months the hunter or miner may wander over districts as large as the island of Great Britain without seeing a drop of running water. The *Pais del Muerto*, the "Land of Death," south of the Rio Gila, extends far into the republic of Mexico, which can boast of two other such embryo Saharas; one in western Sonora and the other northeast of Mazatlan, between Durango and the seacoast.

South America has few absolute deserts—i. e., lands devoid as well of annual as of perennial vegetation; but portions of the *Pampas* and of the *Tierra Templada* of Peru are quite as sterile as the table-lands of Syria and southern Spain, and experience has proved that nine tenths of the Argentine Republic, and the larger half of Bolivia and Paraguay, can only be utilized as pasture grounds.

In the heart of the Andes, too, there are extensive plateaus which even the enterprise of the Incas failed to put to any useful account; and the Peruvian seacoast from Arequipa to the Chilian frontier is skirted by a broad belt of sandy downs.

The treeless regions of America lie chiefly in the west, those of Africa and Arabia in the north, of Europe in the southeast, and of Australia in the northwest; and the theory that all deserts on the face of our globe have been produced by the hand of man is, therefore, supported by the remarkable circumstance that the most barren portions of four continents are found *on the side turned toward Asia*, and which, according to all geographical and ethnological probabilities, must have been first reached by the waves of emigration which emanated from that common home of the human race.

But, besides these prehistoric (as we should call them rather than aboriginal) sand wastes, America now contains a number of smaller but growing deserts, which date their origin from the arrival of the white man. Any neglect of the precautions by which Abul Hassan preserved the productiveness of the Andalusian Vega could not fail to be quickly resented by the thin-skinned soil of the tropical table-lands; and it need not, therefore, surprise us that the Spaniards succeeded in desolating the plateaus of South and Central America, as their fathers had desolated those of Aragon and Castile,

and that even the rich valleys of the Brazos and Colorado have become subject to perennial droughts.

Still, it might have been hoped that the virgin woods north of the Red River had been secured by nature against the possibility of such a fate. To overcome the stubborn fertility of the East American forest lands might well seem a task which would baffle the united efforts of the cotton-planters and lumbermen for a thousand years to come; but a fatal perseverance in the worst possible method of cultivation has solved the problem in less than two centuries. Eleven times (or almost every other year) since 1850 the country between the Alabama River and the State border of the two Carolinas had to suffer from dry summers, which in 1855, '59, and '75 threatened the South with a general famine, and have permanently lowered the average water line of some Southern rivers by several inches. It seems that, while there were any remnants of woodland to encroach upon, irrigation and the use of fertilizers were never resorted to. The rich mold of a newly cleared piece of land yields abundantly for a few years, but the quick repetition of uniform crops soon exhausts the soil, and where labor is cheap the temptation may have been great to abandon such worn-out lands to their fate and continue the work of destruction in the forests. But if, instead of thus denuding entire countries, the planters had spared a grove here and there, they would have reaped larger crops on a hundred acres than they can now on a square mile, in spite of the lavish use of guano; and the woods, besides rewarding their forbearance with fuel, nuts, and berries, would have insured the needful humidity of the atmosphere, the perpetuity of their springs, and the health and happiness of their children.

The coincidence of more favorable climatic and geological conditions than any other region of the Western World can boast of, has so far enabled the State of North Carolina to resist the devastating energy of her tobacco-planters and turpentine-distillers; but the country which once realized Daniel Boone's ideal of a hunter's paradise, the land south and southeast of the Kentucky River, which he describes as "a boundless rolling ocean of wood-covered hills," has now hardly tree-shade and water enough left for the exigencies of the stock-breeders, and assumes an ominous resemblance to the parched hill country of southern California.

In the sandy and level districts of New Jersey and Delaware the natural tendency to aridity is counteracted by the extensive orchards that have taken the place of the virgin forests; but the farmers of

Wisconsin, northern Illinois, and Indiana, who devote their plains to the exclusive production of grain crops, are inviting a danger from which the neighborhood of the Great Lakes will not save them for many more years.

The ruinous experiments of the Old World nations have taught them some lessons which will be repeated on our own continent, unless we prefer to learn by a cheaper method, remembering the thrifty proverb of the *aliena pericula*. As a general rule, from which only the alluvial deltas of large rivers can be excepted, we must assume a sixfold excess of treeless area over the woodlands of any district as the limit, beyond which its fertility becomes dependent on irrigation and artificial stimulants, and which can not be far exceeded without defeating the purposes of tillage; for after the total disappearance of forests from a large tract of land, the lost fertilizing influence of arboreal vegetation can only be retrieved by processes whose expensiveness would neutralize the profits of husbandry. In Persia, Asia Minor, southern Spain, and throughout northern Africa, with the exception of Egypt, agriculture has ceased to "pay" in the commercial sense of the word, and the peasants prefer semi-starvation to the superhuman task of raising a full crop.

Only a small portion of the magnificent forests that once adorned the paradise of the Mediterranean nations owe their destruction to war, accidental fires, or the market value of their timber; but in the Old World, as well as in Wisconsin and Alabama, the cultivators of cereals and some other annuals have felled ten out of every dozen acres of woodlands that have disappeared from the face of the earth. The lumberman selects the tallest and straightest trees, prefers the full-grown ones even for fuel, and not only permits, but desires and helps, the saplings to replace their fallen seniors; while the grain- or cotton-planter uproots the forests to the bottom of the organic soil, and glories in the sight of a level country, "cleared" as far as the eye can reach. In accordance therewith, we see that the cedars of Lebanon, which had to furnish timber for every architectural enterprise of western Asia since the days of Solomon, are not exhausted yet; that the peninsula of Yucatan, which has supplied the world with logwood and mahogany for three hundred years, is still as woody as before its discovery by the *conquistadores;* and that the coast districts of Maine, Michigan, and North Carolina, which have been most heavily taxed by the lumber-trade of North America, contain still as much woodland as the rest of our Eastern States taken together.

In the agricultural districts of the Southern and Central States the cultivation of four deciduous plants—maize, wheat, tobacco, and cotton—has accelerated the work of denudation, which in the Old World was accomplished almost by wheat alone ; and it is a fact of ominous significance that the first swarm of the Rocky Mountain locusts which invaded the Atlantic settlements made its appearance in the western counties of Alabama, the "champion cotton State" of the South.

The physical history of the eastern continents has demonstrated that, where the productions of the soil have been reduced to deciduous (or "annual") plants, neither remoteness from the equator nor the neighborhood of the ocean can secure a country against the fate of northern Africa—the utter and permanent extinction of organic life. The desolation of the central regions of a continent is only observed where such districts are formed by table-lands of considerable elevation, as in Utah, northern Mexico, and Turkistan. The midland plains of South America and the birth-land of the Nile are covered with a luxuriant vegetation, while the Sahara borders on the very ocean for more than fifteen hundred miles, and Arabia, with eighty-five per cent. of desert surface, is surrounded by four seas. The highlands of northern Tartary rival those of Dakota in barrenness as well as in the severity of their winter climate, and Europe as well as South America contains many dreary wastes at a great distance from the equator ; while the equator itself, in its range through two continents and three large islands, does not touch a single desert nor any country that ever suffered from a scarcity of water.

It would be a mistake, then, to suppose that any region inclines to aridity on account of its latitude or its distance from the sea. A natural tendency of that kind, or rather an inability to withstand the ravages of man for any length of time, can only be ascribed to extensive table-lands of an elevation exceeding three thousand feet, and remote from any higher and snow-covered mountain range. Vast lowland plains may preserve their productiveness under very trying circumstances, as we see in Russia, China, and southern India—countries that have been under cultivation for more than fifteen centuries ; but the only regions which seem absolutely proof against any outrages on their fertility are the alluvial estuaries and deltas of larger rivers, and valleys at the foot of mountain ranges which lift their summits above the line of eternal snow. No such mountains are found east of the Mississippi, and the glaciers and

perennial snow fields of the West are restricted to a few isolated peaks; but of alluvial bottom lands, replenished by inexhaustible rivers, we own about forty thousand square miles, at the mouth of the Mississippi and its southern tributaries and in the swamps of the Gulf coasts, whose inhabitants, like those of the lower Amazon Valley, may violate every law of agricultural economy to their hearts' content; they will never exhaust the cornucopia of the river god, who will continue to lavish his abundance on them, as he has lavished it on Egypt, in spite of all they can do to abuse his bounty —though these exceptional privileges may be offset by the unhealthiness of their luxurious marshes. But the vast majority of our population, the dwellers of the Western plains and the hill countries of the East and North, enjoy their prosperity on terms which, however easy to the strict observer, and seemingly pliant to altered conditions, are in reality as inexorable as the laws of health.

In a country like ours, where government interference is almost sure to make a reform unpopular, and where, happily, the enforcement of unpopular laws is still impossible, the success of every legislative innovation depends on the degree in which the public's opinion of its usefulness has approached to conviction; and I believe that, in regard to the necessity of forest laws, as the Austrians call them, this condition will be attained by the following provisional measures:

1. In every township, or smaller subdivision of a county or parish, where the disappearance of arboreal vegetation begins to affect the perennial springs and watercourses or the fertility of the fields, let a space of, say, fifty acres, on a hill if possible, or on ground of comparative elevation, be appropriated for a "township grove," an oasis to be forever consecrated to shade-trees, birds' nests, picnics, and playing children.

2. In all new settlements, and in the mountain regions of the older States where a remnant of the primeval forests has survived, let the woods on the upper ridges or on the summits of isolated hills be spared by mutual agreement of the proprietors. By eliminating decaying trees and cultivating the aftergrowth, such forest reservations may become directly remunerative, especially in districts where timber and firewood are as scarce as they are sure to be in all our central States before the end of this century.

3. In the treeless regions of the "Great West," not only amateur societies (which have set a good example in Kansas and Iowa, and in the Southwest here and there), but every grange and farm-

ers' union of every county should devote themselves to the worl of tree-culture. Let them form oak-, beech-, and pine-tree associ ations, organize rival forest clubs under attractive names, offe prizes for the greatest number of shade-trees of five or more inche in diameter raised by any planter, celebrate the return of spring b grove festivals after the manner of the ancient Assyrians, or try th device of Pastor Oberlin, who created a paradise in a dreary valle of the upper Moselle, by instructing parents to plant a hatful o chestnuts or cherry kernels at the birth of every child, which i became the duty and the privilege of the little citizen to cultivate.

4. Let every landed proprietor see to it that the balks or boun daries of his estates, and the unplowed ridges between the sub divisions, be set with shade-trees, and that wooden fences be eithe supplanted or reënforced by quickset hedges.

5. Plant fruit-trees wherever there is a piece of ground neithe otherwise occupied nor absolutely barren; and be sure that thei influence on the atmosphere in summer and their fertilizing leave in fall will more than indemnify the adjoining fields for the modi cum of sunlight they may intercept.

Any State, nay, any county, where these precautions should b generally adopted, would soon be so unmistakably distinguished b the unfailing humidity and freshness of its fields and the abun dance of its crops, that the sheer necessity of competition woul induce backward neighbors to try the same experiment; and befor long the maxim would not only be generally recognized, but gene ally acted upon, that husbandry and tree-culture are inseparable.

But the interest we should take in the preservation of our wood might rest on even a broader basis than their agricultural impor tance. That man was not created in a desert, nor in a cotton fiel or a city, but in a forest, is one of the few points in which Mose and Darwin agree; and, with our forests, we would lose their health giving atmosphere, the music of their song-birds, the purest enjoy ments of our early years, and nature's remedy for the mental dis cords of manhood. Woods are the native life-element of the huma race; and a homesickness, an instinctive yearning after the garde home of our forefathers, haunts the nomad of the desert as well a the inhabitant of luxurious cities.

"If a future Messiah should appear among us," says Gotthol Lessing, "ask him what he can do to restore our lost earthly para dise, and let that be the test of his divine authority." But a para dise is much easier lost than restored. Nature, instead of healin

orrupt civilizations, prefers to civilize healthy barbarians ; and the ildest wilderness of the backwoods has a better chance to be im- roved into a garden than the desolate remnants of the finest East- n garden to be restored to vitality. Lands as well as their nations em subject to chronic diseases ; and, if the "baldness of a country" not a cureless evil, the geographical records of the Old World at ast prove nothing to the contrary. From Bokhara to Gibraltar ie progress of that disease has been toward death—toward the total isappearance of organic life ; and the present productiveness of our ost favored regions is no safeguard against the possibility of such fate.

Even now, though exposed to the blighting influence of sur- ounding deserts, some districts of Turkish Asia and southeastern urope can rival the garden spots of the Western World ; but of ie fertility of their golden age neither the valley of the San Joa- uin nor the "Piedmont" counties of North Carolina can give us ore than a faint conception. In Assyria and the central provinces Asia Minor, where water is now as scarce as in the eternal man- on of Dives, the humidity of the soil, combined with a sunny imate, once produced grain crops, flowers, and fruit-trees in a uperabundance which could astonish even the children of Israel, ho had become familiar with the bottom lands of Egypt, and, even the latter centuries of the Roman Empire, could lure the Italian agnates from their luxurious villas. Pliny, Hadrian, Marcus urelius, Alexander Severus, and others frequented the Elysian lleys of Smyrna and Antioch, much as a Massachusetts Senator ight rusticate in Chattanooga or Los Angeles ; and the Emperor arus, who marched against the Parthian invaders, A. D. 162, was charmed by the mountain gardens of Daphne that, like Tasso's inaldo in his *dolce prigione*, he forgot his army, empire, and all, id rusticated away, while his generals were battling in distant esopotamia. Two centuries after the birth of Christ, and after e hordes of Persia and Arabia and the legions of Rome had rav- ged this garden for more than a thousand years, Asia Minor still ntained forty-five cities whose population exceeded a hundred thou- nd each ; and the total number of her inhabitants, variously esti- ated from fifty-five million to twice that number, certainly exceed- l the present population of the North American Continent. The recian settlements, which occupied only a narrow strip along the estern coast, were more populous than the entire Asiatic empire Turkey in its present extent, and Mesopotamia sustained more

human beings to the square mile than the south of modern Englan or the factory districts of Belgium. What land of the New Worl is safe, if such a country could become a desert?

The least regard for the welfare of our children might teach u to attach a stigma to the wanton destruction of forests which eve the invader of a hostile country would hesitate to incur. No othe sin is so relentlessly visited upon posterity. The children of th poor Spanish peasant have to starve because their forefathers devas tated the Sierras, and "preferred the cultus of the Virgin to th culture of the fruit-trees," as Guiccardini maliciously expresses it and unborn generations may labor in vain to repair the ruin whic we might now prevent by such simple precautions. If we admi that "he is a benefactor of mankind who makes two blades of gras grow where only one grew before," we can hardly fail to recogniz the turpitude of an act which has entailed incurable sterility o regions which once furnished the means of life and happiness t millions of human beings. Like the destruction of cereals, it migh be called a *crimen in Deam*, a crime against the sanctity of our al sustaining Mother Earth.

If we consider how the agricultural products of the easter continents become from year to year more inadequate to the want of their still growing population, we may foresee the time when th hope of the world will depend on the productiveness of the Amer can soil; but that productiveness depends on the fertilizing influ ence of the American forests. If they are gone, we shall have o earth no newer world to hope for; no future Columbus can allev ate the struggle for existence; "we must fight it out on this line."

"What an opportunity to recover!" exclaims Baron Varnhage —"to recover from all our physical, financial, and political disease in that broad continent of woodlands and of freedom! What blessed and lasting chance to heal all the wounds and retrieve all th losses which the cruel Old World and the mistakes of the las eighteen centuries have inflicted upon us!"

Let us make the best, then, of this opportunity to recover; fo while the fate of Asia Minor makes it rather doubtful if the chanc will be a *lasting* one, it is distressingly probable that it will be ou *last.*

FELIX L. OSWALD.

V.

THE "SOLID SOUTH."

I.

The "Solid South" is a reaction against proscription, attended by misgovernment, and a protest against the ever-recurring menace of Federal interference.

There are many ways of punishing a people, just as there are many kinds of arbitrary power. The old methods have for the most part grown obsolete. It was left for the leaders of the Republican party, having confiscated more property and impoverished more non-combatants than were ever before submitted to the hazards of war, to invent a new process in the art of inflicting popular pains and penalties—that of freeing the slave and enslaving the free on the side of the vanquished. Nor was this all; for, adding insult to injury, it was done on the assumption that the class enslaved, unfit to govern or to be trusted, was at once treacherous and cruel; it was done, and its succeeding enormities have been justified, in the name of philanthropy, patriotism, and liberty, and in terms at once complacent and unfeeling.

It did not last because it could not last. With the overthrow of responsible governments, there came disorders, and, as a consequence of these, the destruction of material prosperity. Ruin in the South threatened ruin at the North. The party which wrought the mischief was unable to maintain itself in its mischief. It lost its footing therefore, slowly but surely, until, twice driven from power in the lower House of Congress, it is about to lose possession of the Upper. To this conclusion the "Solid South," united by proscription, has indeed played a most important part; but it has been a part assigned to it by the Republican leaders themselves. The South is simply what the Republican party has made it. Failing to destroy by reconstruction, failing to divide by misrepresentations,

threats, and hard words, the policy now is to make the solidity of self-defense the pretext for a "Solid North," and to accomplish at last what was designed at first, the perpetual ascendancy of sectional passions.

To this end the politicians and the journalists of the Republican party have set themselves the task of educating the Northern mind; and no occasion is missed for establishing and enforcing the assumptions on which the native white people of the South are to be subverted: that they are lawless in practice and disloyal at heart; that they hate the blacks and seek to disfranchise them; that they actually do suppress all liberty of speech and action; and, finally, that if the whole power of the North is not consolidated to check their progress, they will presently control the Government, overthrow the national credit, and disgrace the national honor. These are mere sectional and partisan assumptions, which, if true, bode no good for the future of the Republic. But they are persisted in all along the Republican line with an ardor which never loses its self-glorifying righteousness, and a painstaking zeal in the fabrication of examples worthy the fanatical times of religious persecution. Every utterance which can be misquoted or misconceived is tortured into treason. Every fisticuff is elevated to the dignity of rebellion. Everything, in short, that passes in the South is wrested from its surroundings, and lugged off Northward to do duty as an informer against the humanity and opinions of the Southern people, to whom are assigned baser motives and a different standard of morality than prevail at the North. Thus tittle-tattle, hitherto employed by mischief-makers in the poor service of private pique, has got a promotion, has become a Government agent, and ranks as one of the forces in our public life.

As far as the authors of this policy are concerned, it is useless for the South to offer so much as a plea in its own behalf. Like Sydney Smith's old women who quarreled across an alley, the two can never agree because they argue from opposite premises. Nay, the premise set up by the Republicans was constructed in order that there might be no possible agreement. It may be fairly doubted whether the abject submission of the Southern mind to the dictation of the extremest Republican leader, selected for the purpose, would exempt the South from the reproaches of the Republican party and the defamation of the Republican press, or secure that internal freedom from Federal tampering which is so necessary, not only to its domestic peace, but to its progress in good works and arts.

II.

It is given out, apparently by authority, that the President has no idea of joining the stalwarts of his party in this new crusade against the South, but that, confessing a certain disappointment in the reception accorded his conciliatory policy by the Southern people, he will proceed without malignance upon the line of his duty, executing the Federal laws with rigorous impartiality.

Assuredly, no one can complain of such a course, carried out in good faith. But everybody knows that, as a rule, there is considerable divergence between the professions and performances of men in great place; and, as the relation of the South to the Government is still sufficiently equivocal to tempt partisans to rush in where statesmen dare not tread, and, moreover, as partisan legislation has furnished machinery to that very end, thoughtful people may well regard the position assumed by the President as lacking in specification, and therefore to be accepted with allowance, if not with anxiety. For example, the President need not say that in withdrawing the troops from the South he merely accepted the situation, carrying out the plan already agreed upon by his predecessor. Again, he might well spare himself the trouble of mentioning that, even if he desired to undo what he has done, he could not. Suggestions of this kind are presumptuous and misleading. They are unworthy to come from the Chief Magistrate of a great and united country, who is conscious of having done his duty by the whole people. They smell of the old leaven of sectional bigotry, and make one doubt whether the official who permits such expressions to escape him is capable of executing the Federal laws, designed in the first place for party service, impartially in the South.

An election never occurs, North or South, but that on the side of the defeated there is plenty of outcry. Perhaps too often there is plenty of reason for outcry. If the foundations of this, true or false, are to be carefully collected by hostile agents appointed at Washington for the purpose, how shall we hope ever to be rid of the sources of sectional strife? There will never be a party in power which will not use the machine made to its hand. There will never be an election in which it may not be used. It is the machine itself, and the President's unquestionable application of it, which constitute the danger; and, as he declares himself disappointed in the Southern people, it can hardly be hoped that he will not give his ear rather to the adventurers who run to him with wild stories

than to the less enterprising and demonstrative elements of society, which recognize neither his paternity nor his right of surveillance.

For why should he be disappointed in the South? He came among us, and we treated him as a President and a gentleman should be treated. Did he expect us to break up our party connections and relations and join his party, or unite with him in making a new party? What has happened in the South the last twelve months which has not happened in the North? We have reached the millennium in neither section. In both there are disorders and violence; the strong are unjust; the weak are trod upon; and good men are not always able to quell bad men. But is this situation to be mended by renewing sectional bickerings, and throwing into the flame of evil, which always burns, the combustible materials of partisan interest and malice?

The principle of home rule has not yet been denied by any responsible American authority. By the operations of the administrative policy its practice was restored in the South. The President claims that in restoring it he only did his duty, which is true, and in which event party payment should not be asked. Undoubtedly beneficent results have followed. Undoubtedly beneficent results will continue to follow. The partisan solidarity of the South is referable, not to unfair elections, but primarily to the courses pursued respectively by the Republican and Democratic parties of the North. The one has been friendly; the other has been proscriptive and unfriendly. The South, on the issues of the last few years, is Democratic, and for good reason. It would be strange if it were not. It is the effort to array the North against us on a line of proscription, simply because we have resisted and do resist proscription, which seems unreasonable, and which we contest. At this time there is, practically, no Republican party in the South to contest elections with the Democrats. In South Carolina and Louisiana, where it subsisted by military sufferance, and was represented by armed encampments, the withdrawal of the troops left it without a reason for continued existence. It fell to pieces literally by its own rottenness. In Louisiana, at the recent election, its remnants united themselves with the wildest rag-money lunatics; in South Carolina there was not enough left of it to put a ticket in the field. Yet the Republican press of the North, taking the old set of bankrupt vagabonds and jail-birds for their witnesses, are shrieking for "a free ballot," and pointing to Democratic majorities in South Carolina, where there was no Republican organization, as

proof of foul play. And because the people of the South dare to defend themselves, they are denounced *en masse* as traitors to liberty and humanity, whose chief delight is "bulldozing" and ballot-box-stuffing.

Against this unfair and illiberal dealing the South protests, and the protest is universal, embracing all the responsible elements of life. There is thus a real difference between a "Solid South" and a "Solid North." The South is "solid" in its own defense. The Republican leaders would have the North "solid" in continued pursuit and persecution of the South. At this rate we should never have any peace, never have any sectional repose, never have any national prosperity and glory in which all might share; but we should go on forever, criminating and recriminating, steadily impairing the public credit, ultimately to close the account in bankruptcy, repudiation, anarchy, and despotism.

To this feast the sectional policy of the Republicans invites us. That policy is not only aggressive, but is based upon an assumption which, if it be true, means the overthrow of republicanism—the incapacity of the people of the South for self-government.

III.

The people of the South are nothing if not sentimental. Climatic influences have, of course, had much to do with this idiosyncratic feature of Southern life; but it is also the offspring of conditions equally potent: the institution of slavery, which built up great homesteads and homestead affections, for one; a leisurely, isolated, provincial existence, affording the opportunity and the means for the equivocal culture of the voluptuary, not the severe training of the schools, for another; a traditionary reverence for England and things English, an inherited love of old English literature, a belief in the social, domestic, and political system of England, or rather in a mistaken conception of that system, for a third. The Southern lad who has been educated at home knows a little Latin, less Greek, and a great deal of English; his repertory embracing a mass of crude knowledge, sometimes familiar, sometimes useless, but always engaging, crowded in between Addison and Swift and Hallam and Macaulay. Of mathematics he is almost as ignorant as of Greek; and, with a store of what, for the want of a better term, the world agrees in calling *polite* learning, lacking not in readiness, he lacks accuracy, the source and resource of modern thought and action. He is thus, in the materialistic debates of a

thoroughly materialized generation, an ill match for the cool and wary disputant, who throws rhetoric to the dogs and plies the heartless logic of statistics.

The whirligig of time, come at last to the aid of the North, has brought in its revenges. For fifty years, during the bucolic period of the republic, the South sent its best men into public life, the North its worst. The Southern statesman may not have been always a planter or even a rich man; but, when he was not, he still sprang from the dominant class, and was a conservative. In a sparsely settled agricultural community, yielding to the foremost talent, professional incomes necessarily small, a seat in Congress was, in dollars and cents, as lucrative employment as was to be had. To him whose fortune made him independent of venal considerations, the place itself was sufficiently tempting. So the South never wanted for efficient representatives: men in full sympathy with the spirit of the age; men adequate to all the exigencies of the time; good judges of constitutional law, though poor judges of facts and figures, which did not happen to rule; good declaimers and debaters upon the theoretic topics which arose out of an angry sectional controversy. The North, on the other hand, in many instances, sent her lackeys to Congress. Her rising merchants, lawyers—citizens of real worth and mark—could seldom afford to abandon great and paying enterprises, to give up richly rewarded professional pursuits, to struggle for political preferment, which not only demanded sacrifices, but required the exercise of low arts and imposed the contamination of vulgar association. With rare exceptions they staid at home. The scrub who could scuffle, the pettifogger who might not get a practice but who could serve a corporation, went to Washington; and these were unable to cope with the gentlemen of the South either in honesty or in capacity. To be sure, there were many notable exceptions. When Tom Marshall stumbled upon John Quincy Adams in the House—when Hayne shied an unwary lance at Webster in the Senate—the force of the whole culture upon half culture showed itself, to the discomfiture of two men of real genius. But such scenes were rare. The rule was that the Southerner came off victor in most of the fights and got most of the glory; and for the reason given, and no other.

Times have changed; conditions are reversed. Beneath this illusory stream of glory a steady undercurrent ran. A conspicuous Southern statesman, Mr. Toombs of Georgia, recently boasted that during eighteen years' service in Congress he had never obtained a

dollar for his district. His Northern colleagues were neither so sublimated nor so squeamish. While he declaimed they manœuvred: a light-house here, a custom-house there; to-day a railway subsidy, to-morrow a river improvement; fat cuts in all the general appropriation bills; land grants and water grants, year in and year out, from one session to another. Truly, the Southerner had to pay dearly for his glory! Finally the war came, and, the North equipped, the South without equipment—a victim to misleading theories and calculations, each of which in its order came to grief—the issue was simply that of force against force, and, as discerning men on both sides saw at least a year before the close of it, there could be but one result.

IV.

The overthrow of the Confederacy verified the predictions and vindicated the opinions of the conservative intelligence of the South, which had opposed disunion, and was dragged into the secession movement by the violence of the times. It also produced an element previously unknown in the South—a bright, active, self-reliant young manhood, educated in the rude school of war. Since 1865 the Republican party has done what it could to debauch and destroy these germs of a new and sound political life; and if it has not quite succeeded, its failure has been due rather to the strength of the germs than to any lack of tormenting ingenuity in its methods. I shall not burden this hasty *résumé* with a recital of the nagging which divided time with the muddling, throughout the short-sighted treatment bestowed upon the Southern people and the Southern question by the Republican leaders. It is sufficient to say that the charge of exceptional hostility to the negro rests mainly upon devices brought about to produce antagonism and to prevent an honest understanding and coöperation between the native races, and that the cackle about "social ostracism" rests upon no foundation worthy of respectful consideration.

The wonder is, not that there has been so much bloodshed at the South, but that, under the circumstances, there has been so little. But, much or little, the country at large can look with hope only to domestic forces for improved conditions. Outside political pressure tends but to inflame. Administrative meddling begets conflicts of jurisdiction in the courts, State and national; between the two stools, justice falls to the ground and malefactors make their escape. He is a poor judge of human nature, or else very

ignorant of the Southern character, who does not know that the well-being of the negro must originate at home; most certainly it can not be shaped or hastened by missionaries carrying banners on which sectional and partisan inscriptions, carefully worded to convey the greatest possible offense to the native white population, are emblazoned. The negro is placable and kindly—the fortunate possessor of a sweet, loving, and generous nature. He is yet half a savage. His future is shrouded in mists which are not very penetrable. A free man, a citizen, a voter, he should be left to work out his destiny —a hard one at best—in his own way. Rescued from the agitation of which he has been the victim, he is likely to grow in grace and good works; to educate himself and to be educated, slowly of course; to be useful, contented, and happy; perhaps to develop, with increasing aspiration and advancing civilization, faculties now merely susceptible and imitative into forces of which he does not dream. But, employed for party service as he was employed for domestic service, he is a devil incarnate; a barbarian, useful to the basest purposes; the easy prey of the vilest. No true friend of his but would take him out of politics as a factor or leading issue. Handled for ten years as an instrument of torture and pillage by unscrupulous camp-followers who remained in the South to rob the dead and dying left by braver and better men upon the field, the time may come when he will compose the Tenth Legion in the Army of Repudiation, already mustering in the North, to sweep down upon New England, with New England's own battle-cries in his mouth and the reflection of hell itself in his eyes. Better, far better, leave him where he stands, to be "bulldozed," if you please, into voting the Democratic ticket, than attach him again to the fortunes of a corrupt and heartless body of mercenaries, having no local interest or ties, to be used by them for incendiary purposes. Better, far better, leave him to his fate with the conservative intelligence of the South, which comprehends his peculiarities and sympathizes with his real wants and needs, than have him trained and sharpened for efficient service in future agrarian movements.

It is absurd, if not monstrous, to suppose that he can ever govern in the South, or anywhere else. The scheme to force his ascendancy is merely a job to transfer Tweedism from the North to the South, and to multiply the Tweeds in the fancied interest of the Republican party. The negro is a creature of circumstance, easily led. He voted the Republican ticket while there was a Freedman's Bureau to serve him rations, while there were promises of "forty

acres and a mule" to lure him into camp, while Republicanism seemed synonymous with the glittering paraphernalia and the power of the armies he had seen sweep over the country. These withdrawn, he fell under the ordinary domestic influences, and is to-day voting the Democratic ticket with the cheerful adaptability of his nature. He is at least out of harm's way. He is beginning to depend less upon the Government and more upon himself. In his person and property he is as safe as a man, ignorant and poor, can be. A true philanthropy, whose first duty is to advise itself, would see the wisdom of letting well enough alone. Nobody pretends that the condition of the negro is an enviable one. It is only affirmed that it is better than it was under his old or his new master, the planter or the carpet-bagger; and that his future can not be improved by going back for counsels or practices into the period of reconstruction.

In its organized capacity, neither party cares anything for the negro. Each would enslave him to its uses. But there is in the South, as there can not be in the North, a humanity which is not partisan, born of old ties and associations, common griefs, fellow feeling, which link the homestead and the cabin, not perhaps by hooks of steel, but by "the mystic chords of memory" which stretch across the chasm between the present and the past. To this humanity, and to it alone, the destiny of the negro may be safely intrusted. If *it* does not educate and elevate him, the fault will be his, and not its want of interest and effort. The Republican party has done much to stamp this out; but, thank God, it is not yet extinct!

V.

In these random notes upon the "Solid South," I have attempted to give, in a suggestive way, the case of the Southern people against the Republican leaders, with some reference to their case for themselves; and by the term "Southern people" I mean, distinctly, the responsible classes, on whom the Government and the Northern people must rely, if the rule of the bayonet is not to be restored; the native white population as distinguished from the irresponsible, entirely ignorant, and helpless blacks, who, having no volition of their own, must and will be controlled, either in the home interest by those who represent it, or in the rotten-borough interest by partisan agents sent down to usurp the honest and beneficent functions of home rule. I have charged that the Republican

party, which for ten years had sole custody of the Government, ignored all that was good and cultivated all that was bad in the South. I have hinted that there are people in the South who, "forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before," not only love their country, and are loyal to all that should constitute its greatness and pride, but entertain sound opinions upon the material issues which press upon our day and generation. My conclusion is that, if the Republican policy of meddling and muddling, of nagging and double-dealing, continues, it will at length complete the demoralization which it has only half accomplished; that it will loosen the South from its conservative moorings; and that, when the unlucky moment comes, instead of a reservoir of wholesome ideas, we shall find the South a magazine of combustibles, ready to be used by adventurers and charlatans.

The circumstances attending the last Presidential election put a serious strain upon our elective system, and it was the South which saved the country from civil strife and secured the peaceful settlement of a most dangerous issue. It is the South to-day, the "Solid South," to which the friends of social order and honest money will have to look for reënforcements when the tug of war is really at hand. How shall they fare if, in the mean time having leveled suffrage in the South to the low standard of suffrage at the North —yea, to a lower—having elevated ignorance into a power, and employed this power to prostrate and debauch the intelligence which could only organize and direct it for good—they find the South detached from its fixed principles, a monster without a head, broken into worthless cliques and ripe for political adventures?

Be it remembered that this cry about the "Solid South" and a "Solid North" is but an echo, after all. The country had four years of a "Solid South" against a "Solid North." Each side spoke its mind freely out of the cannon's mouth; the declamation was vociferous, the rhetoric was magnificent, the argument was conclusive. Good men on both sides, satisfied with the result, wish to forget the unhappy events which led to it. Is it possible that any wise man can believe that continuous debate on the old sectional lines can bring us nearer to a happy consummation of the questions in dispute?

But the Republican leaders say: "We don't want to do this; it is you. Cease to mistreat the negro, learn to love your country, guarantee the security of life and property and freedom of speech:

that is all we ask, and, by all the gods of a solid North! this we mean to have."

In reply, the South, conceiving itself a peer and not a vassal, might say: "What right have you to use such language? The assumption on which you base it is false. The spirit in which it is delivered is born of cowardice and cant. You seek no peace. You care nothing for the negro. Freedom of speech, and the security of life and property, are the last things which you would have established in the South. Your aim is continued disturbance, on which you hope to trade and derive a profit. Your game is to goad us into the imprudent utterances of outraged manhood. For years you legislated against us. For years you have maligned us. You lose no opportunity to insult us. Well, if the North can stand it, the South can. The present generation of Southern men is not responsible for slavery or the war of secession. Nearly all of the active leaders of the South were obscure young men when the war began. The leaders who are coming on were in their cradles. In all that constitutes good government, the government of the people, we are equally interested with you. In private virtues, as in public spirit and in public virtue, we claim to be at least your peers. As for you—the radical leaders of the Republican party, who would rekindle the smoldering fires of an almost extinguished sectional fury to gain a partisan victory—we make no disguise of our feeling toward you; we detest and distrust you: detest you for your mean pursuit of us; distrust you for your hypocrisy and corruption. You alone, among Americans, have caused the cheek of honest Americans to blush for their country in every part of the world. You alone, mountebanks and malignants that you are, have driven our flag from the seas, to convert it on the land into a drop-curtain to conceal your machinations against the liberty and peace, the prosperity and fair good name of a section of your countrymen, sprung from the same origin as yourselves, and having an equal right to share with you the glorious achievements and the birthright of our fathers. If you are able to drag your neighbors, a majority of the good people of the North, down to your baseness, to poison their very blood with lies, and to array them 'solid' against us on the line of an insincere, proscriptive charlatanism, so be it. We wash our hands of the consequences. Degrade ourselves by alliance with you, contaminate ourselves by intriguing with you—that we will not do, because you have exhausted the resources of human forgiveness by transcending the limits set upon

human endurance. In seeking to dishonor us, you have dishonored yourselves; and, though death and the devil stood at the door, we'll none of you!"

The South might say this, and more; and, in moments of exasperation, many an honest, liberal Southern man, who entertains opinions and sentiments and sympathies with the foremost thinkers of the North, has been tempted to say it. I am sure that he does not live, if in a discourse of this sort one may be allowed a personal reference, who more thoroughly respects the character and polity of New England than I do; who warms more heartily to her prowess, her courage, and her geniality; who has a kindlier laugh for her grotesquerie; who is freer of prejudices against her, having indeed none except such as favor her, and would elevate her munificence, her culture, and her thrift into examples to be constantly set before the ill-taught, the half-taught, the indolent, spendthrift, and impoverished South. And yet, speaking to the radical leaders in question, and to them alone, I do make bold to reiterate the words I have written down and to hold them true; and, sure of the intelligence and candor of the average Northern audience, and fearing not to disturb the ghostly back numbers of the "North American Review" by recording them in these pages, I should be surest of all in Faneuil Hall itself!

The Republican party is a sectionalist. It has done what it could to create the "Solid South" in order that it might compel a "Solid North." At length it has the appearance of the desired array of sectional forces. The effect upon parties affords pretty and timely speculation for the newspapers. The result, for the people at large, may be foretold by any thoughtful person; for vicious agitation leads inevitably to loss of business, public confidence, and credit, opens the way for corrupt enginery and adventurers, and, in the end, threatens the demolition of either liberty or property, and oftenest of both.

HENRY WATTERSON.

VI.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE.

In a previous paper we have given a rapid glance at the relation of modern Italian to ancient Latin. In further illustration of this subject we now propose to consider what was the probable pronunciation of the ancients, as far as it is indicated in their literature. This question has been much mooted of late, and deserves careful consideration. Hitherto each nation has assumed the right to pronounce Latin according to the rules and intonations of its own language. This, however, is as preposterous as if we were to insist on pronouncing French or Italian as if it were English. In Germany, Latin becomes German; in France, French; in England, English. Of all these, certainly the worst and the least defensible, at least so far as the vowels are concerned, is the English pronunciation; and probably the worst, so far as the consonants are concerned, is the German. Of late a considerable interest has been aroused on this question, especially in England; but it is to be regretted that, without apparently any very deep study of the subject, England proposes to follow the lead of Germany and adopt her pronunciation. At a conference of the head masters of schools in England held in 1871, the system of Latin pronunciation prevalent in England was declared to be unsatisfactory, and the Latin professors of Oxford and Cambridge were requested to draw up and issue a joint paper, to secure uniformity in any change contemplated. Complying with this request, a syllabus was drawn up and published by Mr. Edwin Palmer and Mr. H. A. J. Munro, recommending an entire change of pronunciation; and these changes we now propose to consider.

First, as to the vowels. There can scarcely be a question that at present all of these are pronounced incorrectly in English. Though we have all the vowel sounds, yet each vowel or character

is differently sounded from that of any other nation. Our flat *a* is the Italian *e;* our *e* is their *i;* our *o* is different from their *o;* our *i* is not a vowel at all, but a diphthong, with the double sound of *a* broad and *e;* our *u* (when not pronounced as *oo*) is also a diphthong, or combination of *e* and *oo*.

The first rule given in this Oxford and Cambridge syllabus is that "*ā*" should be pronounced "as the accentuated Italian *a*, as in the middle *a* of *amata*, or as the *a* of *father;* *ă* as the unaccentuated Italian *a*, that is, as the first and last *a* of *amata*. It is not easy to represent this sound in English; we know nothing better than the first *a* in *away, apart, aha.*"

Now, with all due deference be it said, there is no such sound of *a* in Italian as in the initial letter *away* or *apart;* *a* has always the same sound as in *father*, and never the light, flying sound of the first *a* in *away*. This is one of the mistakes by which an Englishman is always recognized in speaking Italian. The three *a*'s in *amata* have all the same sound. The only difference is, that there is the stress or accent on the second.

The third rule is: "*ī* as accentuated Italian *i*, as the first *i* of *timidi*, or the *i* of *machine;* *ĭ* as unaccentuated Italian *i*, i. e., as the last two *i*'s of *timidi*, or the *i* of *pity.*" Again we have to make the same comment. The three *i*'s in *timidi* are precisely alike in Italian, and there is no such sound as the light *i* in *pity*, as any one may prove by asking an Italian to pronounce this word. He always says *eat* for *it*, and *peety* for *pity*, in speaking *Æengleesh.*

The pronunciation of *o* is correctly given in the syllabus according to Italian. The pronunciation of *u* is given thus: "*ū* as accentuated Italian *u*, as the first *u* in *tumulo*, the second of *tumulto*, or as *u* in *rule* or *lure;* *ŭ* as unaccentuated Italian *u*, as the second *u* in *tumulo*, the first in *tumulto*, the *u* of *fruition.*" To this we have to observe that the *u* in Italian is always like our *oo* in *moon.* The two *u*'s in *tumulo* have exactly the same sound.

These are, however, but slight differences, about which little need be said. The rules are, if not absolutely accurate, sufficiently so to serve all common purposes. Where we must differ more seriously and decidedly is in respect to the proposed pronunciation to be given to certain consonants, and these we shall discuss more at length. For the most part, although in the preliminary remarks it is admitted that the Italian pronunciation is probably the most proximate to that of the ancients, in point of fact the German rule is followed, and especially in the *g*, the *c*, and the *v*.

As far as scholarship is concerned, there can be no question that great deference is due to the erudition and critical acumen of the Germans. They are eminent as philologists, and in their commentaries and criticism they stand in the highest rank. The debt we owe them for their laborious and discriminating elucidations of the text of ancient authors is very great. But in their pronunciation of foreign languages the Germans are singularly inapt and without discrimination. In their utterance they confuse, confound, and mispronounce more than half the consonants, seeming incapable of distinguishing between them to an extent which is found in no other nation. It is this defect of ear and utterance which renders them very unsafe guides in matters of pronunciation. So remarkable is this peculiarity, that one has only to confound and mispronounce the consonants of any language in order to imitate the utterance of a German. The Germans unconsciously transpose, without apparently recognizing any real difference, *b* with *p*, *d* with *t* and *th*, *g* with *c* and *qu*, *j* with *ch* and *g*, *f* with *v*, *s* with *z*. You have only to dransboze dese ledders, ant you have de sbeech of a Chairman—in garigachure. This is equally the case in their pronunciation of Italian, French, and Spanish. It is rare to find a German who can distinctly say the simple words, "Bon jour, madame," without changing three of the consonants—*Pon chour, matame.* The pronunciation of Latin by the Germans was formerly considered barbarous, as will plainly appear from the following accredited fragment of history: In 1482 ambassadors from the Pope were sent to Germany, to whom the Chancellor of the University of Tübingen was deputed to return answer. But his pronunciation was so barbarous as to be nearly unintelligible, and the duty was thereupon transferred to Reuchlin, on the ground that he could at least make himself understood, and had a "sonum pronuntiationis minus horridum." And in the sixteenth century, at Würtemberg, regulations were issued ordering that those whose German mouths could not pronounce all the letters were not to be immediately beaten or dragged by the hair!

The pronunciation of Latin by the Italians, though it is probably incorrect in some particulars, would certainly seem to afford the best general rule to follow. Indeed, it would be difficult to find any satisfactory reason to support a contrary opinion. They are the descendants of the ancient Romans—with much intermixture of foreign blood, undoubtedly, but still the nearest in line of all nations. The language has varied, grown, developed, and assumed

new forms; but it has probably changed less in their mouths than in that of foreigners, of whatever clime and speech. It has been the constant utterance, even in its original form, in the Church, from the earliest days of Christianity. It has been employed constantly, as not only a written but a spoken language. Until 1870 it was the documentary language employed in the highest court of law in Rome; it still continues to be used in papal allocutions, and it was the recognized cosmopolitan language adopted by all bishops and representatives of the Church in the late Council. It has, therefore, a continuous line of living descent from the ancient days. Though in some respects, of which we shall have occasion to speak later, there appears to be strong ground to dispute their pronunciation, yet in general it would seem to approximate more closely to that of the ancients than that of any other people.

In the pronunciation of *c*, *g*, and *v*, the Italians differ entirely from the Germans. Before *e* and *i*, the *c* is pronounced by the Italians as our *ch* in *church* or *chest*, but by the Germans as *k*; and it is this latter pronunciation which is recommended by the syllabus of Cambridge and Oxford. They say, "*C always* as *K*; in Cicero facies, as well as Cacus."

In like manner, the Italians make the *g* soft before *e* and *i*, and hard before *a* and *o*, just as we do generally in English, as in *generation*, *ginger*, *gallant*, *got*. The Germans make it invariably hard, and the syllabus recommends this pronunciation: "*G* always as *g* in *get*, in *gero*, *gingiva*, *gyrus*, as well as *gaudeo*."

We cannot for various reasons think there is any sufficient warrant for such a statement. In the first place, the letter *C* is constantly found in old inscriptions, in Greek and Latin, as representing the letter *S* or Σ, which would have been quite unnecessary and misleading if it had the sound of the Greek kappa, or our *K*. Thus, to mention one of a thousand instances, the name of Sardanapalus is inscribed on a statue in the Vatican as *CAPΔANAΠALOC*. This would rather seem to indicate that the *C* was sounded like *S*. But there are other facts and words which more plainly point to the probability that the modern Italian pronunciation of *c* soft, before *e* and *i*, as in *chest*, conforms to that of the ancients. In many words *t* was used interchangeably with *c* before *e* and *i*, showing that the pronunciation of these letters in such positions must have been the same, or nearly the same, and therefore that *c* could not have been pronounced as *k*. Thus, solatium, convitium, suspitio, tribunitius, nuntius, conditio, among others, are often spelled sola-

cium, convicium, suspicio, tribunicius, nuncius, condicio. A still stronger evidence of this is to be found in the ancient names of persons. There would seem to be no safer method of determining the ancient pronunciation of letters than by a recurrence to the proper names in which they are to be found. Names alter little, if at all, for centuries. They are in constant use, and handed down in hundreds and thousands of families from one to another generation. The sound is constantly on the tongue and on the ear, and is subject naturally to less variation than in any other words. The first mispronunciation of it would be saluted with laughter. Even were the spelling lost, the pronunciation would remain. Now, among the ancient names *c* is constantly used interchangeably with *t*, showing that these two letters were in such cases nearly, if not exactly, equivalents in sound. Thus, among others, Marcia is sometimes spelled Martia ; Mucius, Mutius ; Neratius, Neracius ; Portia, Porcia. The *c* must, therefore, have had the soft Italian sound. Again, such names as Celsus, Caesar, Decius, Cincinnatus, Caecilia, Marcellus, Lucius, Lucia, Lucilla, Marcia, and many others of the same character, have always been in use in Italy. Is it possible to believe that the present pronunciation of these names in Italy, which have been in constant familiar use in hundreds of families for twenty centuries at least, is entirely false ? When did it suffer this change ? Why was it altered ? The syllabus would have us pronounce Cicero, Kikero. But the name of Cicero has always been a living name, familiar to every ear in Italy, and no one there ever heard it pronounced Kikero. It is alleged, as an argument in favor of this pronunciation, that it was spelled with the kappa, Κικερων, when written in Greek. But, supposing it were pronounced by the ancient Romans, as by the moderns, Chichero, how were the Greeks with their alphabet to represent this sound ? They had no letter with which to spell it nearer than *kappa*. The *chi* was a deep guttural, the *kappa* was the soft *k ;* they had no other letter, and they took the one nearest to it. And, still more, do we know what was the exact sound of the Greek *kappa ?* The same reasons also apply to the Greek spelling of all similar names, such as Caesar and Celsus. In fact, when we find Caius spelled Γαιος, one is tempted to ask why the Γ is here used instead of the *kappa*, if the *kappa* had the sound we suppose of our own *k ?*

In like manner, in all ancient names of persons and places in which *g* occurs before *e* and *i*, it is pronounced soft by the Italians, and this affords one of the strongest proofs that it was so pro-

nounced by the Latins. As examples of this, among many others, may be cited Virginia, Virginio, Girgente, Egisto, Virgilio, Eugenio, Gemma, and Gelasio. Not only the Italians give this soft sound, which still adheres to these words even in English, but there is not one of the Romance nations by whom it is pronounced hard. The Spaniards aspirate it, and between French and Italians there is but a shade of difference, it being softer in French, and having a slight sound of the *z*. No one pronounces it hard, like *g* in English *get*. Again, not only in names, but in almost if not all other words of Latin derivation, in which *g* precedes *e* and *i*, it has the same soft pronunciation. Gentilis is gentil in French, gentle in English, and gentile in Italian. So also genius, gemma, generatio, germen, gestatio, may be adduced. But it is useless to multiply examples; they will occur to every one. Is it in any way probable that all the Romance nations, whose languages are derived from the Latin, are utterly wrong in their pronunciation, and that the Germans (or the *Ghermans*, if they are right in the sound of the *g*) have preserved its true pronunciation?

Let us go further. Undoubtedly in ancient inscriptions we find the *g* and the *c* before *e* and *i* used indifferently. A clear proof of this is to be found in the inscription of Duilius, A. U. C. 493, at Rome. This was engraved on the base of the Columna Rostrata raised to celebrate the first naval victory over the Carthaginians, and which was struck down by lightning between the second and third Punic wars, and remained buried in the ruins of Rome until it was unearthed in 1565 near the Capitol. Though considerably defaced in parts, it was legible, and has been carefully restored by learned hands. It is as follows:

"C. Duilios. M. F. M. N. Consol advorsum Poenos en Siceliad Secestan socios Rom. obsidioned craved exemed, leciones refecet, dumque Poc maximosque macistratos lecionumque duceis ex novem castreis exfocio Macelam opidom oppucnandod cepet, enque eodem macistratod bene r navebos marid consol primos ceset. Socios clasesque navales prin ornavet paravetque, cumque eis navebos claseis poenicas omnes et m sumas copias cartaciniensis praesented sumo dictatored olorom in alt marid pugnad vicet, XXXque navis cepet cum socieis septem milib quinremosque triremosque naves XIV merset, tonc aurom captom nur ϕ ϕ ϕ D C . . . pondod. Arcentom captom praeda numei CCCIↃↃↃ. P dod crave captom aes CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃ CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃ CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ, CCCIↃↃↃ. Is quoque navaled prae

poplom rom. deitavet atque Cartaciniensis incenuos duxet triumpod cum XXX rostreis clasis cartaciniensis captai. Quorum erco S. P. Q. R. eei p. (posuet)." *

Here we have the *g* and the *c* used interchangeably, showing that they had nearly the same sound before *i*. Either both were hard or both were soft. If both were hard, then the Italians, as well as the French and Spaniards, are entirely wrong in their pronunciation of both letters, and the same incorrectness is to be found in most of the English words derived from the Latin in the use of the *g*. In fact, all the world is wrong except the Germans. Is it, however, probable that all these nations should wrongly pronounce all the Latin words which still exist unchanged in their languages in which either *c* or *g* precedes *e* and *i*; and that the Church, carrying on daily and continuously its functions and offices in Latin for eighteen centuries, should have assumed a totally new and false pronunciation?

If this be the case, what is to be made of the observation of Quintilian, "Cum *C* ac similitier *G* non valuerunt in *T* ac *D*, molliuntur; ne illas quidem circa *S* literam delitias [which, be it observed, he spells deli*t*ias] hic magister feret" (Inst., lib. i., cap. 11)? What are we to say of this word gingiber, which was also spelled zinziber—our English ginger? There can be no doubt that the *z* was soft, at least if we can trust Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Fabius. Again, the Latins sometimes put *D* for *G*, showing that it was soft. Were the Germans ever called the Ghermans? Why, too, was it ever necessary to spell the Greek *chi* with *ch*, if *C* had the same hard sound? Why Cherubini, and Chiragra, and Chelidonia, and Chiromantis, and Chelae, and others? How, too, are we to pronounce words in which *c* follows *x*, as excire, excipio, excerpo, exceptio, etc.? If the *c* is soft, it is easily elided; if hard, this would scarcely be possible. So again, how are we to explain the fact that such names as Valentia and Sulpitia are written Valencia and Sulpicia; and conditio and solatium appear as condicio and solacium?† Again, why spell pulcher with an *h*, if pulcer has the same sound?

There is still another clear indication that *g* had not the hard

* Other examples are to be found in the royal edicts where *g* and *c* are used interchangeably, as having the same force. Thus, agnum is spelled acnum; agrum, acrum, etc.

† "Letters of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius, In Nepote Amisso," pp. 216, 217.

sound in all cases. According to Priscian, the Emperor Claudius, recognizing the imperfection of the Roman alphabet to express various distinction of sounds, proposed to introduce three new letters or characters, one of which was called the anti-sigma, which was formed by reversing one *c* against another. This ↄ represented the function of the Greek *psi*, and all three letters were, in the opinion at least of Priscian and Quintilian, necessary. If, therefore, the sound of *c* formed any part of that of *psi*, it clearly could not have been hard like *k*.*

It would seem, therefore, all things considered, that there is not sufficient warrant to overthrow the present Italian pronunciation of *c* and *g*, as recommended in the Oxford and Cambridge syllabus. Nothing certainly is gained, variety is sacrificed, and there seems to be every probability that the traditional pronunciation is right. At all events, such is the universal pronunciation in the south of Europe.

Again, when we consider the large number of pure Latin words still in constant use in Italy, without change, so many of which are names of things and materials in common use—words which have been constantly spoken at every turn—it is difficult, to say the least, to imagine that in all these the letter *c* has been vitally changed in its pronunciation by the Italians and direct descendants of the

* Plutarch tells us, in his "Quæstiones Romanæ," that the letter *g* was unknown in Rome for five centuries, and was first introduced into use by the grammarian Spurius Carvilius, in the year 540 (about 213 B. C.). Though this must be a mistake, as it appears in the Duillian inscription of 494, and also in the epitaph of Scipio Barbatus, who was consul in 456, yet it is plain that it must have been of infrequent use, or he would not have made such a statement. In macistratus, Cartaciniensis, Leciones, exfocionť, *c* and *g* were apparently equivalents in sound, as they would be if pronounced as the Italians now pronounce them, the difference being what in English lies between "chin" and "gin." Had they pronounced both these letters hard, they could easily have used the letter *k* (since they were misspelling these words), which was already in the alphabet, and appears in a bronze tablet in the Barberini Library at the date of the beginning of the fourth century of Rome—"sub æde *kastoris*."

Again, in late excavations at Ostia the following inscription was found of the early Christian times:

> "Loc. Aphrodisias, cum deus permicerit,
> Cælius hic dormit, et Decria, quando deus
> Boluerit."

From a passage in Ausonius it would even seem that *c* had more the sound of *s* than of *k*, for without this pronunciation the jest would be lost. Venus says of herself, "Nata salo, suscepta solo, patre edita cœlo." If the *c* be here pronounced as *k*, the play upon words is lost. So also *ceu*, *seu*, *sive*, point to this pronunciation.

Romans. For instance, is it probable that such unchanged words as the following are all mispronounced now in Italy?—civitas (cività), cervello (cerebellum), celebre, cedo, celere, celare, cella, cenere, ciccus, cibus (cibo), cimex (cimice), circa, cippus (cippo), cinctura, cista, sacerdos.

But to pass from these letters, let us now consider what authority there is for the recommendation in this syllabus that *j* as a consonant should be pronounced as in the English "*y* in yard." This undoubtedly is the present pronunciation in Italy, as in Germany, but there are manifestly many objections to its acceptance. In the ancient alphabet there was but one letter to represent two entirely distinct sounds in two cases: one was the *V* and the other the *I*, which were both consonants and vowels. It is this simple fact which has led to great confusion in distinguishing the two; but, if the distinction be clearly kept in mind, there will be little difficulty. Of the sound of *i* as a vowel we have already spoken. *I* as a consonant would seem to have had exactly the pronunciation of the English *j*; and this is clearly indicated by the fact that, whenever a word ending in a consonant is followed by one beginning with *j*, the last syllable of the first word becomes long by position. Had *j* possessed the vowel sound of long *i* or *y* (which is simply a compound diphthong *oo-a-i* when pronounced by its English name, and when sounded in a word has the value generally of the vowel *i*, as in *billiard*), there would in verse be an elision of a preceding vowel, or of the letter *m*. But this is never the case. Open Virgil's Æneid anywhere, and examples will be found of this. For instance, here is the elision of the vowel before *i* and not before *j* in the same line:

> Haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque juvenco.*
> Pergamaque Iliacamque jugis hanc addidit arcem.†

And here is the elision of *m* before *i* and not before *J*:

> Nunc etiam interpres divum Jove missus ab ipso.‡

Or take such lines as these, and how can they be scanned if *J* is a vowel?

> "Quem sequimur, quove ire jubes, ubi ponere sedes." §
> "Perge; sequar. Tum sic excepit regia Juno." ‖
> "Cetera populea velatur fronde juventus." ¶
> "Mutata agnoscunt, excussaque pectore Juno est." **

* Æneid, v., l. 399. † Id., iii., l. 336. ‡ Id., iv., l. 356.
§ Id., ii., l. 88. ‖ Id., iv., l. 134. ¶ Id., v., l. 134. ** Id., v., l. 679.

There is not a line to be found in the Æneid where the initial *J* of Jupiter or Juno, or of any word, is subject to an elision. *J* as a consonant was merely a variation of Di. Zeus, Θεός, Deus, as well as the Sanskrit Deva, derived probably from Djo, or Dyu, heaven, have all the same hard consonant sound, and this was never lost in Jupiter, the Divum Pater or Diespiter. In like manner we have Diovis, subsequently spelled Jovis, and Dianus, afterward spelled Janus, while Diana still retains its original form. Again, is *j* ever found alone or at the end of a word, and is it not always followed by a vowel? Can it stand by itself? Does it ever follow a consonant?

We have already stated that, in our opinion, the Italian pronunciation cannot be safely followed in all respects, and this is one of the exceptions to which we alluded. And the reason of this mispronunciation of *j* (as it seems to us) is very clear. Through all the illiterate ages, when the darkness of ignorance was over the land, the Italians retained the true pronunciation, but they knew not how to write or read. On the revival of letters, they began by respelling and rewriting according to their pronunciation; and this spelling will give us the traditional pronunciation. Now, the extraordinary fact is, that there is not a single name, if there be a single Latin word, beginning with *j*, that is not written in Italian with *gi*, and sounded hard like the English *j*.* The modern Italians in reading Latin pronounce *j* as if it were a vowel, but the true pronunciation evidently survives in their common speech; and, as we have had occasion before to observe, in the pronunciation of names of persons it would be very difficult for any change of a vital character to take place. When we find this rule of changing the *j* of the Latin into hard *gi* in Italian an invariable one, extending over hundreds of words, it is difficult not to believe that this was the real ancient pronunciation. Jesus also becomes Gesù in Italian, though in Latin it is read Iesus, probably because the Greek form was adopted in the Church after it was removed to the East. The mispronunciation of *j* in Latin is all the more intelligible, because the Italians have no single character representing the *j* in English, and in reading it this mistake is natural. In all such words as those

* Thus among names Julius becomes Giulio; Johannes, Giovanni; Julianus, Giuliano; Josephus, Giuseppe; Juno, Giunone; Jupiter or Jovis, Giove; Jason, Giasone; Jeremias, Geremia; and so on. Take also all such common words, among hundreds of others, as judex, giudice; jurare, giurare; justus, giusto; jam, già; juvenis, giovane; juvare, giovare; jugum, giogo; and so on. Invariably they have the hard sound of the consonant.

spoken of in the syllabus compounded of *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, or *ui*, such as Graius, maior, Troia, eius, Pompeius, cujus, Seianus, the only question is whether the *i* is a vowel or a consonant. If it be a vowel, the Italian gives the true sound, which is precisely similar to our *y*. But in all these words *is* the *i* a vowel? Major is in Italian maggiore, hard and consonantal. In Troja and Sejanus, it is far from clear that the *j* was not similarly sounded; at all events, Sejanus is still a common name in Italy, and is pronounced hard. In the palimpsest of Cicero's orations edited by Amadeus Peyron, one word at least occurs showing plainly the pronunciation of *j*, and proving that it was not a long *i*. This is *justitiam*, which is spelled *diiustitiam*.

We now come to what seems a still more serious innovation upon all accredited forms of utterance, and which is in vogue solely, as far as we are aware, among the Germans; and this is in the pronunciation of the consonant *v*. The syllabus says, "As to consonant *u*, or *v*, we believe that its sound was as near as possible to that of the vowel *u*; that is, like the *ou* of the French *oui*, not differing much, therefore, from English *w*. But, as there is great diversity of opinion on this point, we propose to leave it an open question whether it shall be pronounced in this way or as the English and Italian *v*." The Germans pronounce it as if it were simply *u* or *w*. Thus they say (to express the sound in English) Waynee, weedee, weekee, for Veni, vidi, vici. Against this pronunciation we must enter the most positive and absolute protest.

The confusion which has arisen in regard to the pronunciation of this letter is simply due to the fact that the Romans had only one character to express two totally different sounds, that of the vowel *u* or *oo*, and that of the consonant *v*. If this letter *v* be always pronounced as *w*, which is simply the Italian *u*, it instantly ceases to be a consonant at all, and we must admit that there was no consonant *v* in Latin. It cannot be too strongly insisted that *w* in English is only the Italian vowel *u*, pronounced *oo*; our English *u* is a diphthong, *eoo*. *Well* is simply *uell* (*ooell*); *wait* is *uait* (or *ooait*); *Washington* is *Uashington* or *OOashington*; and so on. Now, if any fact on earth is clear, it is that the Romans had a consonant *v*, as distinguished from *u*. It is useless to multiply quotations from ancient grammarians to establish this point; one or two will suffice. Quintilian expressly states (lib. 1, cap. iv.) that "all grammarians admit that certain necessary letters are wanting in the Roman alphabet, not only in writing Greek, but also in writing

Latin—as for instance in these words, *servus* and *vulgus*. Not only the Æolic digamma is wanting for the consonant, but also the character to distinguish the peculiar sound of the second vowel *u*, which was something between *u* and *i*." Priscian (cap. De Num. Liter.) says, "*V* standing as a consonant had in all words the same force as the Æolic digamma, that is, *vau*, from which it is derived, as Varro and Didymus, who gave it that name, expressly assert." It was to supply this deficiency that the Emperor Claudius reintroduced into Latin the sign of the old Æolic digamma, or inverted *F*, thus, Ⅎ, to represent the consonant *v*, which has so close a resemblance to our *f* in sound that the Germans constantly confound them together in their speech. Quintilian, in his first book (cap. vii.), alluding again to the deficiency of the Roman alphabet, says that ceruum and seruum are by some written ceruom, seruom, in order to prevent a confusion between the consonant *u* and the vowel *u*, and that later writers use a double *v* for the same purpose; and he adds, "Not uselessly did Claudius introduce for this purpose the letter Ⅎ" ("Nec inutiliter Claudius ad hos usus Ⅎ literam adjecerat.") This innovation, however, did not come into general practice, and soon fell into disuse; but it is to be seen in the inscriptions of his time, where it indicates our *v*, as in *OCTAⅎIA*, *AMPLIAⅎIT*, *TERMINAⅎIT*, *DIⅎI*, for Octavia, ampliavit, terminavit, and Divi.

What was the sound of the Æolic digamma of the ancient Greeks is a matter of dispute, into which we have no space here to enter; suffice it to say that the modern Greeks give to the *v*, as in *αυτὸς*, the sound of our *v*. If it had the simple sound of the vowel *u*, there would seem to have been no reason for reducing it into Latin, to distinguish *v* from *u*, as it would have served no purpose.

That the Latin consonant *v* was not represented in sound by the vowel *v* of the Greeks is clear, from the fact that the latter employed *β* constantly to represent it, having lost the Æolic digamma, Ⅎ. Thus—Severus, Varro, Valentius, Venusia, and Valerius, for instance, were spelled *Σεβηρος*, *Βᾶρρων*, *Βαλεντια*, and so on, showing that the *v* had not the vowel sound in such words.*

* In the Ambrosian Library at Milan, cod. 82, is a MS., attributed by Cardinal Mai to Quintus Aurelius Symmachus; and though this is doubted by Amadeus Peyron, in whose collection of codices the fragment is given, there is every probability that it is at least as old as the sixth century. In this MS. *b* and *v* are constantly written interchangeably: thus, *laboribus* is spelled *lavoribus; civica, cibica; vetustas, betustas; volatas, bolatas; revertitur, rebertitur; absolvunt, absolbunt;* and *debitorem,*

Again, the Italians still retain the sound of our *v* in all names of persons and places which have come down from the ancients. As we have before observed, such words would be less subject to alteration than any others. Thus, Valeria, Virginia, Vittoria, Virgilia, Octavia, and Livia may be adduced as examples of the names of persons; and Volterra, Venetia, Verona, Vesuvio, Velabro, among many others, as names of places. Is it possible that such names were pronounced Werona, Wenetia, Waleria, or, worse still, Liwia and Octawia (which are almost impossibly cacophonous)? At all events, we cannot recall a single name of a person or place in which *v* has the sound of *u* in Italian, whether occurring in the beginning or the middle of the word. On the contrary, there are a number of words beginning with *u* which, in various parts of Italy, still retain the sound of our *v*; as, for instance, *uomo*, which is sometimes pronounced *vomo*.*

The story told by Cicero, in his "De Divinatione," has been by some thought to show that the *v* was pronounced as *u*. When Marcus Crassus carried his army to Brundisium, a hawker of Caunean figs cried out, "Cauneas," which some interpreted as a bad omen, as he seemed to be saying "Cave ne eas," beware of going. But if the Æolic digamma was a *v*—if the Greeks are right in their modern pronunciation—then the hawker very nearly said, "Cave ne eas," as the Italians would pronounce it.

The Germans themselves, who claim that the consonant *v* of the ancient Latins was sounded like *w*, in their own language, singularly

devitorem. ("Martii Tullii Ciceronis Orationum Frag. inedita ex Membranis Palimpsestis," by Amadeus Peyron, p. 183.)

Peyron says that in the codices of the tenth century *b* and *v* are interchanged in more than a thousand instances, and this is also the case with *e* and *i*.

The lines of Terentius Maurus give additional weight to this view. He says:

"Graeca diphthongus *ou* literis nostris vacat,
Sola vocalis quod *v* complet hunc satis sonum."

Here, of course, he refers to the vowel *v* or *u*, and not to the consonant *v*.

* Again, compare in Latin such words as *fatidicus*, *fatum*, *fatuus*, *vates*, *vaticinus*, which are also written *vatidicus*, etc.—all derived from *fatus*—and it is clear that between the sound of the *f* and the *v* there was but a slight distinction. Still further, if *v* had only the sound of *u*, what was the object of writing *uva*, or *uvesco*, or *uvea?* It was simply superfluous. Or how would it be possible to pronounce *uvula?* In the letters of Marcus Aurelius to Fronto we also find *fribola* for *frivola* (lib. ii., lib. vi.), and *civo* for *cibo* ("De Eloquentia"); and in Fronto, *vibo* for *vivo* (lib. i., lib. viii.); and Isidorus, speaking of the habit of writing thus, says, "Birtus, boluntas, bita et his similia, quæ Afri scribendo vitiant omnino rejicienda sunt, et non per *b* sed per *v* scribenda."

enough, generally pronounce the *w* like our *v*, though they never seem accurately to distinguish between them. Vossius says: "*V* efferebant ut Germani duplex *w*; nempe pronunciabant winum, wallum, widua, wacillare, unde nostrum wijn, wall, widuwe, waggelen," etc.; but the fact is that, instead of pronouncing these words with a *w*, and saying, as we do, *wine* and *widow*, they commonly pronounce Wein, Vine; Witwe, Vitve; Was, Vas; Wilhelm, Vilhelm; though there is a sort of burr of *w* in some provinces, and in others almost a clear *w*. Their principles and their practice are, therefore, a little at variance.

It also seems that, so far from the Latins and Italians accepting the sound of the *w* in German names, they changed it into *gu*, and the name Wilhelm, for instance, becomes Guilelmus; Walter, Gualterus; which they certainly would never have done had the sound been represented by the *v*.

As to the *qu*, it would also seem probable that, in some cases at least, it had the sound of *k* or hard *c*, since we find in many words the *c* used for the *qu*, as in quotidie, cotidie; quum, cum; loquutus, locutus; quur, cur; and others. In the letters of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius, according to the palimpsest MS. discovered by Cardinal Mai, this peculiarity constantly appears, and even cur is spelled qur. How far this went it is impossible to determine, but it is even possible that, after all, the Italian, French, and Spanish *chi* and *qui* may represent in sound the Latin *qui*. This, at least, would seem to be indicated by the double pun of Cicero, who, being requested to give his vote for the son of a cook, answered, "Ego quoque tibi jure favebo," punning on the word *quoque*, as well as *jure*.

Time and space will only allow us to speak briefly of the letter *s*, which, we are told in the syllabus, in the beginning and end of words, and at the beginning of syllables and before consonants, is always sharp (as the *s* in *sin*) in Italian, and should be so in Latin. This, certainly, is not always the case in Italian. It not uncommonly has the sound of *z*, as in *deserto*, which is pronounced *dezerto*, or *misura*, which is *mezura*.

But, more than even in the sound of the letters, it is to be feared that in accents our English pronunciation is entirely wrong. We almost always throw the accent backward instead of forward, and probably are as wrong in so doing as if we should pronounce French in like manner. Indeed, this is precisely the vice to which all English are prone in speaking French. Our ordinary accent of Latin words conveys no correct notion of their quantity. It is almost

impossible in our spoken Latin to distinguish a spondee from a trochee or an iambus, and it is only when we scan a verse that we accentuate the words according to their real quantity and rhythm. But, after all, is it possible that the Romans did not clearly express the rhythm of their verses in reading or declaiming them, or that the accent of words in verse was totally different in reading from what it was in speaking? Did not the poet follow the real accent and quantity of the word as spoken? Is it credible that in speaking they threw the accent backward, and said, for instance, Dūlces mōriens reminiscitur Argŏs, and in reading threw the accent forward and said, Dulcēs moriēns Argōs? We have laid down elaborate rules and classifications to indicate the quantity of words, which when spoken ordinarily are totally different in quantity and accent; so that our pronunciation gives us no real clew to the quantity of any word, to enable us to distinguish a spondee from an iambus or a trochee. Is there any living language in which so extraordinary a peculiarity occurs? Is any nation forced to consult dictionaries, and encumber its memory with rules of prosody varying from those of common speech, in order to write verse in its own language? Yet this is precisely what we are forced to do in Latin, and this of itself would be sufficient to prove that our pronunciation is false.

(*To be continued.*)

VII.

SUBSTANCE AND SHADOW IN FINANCE.

THE citizens of the United States are of the opinion generally that a paper currency, in the form of United States notes ("greenbacks") or national-bank notes, is at once more economical and more convenient in use than the metals, whether gold or silver. Two questions remain which are open to serious dispute:

1. Shall the paper currency be redeemable in coin?

2. Whether so redeemable or not, shall it be exclusively of greenbacks, exclusively of national-bank notes, or a currency composed in part of each?

The notion that a government may make a declaration upon a piece of paper, that the piece of paper on which the declaration is made is one dollar or one thousand dollars, the difference being a difference of typography alone, is a very modern notion, which one of its advocates attempts to dignify by calling it "the American system of finance." As a notion it is American, but as a system it has as yet no existence in this or in any other country. Experiments containing everything that is proposed by the advocates of this experiment, and something advantageous in addition thereto, have been tried, and in every instance they have failed.

The French notes called assignats asserted first their value respectively, and they were also made receivable for all public and private obligations and debts. The national domain was pledged for their redemption, the penalty of death was declared against counterfeiters, the nation promised to recompense informers, and art contributed an effigy of the goddess of justice holding the scales evenly balanced, and an effigy of the goddess of liberty announcing the rights of man. Yet, in spite of all these declarations, safeguards, and inducements, the French assignats became utterly worthless, and were stowed away in closets and garrets until the civil war in America, when the neglected accumulations were brought out and sold to the manufacturers of new paper. Every quality of

goodness which the genius of our American financial reformers has yet suggested may be found in the French assignats, with the promise of redemption added thereto ; and yet they depreciated in purchasing power, and disappeared finally from the business channels of the country.

Again, the experiment was tried by the Southern Confederacy during the civil war. The notes of that government were endowed with every quality that is proposed for the currency to be issued under "the American system of finance," to all which was added a stipulation as to redemption—remote and contingent, to be sure, but not more harmful, it would seem, than a pledge perpetual of non-payment. In the end it could be said truthfully of that American system of finance, that a householder would carry his money to market in a basket, and take home his dinner in his waistcoat pocket.

Our own experience was the same in kind, though not so disastrous in the results. The greenback bore a declaration of its value, supported by the promise of the Government to pay the holder thereof, at a time future but not specified, a sum in gold or silver coin equal to the value declared. It was receivable by the Government for postage, for excise and direct taxes, and it was a legal tender for all private debts ; and yet, in spite of its qualities and uses, and the obligations it carried with it, the greenback depreciated until it was worth in gold no more than thirty-five cents on the dollar.

The advocates of "the American system of finance" have one position only ; and if that be indefensible, then their scheme is a failure altogether. It is this : A government, by its official and absolute decree, can give to that which has no appreciable value in itself a continuing, commercial purchasing power. The attempt to do this was made in fact, though not in form, by France, by the Southern Confederacy, and by the United States, and in each instance the undertaking was a failure. Further, it is to be said that the history of the world furnishes no evidence of the success of the experiment in any country or in any age. Is it urged that the failure in all these cases was due to circumstances? If so, then the power claimed for a government is not an absolute power, but only a capacity to do a certain thing when the circumstances are all favorable. There have been three trials by three different governments, under differing conditions, at times quite remote from each other, and each and every of the trials was a signal failure. Thus far all

the circumstances have been unfavorable, if tested by the results; and who among the prophets can forecast the circumstances that wait on success?

In the presence of this experience, is the suggestion out of place that there may be inherent difficulties attending the project which the advocates of "the American system of finance" can not remove? A piece of plain paper, of the size of a United States note, is of so little intrinsic value as to defy expression except in vulgar or decimal fractions. The proposition is, that by the mere declaration of a government imprinted upon this paper it at once takes on the quality of value, or that all men will so assume, and upon the assumption so act in all the business affairs of the country.

The statement of this absurdity in the alternative ought to be its refutation. Can a government, a mere human government, create something out of nothing—make that valuable which, in the opinion of all mankind, is valueless? Or, if it can not do that or this, can it by a decree so change the opinions of men in mass that they will accept as valuable that which in fact has no value, and after experience so continue to act through indefinite periods of time? The best evidence that men might be so deluded is to be found in the wickedness of those who propose the measure and in the folly of those who accept it. The existence of such classes, even though they bear a small proportion only to the whole, is suggestive of a state of society in which the wildest absurdities and the most dangerous vagaries may flourish for a time.

When the advocates of fiat money propose to limit its issue, or when they assert that the failure of previous experiments was due to the limitation of uses to which the currency was applicable, as the refusal of the Government to accept greenbacks for customs duties, they admit that the quality of value does not inhere in paper decreed money by a government. And if paper bearing the decree of a government that it is money have no intrinsic value, and if it carry not a promise of some other thing that is valuable, then it lacks each and both the essential qualities of a currency. Having in itself no value, and not bearing on its face a promise of something of value, no man in his senses would surrender actual property in exchange for it.

Every business transaction, from the barter of a dozen of eggs for a pound of sugar to the sale and purchase of an empire, has in it as the essential quality one or the other of two conditions and stipulations—either the exchange of one thing of value for another

thing of value, or the surrender of one thing of value for the promise of another thing of value. The currency of a country, the currency of the world, the medium of exchange—that is, the means by which transfers of property from one to another are effected—must answer to one or the other of these conditions. It must be either valuable in itself, or it must bear on its face the promise of something valuable to him who receives it.

A conspicuous leader in financial reform, and the author of the phrase "the American system of finance," has admitted recently that there must be a limit to the issue of fiat money; and it is the general assertion of the friends of the system that the issue is to be limited to the wants of trade. These concessions are an admission that what is called fiat money has no intrinsic value; and as it carries no promise of redemption in any valuable thing, it lacks manifestly both the essential qualities of a currency. Its capacity for circulation must depend, therefore, upon the prevalence of the admitted error that it is valuable. The advocates of this scheme may wisely consider whether a public policy which rests upon an apparent and actual falsehood can long withstand the assaults of truth.

It is a popular saying that the currency of the country should be sufficient for the wants of trade. If it is meant by this that the currency should be sufficient to satisfy the wants of tradesmen, there is reason to apprehend that the limit would never be reached. The truth is, that the honest wants of trade are limited by the rights of trade, and the rights of trade are easily understood when we examine its nature. As before stated, trade is the exchange of one thing of value for another thing of value, or the surrender of one thing of value for the promise of another thing of value. When, therefore, the possessor of property yields his title to another, he should receive other property in return or a promise of other property; and when this is not done, he is the subject of a wrong.

Upon the argument already presented it is apparent that the currency of a country should either be intrinsically valuable, or it should bear a promise that the holder may at his pleasure command the sum specified in that which possesses intrinsic value. The honest wants of trade can not be made to extend beyond a currency possessing one or the other of these qualities; and a currency possessing either of these qualities, from the nature of the case, must be limited in amount.

The friends of the fiat system of money dogmatize thus: The Government takes a piece of gold, stamps upon it *one dollar*, makes

no provision for its redemption, and it passes from hand to hand, answering all the purposes of business; and if the Government but so will, it may do the same with a piece of paper and with the same results. As the agent to be employed, to wit, the Government, is the same in both cases, the proposition must be true unless there is an intrinsic difference between a piece of gold and a piece of paper; but if a difference shall be made to appear, then with equal certainty is the proposition false.

In this connection it may not be amiss to consider the fact that there is not a human being in any civilized country who, having in his possession an article of property with which he is willing to part, will not dispose of it for a quantity of gold. This statement is equally true of every civilized nation during the entire historical period; and with slight qualifications, it is also true of semi-civilized and savage races and tribes of men. Can this be said of paper, whether tendered in its office of money or otherwise? There is a universal desire for gold, and gold is the only product of nature or of art for which a universal desire exists.

Next it is to be said that the act of the Government in coining gold does not in any sensible degree affect its value. The piece of gold stamped *one dollar* had the same intrinsic value when it entered the mint as when it came from the mint, and its nominal value conforms very nearly to its intrinsic value. The Government assays the gold, weighs the gold, stamps the coin for the convenience of those who have occasion to use it; but if the agency of the Government were withheld, the owner of gold could purchase everything that he might desire in all the markets of the world. Can the same be said of paper, even though coined, to use a favorite word of the friends of "the American system of finance"?

Further, it is to be said of gold that its cost, measured by the application of human labor to its production, is equal to its purchasing power of other articles which are also the products of labor. Can this be said of coined paper dollars, of fiat paper, of paper which carries no promise of redemption? By the use of steam and power presses the Government could produce a million dollars of coined fiat paper money by an expenditure of labor paid in gold not exceeding one hundred dollars. A million dollars of gold brought out of the Rocky Mountains costs in labor as much as the quantity of wheat brought out of the prairies that the million of gold will purchase.

Nor should the suggestion be omitted that the human mind can

not conceive of such an addition to the quantity of gold as to destroy its value either in mass or as coin. The purchasing power of a given weight or of a specific coin would diminish by an increase of production, but gold would still remain the one solvent of every financial transaction. On the other hand, no one, not even the wildest advocate of an irredeemable currency, denies the possibility of such an issue of paper, whatever its nature or form, as to render it in its parts and as a whole utterly valueless.

If the distinctions pointed out are not altogether visionary, they furnish a complete refutation of the proposition that, inasmuch as the Government coins gold, stamps it, and makes no provision for its redemption, it may therefore safely and wisely coin paper, stamp it, issue it, and leave it to its fate.

Underlying all the visionary theories of the advocates of irredeemable paper money is the error that value or wealth is *created* by human agency. What we call wealth, the result of human labor and the object of human desire, is, in the specific things of value, but the product of the combination of forces and elements previously existing. The province of man is to change the position of things, to make new combinations, to call to his aid the forces of nature. By the use of these processes and agencies, which demand labor on his part, he produces articles of value ; and the general rule is, that the value is measured by the labor required.

Proceeding upon the view submitted that an irredeemable paper currency, as a permanent public policy, is incompatible with national honesty or private prosperity, it remains to be said that the use of paper redeemable in coin is not free from peril ; but it is at once the most convenient and the most economical means of transacting both public and private business. When there is but little demand for coin in a country, as in the United States at the present time, it is possible for the Government and the banks to increase the issue of notes, even though redeemable in coin, to such an extent as to inflame prices, promote speculations, and involve merchants and business men in distress and bankruptcy. This is the tendency, and under the old State-bank system it was a frequent result. There are, however, counteracting influences. An advance in prices is soon followed by a change in the balance of trade. Exports diminish, imports increase, and the result is a demand for coin. The apprehension of such a demand operates as a check upon banks, and they avoid a course of action which they foresee can end only in disaster. If, however, the precautionary policy is not adopted gen-

erally, a change in the balance of trade and a demand for coin furnish an early and wholesome corrective of any over-issue of paper. This corrective is equally efficacious whether the issues of paper are by the Government directly or through the agency of banks.

The old theories in favor of an exclusively metallic currency have disappeared. When financial transactions, both public and private, were limited in amount, when in the agricultural sections of the country the business was chiefly by barter, and when there were but few opportunities of communicating with the centers of wealth and trade, a partiality for a metallic currency was both natural and wise. But the condition of the country has changed in the nature and magnitude of its productions, in the habits of business of its inhabitants, especially of the agricultural sections, and in the means of communication. These changes involve the disuse of coin for ordinary business, and the substitution of paper, whose volume and quality can only be fixed by the circumstance that the holder may at any moment command the coin of the Government or bank by whose authority the paper was issued.

The securities against an over-issue of paper redeemable in coin are: first, a public judgment expressed in the laws of the country; then the wisdom and foresight of those intrusted with the management of the issues, whether by the national Treasury or by the banks; and, at last, the correctionary force of the inevitable demand for coin when the balance of trade is against us. While it can not be maintained that these securities will prove sufficient at all times, it can be said with truth that the wisdom of men and the laws of business have as yet furnished none better.

The convenience of paper as compared with coin is established by the fact that a thousand dollars of silver weighs about sixty pounds, and an equal value of gold weighs more than one twentieth as much. Such is the magnitude of business, both public and private, that its transaction would be impossible if only coin could be employed.

The relative economy of paper is worthy of notice also. The annual interest on a metallic circulation sufficient for the country would not be less than $25,000,000; while the interest upon the coin reserve in the banks and the national Treasury need not be more than one third of that amount. Coin in general use deteriorates annually by abrasion about one per cent.; and the final losses of coin by individuals are a loss of property to the country, while the loss of paper by the owner is a gain to the bank issuing

it, or to the national Treasury, of an equal amount. The use of fractional subsidiary coins in place of fractional notes involves a loss to the Government of not less than $400,000 a year, and imposes upon the whole public a heavy burden in their use. If to the old system of fractional paper money there should be added a feature of redemption of mutilated currency by the post-offices, our change-money would be at once both economical and agreeable.

The conclusions to which assent is now asked are : first, that a paper currency is more convenient and economical than a currency of coin ; and, secondly, that the paper currency should at all times be redeemable in coin at the pleasure of the holder.

For further consideration there remains the question : Shall the paper currency so redeemable be exclusively of United States notes, exclusively of national-bank notes, or shall it be composed in part of each ?

It is the fortune of nations, as of individuals, that there is never a moment of time when they are so entirely free from all obligations as to be absolute masters of their own policy and conduct. Our financial policy has been dictated in its most important features by events and circumstances over which the nation had no control. An imperative necessity for money led to the overthrow of the State banking system, and the establishment of the national banking system in its stead. The same necessity compelled Congress to authorize the issue of greenbacks, and as early as 1862 to give a pledge in advance to those who might purchase our bonds that nothing but coin should be received for duties at the custom-houses, and that the coin so received should be applied to the payment of the interest and a portion each year of the principal of the public debt. If the faith of the nation is kept, nothing but coin can be received at the custom-houses, and the coin so received must be used in payment of the interest of the public debt, and each year to the extent of one per cent. of the principal, the latter appropriation to be treated as a sinking fund. This pledge creates a use for coin which will continue until the public debt is paid.

Out of our necessities as a nation came the issue of greenbacks and the national banks with their privilege of issuing notes, and the questions now are : Shall we abandon both, shall we abandon either, or shall we continue to use both ? To the extent of the volume of greenbacks in circulation the Government enjoys the benefit of the amount represented, and without the payment of interest. They constitute a debt without interest. Their redemption implies the

increase of the interest-bearing debt to a like amount, or the use of moneys or revenues which otherwise would be applied to the payment of the interest-bearing debt. As a currency the greenback is entirely satisfactory. Waiving the fact that hitherto the Government has not been prepared to redeem the greenback, it may be said with entire confidence that no nation ever had a better paper currency.

The national-bank notes are guaranteed by a pledge of Government stocks, and they are redeemed daily in greenbacks at the Treasury of the United States. In commercial value they are equal to greenbacks, and both circulate in every part of the country, without question and without loss. The item of exchange no longer appears as an expense in domestic commercial transactions, or upon the note-book of the traveler.

If we could treat the subject of finance solely as a question of profit and loss to the national Treasury, there would be no reason why we should not abandon the national banking system, and issue an amount of greenbacks equal to the volume of bank notes withdrawn. Something would be gained by the change. The interest saved by the substitution would slightly exceed the revenue now obtained by the States and nation from the taxation of the banks—say five million dollars a year. The province of a bank is, by the aggregations of capital represented by its stock, and by the receipt of moderate sums of money deposited by its patrons, to mass funds, and therefrom to make loans to merchants and manufacturers. Thereby they become aids to business. The profits of banks are derived from original capital, from circulation, and from deposits. Should the General Government assume the entire circulation of the country, the profits of banks would be limited to capital and deposits. At present the profits of country banks are derived chiefly from capital and circulation, while in the cities the profits are mainly from capital and deposits. The change proposed would deprive the country banks of the means of existence, and the proportion of surplus capital in the cities would be greater than it now is. Business must follow capital, and the change would tend to promote the wealth and population of cities at the expense of the country. The tendency to the cities is sufficiently strong already, but the abolition of the national banks would be an important aid in the same direction.

It would happen, however, that the abolition of the national banks would be followed by the restoration of the State-bank sys-

tem. The interior States and sparsely settled sections of country would not long rest quietly under a system which tended to impoverish them and to enrich the most wealthy sections of the Union. The overthrow of the national banks means the reëstablishment of the State-bank system, and the movement should be so treated. This will be the result, whatever may be the purpose of those who advocate the destruction of the national banks. These institutions are creditors to the amount of more than $800,000,000, and in prosperous times the aggregate liabilities to them of merchants and manufacturers would not be less than $1,000,000,000. The people and the authorities may wisely consider whether the overthrow of a system by which the debtor class will be compelled to pay $1,000,000,000, and to find credits elsewhere for the conduct of their business, can be effected without a shock that will touch every interest of society.

Nor is it easy to see how the restoration of the State system would benefit the national Treasury. The revenue derived from the present system amounts to more than $7,000,000 a year, which is to be considered in set-off against the advantages which the banks derive from their circulation. The States realize about $9,000,000 more.

In time, were the change effected, there would arise a conflict of interest between the General Government and the State banks. The circulation of national-bank notes and of greenbacks is now quite equal to the capacity of the country to maintain them at par with coin. The scheme proposed assumes that the bank notes are to be withdrawn and the volume of greenbacks increased by a corresponding amount, leaving the aggregate where it now is. This being done, an issue of notes by State banks would increase the volume of currency, and we should be again involved in the difficulties of an excessive volume of paper money, or the national Government would be required to retire greenbacks in proportion to the issue of State-bank notes.

Finally, after debate and controversy were over, the practical questions would be: Shall we have a currency composed in part of greenbacks and in part of national-bank notes, or a currency composed in part of greenbacks and in part of State-bank notes? Shall we have a national currency under the control of the General Government and everywhere uniform, or shall we have a currency under the control of thirty-eight or more States, without uniformity of value, and subject to such rules and methods of redemption as the

different States may provide? If the view taken be sound, the abolition of banks of circulation is an impossibility, and the practical question is: Shall those banks be controlled by the several States or by the nation?

The banking system is now free, and the amount of capital employed from time to time will be determined by the business of the country. The resumption of specie payments will check the business of banking, and there is no reason to anticipate any considerable increase of banking capital within the next two years. Further, it is probable that the Government can keep in circulation from $300,000,000 to $350,000,000 in greenbacks. The law provides for the issue of certificates of the denomination of ten dollars and upward upon a deposit of silver coin. Ultimately, unless the act authorizing the coinage of silver is repealed, these certificates will form a part of the currency of the country. When that time arrives, the means of the Government to pay specie will be limited to the use of silver, and thus greenbacks and silver certificates will be of the same value. Under the silver bill there will be a steady addition to the volume of paper money, varying from $24,000,000 to $48,000,000 a year. This addition will be sufficient to produce a perceptible increase in prices, estimated in silver—an increase which ought to satisfy those who think that the legislation in regard to resumption has been beneficial to the creditor class and injurious to the debtor class. In truth, neither class has been affected seriously by the legislation of the last ten years. Since 1868 there has been no contraction in the volume of paper money which can be pleaded in justification of the statement that our financial troubles are attributable to that cause. Nor has legislation contributed to the causes and processes by which the premium on gold has been diminished.

The opening of the South to business furnished a new field for the use of paper. In these ten years population and business have increased, and the uses of money have increased also. These causes have produced the same results as would have flowed from an actual contraction in the absence of any new demand for money.

In prosperous times capital is in the hands of borrowers; in periods of depression it returns to its owners. Thus it happens that for the purposes of business the currency has been contracted in the sections of country where capital was most needed.

The depression of business, reducing the cost of domestic products, has stimulated our exports, and the same causes have dimin-

ished our imports. The result is, that the balance of trade is in our favor, the demand for gold for export has ceased, the products of our mines accumulate in the Treasury and bank vaults, and the premium on gold has disappeared.

The ability of the country to resume specie payments is not due to legislation, but to a condition of affairs which laws could neither create nor prevent. The suspension of railway-building, the discovery of dynamite, and the invention of the Burleigh drill are the contributors of chief force to the present financial condition of the country; and dynamite and the power-drill will remain as aids to the Government in maintaining specie payments.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

VIII.

THE CRUISE OF THE FLORENCE.

THE PRELIMINARY ARCTIC EXPEDITION OF 1877-'78.

THE vessel selected for the preliminary Arctic expedition of 1877 was the Florence of New London, a schooner of fifty-six tons burden, built for the whaling trade, and but recently returned from a sealing voyage around Cape Horn. Her mission was to collect, in the Gulf of Cumberland, Esquimaux, dogs, sledges, and clothing for the main expedition, which it was then hoped Congress would authorize for the ensuing year. She was rapidly fitted out and prepared for a winter in the Arctic seas, and sailed from New London Harbor on the morning of the 3d of August, 1877, under command of Captain George E. Tyson, of Polaris and ice-drift fame, with two scientists as passengers—Mr. O. T. Sherman of New Haven, meteorologist, and Mr. Ludwig Kumlien, naturalist—and a crew of ten men, all provisioned for a fifteen months' absence. The Florence carried a complete whaling outfit in addition to her other supplies; but the peculiar nature of her mission lifted the enterprise from the level of an ordinary whaling voyage to the higher plane of geographical discovery, in which the whole scientific world expressed a lively interest.

As the season was far advanced, the most direct route, through the Straits of Belle Isle, was taken. On the 20th of August a large bark was fallen in with, by which letters were sent home *via* Scotland; and from this time nothing occurred to vary the usual monotony of life on shipboard until September 2d, when Resolution Island was sighted. Heavy fogs had prevailed during the whole voyage to this time, and now prevented a landing on this island for a boat-load of natives, as had been originally intended. It was determined, therefore, to grope along through the fog to the gulf.

Soon after losing sight of the island, the vessel had a narrow escape from destruction. The sound of breakers warned the look-

out of the presence of several large icebergs, against which the surf was dashing furiously; and in sheering off from this danger breakers were again heard, this time proceeding from one of the small islands with which the straits are studded. At this moment the fog lifted, and showed on the other side a large iceberg, so close that a biscuit could have been tossed upon it from the vessel. The only chance of escape was to pass between the two before the iceberg drifted closer in shore. The wind was fortunately blowing fresh, and, putting the helm about, the little schooner shot through the dangerous channel like a thing of life, and berg and island disappeared from view in the fog.

Niantilic Harbor was reached on this 12th of September, when several Scotch whalers were found, who reported others at the Kickerton Islands farther up the gulf. Their presence here was unexpected, and compelled Captain Tyson to push on beyond these islands, to a point that could not be reached with safety by the larger vessels. Before doing this, however, it was necessary to secure the services of some natives; and, as the able-bodied ones were all absent on the annual deer-hunt, an enforced delay occurred. The two scientists improved the time—Mr. Sherman by taking regular observations on shore, and Mr. Kumlien in collecting birds and other specimens along the coast.

On the 27th of September a number of boats were observed coming off to the schooner, filled with Esquimaux, men, women, and children. They were soon alongside, over the rail, and on deck, and proved a motley-looking set. They were strangely spotted with grease and dirt combined, the dark-brown skin showing behind the spots. They had been in the mountains hunting for two months, with no opportunity for washing. Soap is unknown among the natives who do not live convenient to the coasts frequented by the whalers, and many of them come into the world and go out of it without knowing the civilized luxury of a wash. The present visit was one of ceremony, and, as many of the older ones had known Tyson when he wintered on the gulf years before, of friendship also. Several of the females brought their little ones, carried in hoods upon their backs; their cries, the howling of the dogs from the boats alongside, and the continual chatter of the men and women, made a pandemonium, from which relief was finally obtained by giving each native in turn a "glass of grog," when they separated in high spirits. Among the natives was a namesake of Captain Tyson, with a wife and two little ones; and these remained

with the Florence until forced to leave her when she sailed for the United States the ensuing year. When the ships first began to winter in the gulf, the sailors, finding the native names hard to remember and difficult to pronounce, amused themselves by bestowing English ones instead. In this way the present visitor, then a sprightly youth, was named after Captain Tyson, who had taken a fancy to him.

On the 1st of October the Florence left Niantilic for the head of the gulf, laden almost to the water's edge with the extra cargo of natives and their household effects. The wind blew quite a gale soon after leaving the harbor, and the water washing over the deck drove the Esquimaux below, and some of them took shelter in the officers' cabin, one old woman even taking possession of the captain's berth. At Kickerton Islands a brief stop was made ; and on the 7th of the month Annanatook Harbor was reached, when the vessel went into winter quarters. Several Esquimau families found on shore were joined by those brought in the Florence, and the preliminary Polar Colony fairly organized. From this date until the schooner broke out in July of the next year, from thirty-five to forty natives were fed daily from its stores.

A lookout for whales was stationed on the small island which sheltered the vessel ; and Mr. Sherman was also located on shore for the winter, in an observatory constructed from a wall-tent, some boards, two small windows, and a stove. Later in the season this tent was surrounded with blocks of snow, which effectually protected the inmates from cold, and enabled them both (for Mr. Kumlien shared its accommodation) to pursue their labors free from interruption and with comparative comfort.

The male portion of the natives were sent out seal-hunting daily, but the women were idle, as they will not work upon deer-skins until the water is frozen over, owing to a superstitious fear that by doing so they will bring misfortunes upon themselves or friends. One of their native ceremonies, called *ankoote*, was performed during the latter part of October, to propitiate the spirits which watch over the whaling interests. To insure a favorable response from these spirits, certain presents are required, including a liberal allowance of spirits of a more material nature. The result of the ceremony was quite satisfactory, and a night's debauch on shore, free from the presence of white men, who would render it inoperative, was speedily followed by the capture of the only whale obtained during the voyage. This whale was landed about forty miles be-

low the vessel, and the bone extracted and brought up on sledges during the winter. One of the sailors was badly frozen while engaged in the capture, and at the date of this writing has not fully recovered.

On December 1st ice had formed as far as the eye could reach. While opening some boxes on this date, one was found that had been sent by Colonel Lupton, of the Interior Department in Washington, a former friend of Captain Hall. It contained a framed portrait of that lamented navigator, and a small flag which accompanied Drs. Kane and Hayes, and also Captain Hall, on their perilous expeditions to the North. The portrait and flag were carefully preserved, and are now in possession of the writer, who hopes to see the flag yet planted farther north than has hitherto been reached by civilized man.

In February a child was born to one of the native families. During the period of child-birth the female Esquimau is compelled to remain alone in a small snow hut especially prepared for her. Here, in solitude and without human aid, she stays until the pains of labor are over, when she washes and dresses the child and returns to the bosom of her family. Infanticide is practiced extensively, although but very few male children are destroyed. Among the western tribes it is carried to such an extent with the female children that at this time there are not enough women to furnish wives for the men, who are in consequence obliged to seek them among strange tribes.

The month of March came in with very cold weather, but a clear and bright sky. The coldest day experienced was January 21st, when the thermometer fell to 52° Fahr.; but the longest sustained period of cold was from March 5th to the 13th, when the temperature was quite steady at 40° below zero.

Toward the latter part of the month the weather moderated, and the natives selected their location for the young-sealing, each Esquimau taking a section several miles in extent. These seals are their principal food in winter, and are much different from the *kiotick* or saddle-backs, as they are called by the whalers. These latter have their young on the pack ice, and are easy to capture. They are found in thousands, the ice being at times black with them as far as the eye can reach. The *netzik*, more timid than its cousin the *kiotick*, has its young under the ice, or between the ice and snow. It chooses a place where the snow lies deep upon the ice, and, commencing from below, will burrow a resting-place be-

tween the hard sea ice and the snow, perhaps fifteen feet long and six feet wide, with a hole at an extremity to afford access to the burrow or egress to the sea. As this resting-place is covered with snow to the depth of several feet, the aid of dogs is necessary in hunting them. When young, the fur of these seals makes excellent clothing.

The Esquimaux were found to believe in a Supreme Being, and also in a place of future punishment. On the death of one of their number, if a man, they place his hunting equipments in the grave to assist him in finding his way to the next world. This custom enabled Mr. Kumlien to obtain many interesting specimens which would otherwise have escaped him. The survivors appear to have little feeling of reverence for the dead, as they cheerfully aided Kumlien to despoil of their contents such graves as he wished to open. The sailors, more civilized, did not approve of this sacrilege; and it was only by stealth that his specimens thus obtained were got on board the Florence. As some of them are quite valuable, it is gratifying to know that they reached the United States in safety, and now form part of the Smithsonian collection.

Auroras were of almost nightly occurrence, but none of remarkable brilliancy were observed. Coronas, parhelia, and other celestial phenomena were also noted, and will be more fully described by Mr. Sherman, within whose province their record naturally fell.

In the latter part of March social life at the colony was brightened by a wedding between one of the local belles and a young Esquimau from below. The day after the ceremony the happy couple started off upon a sealing instead of a bridal tour. Their equipage consisted of an old sleigh drawn by three good dogs and a lame one, deer skins for their nuptial couch, blubber and seal meat, with a little molasses and tea from the ship's stores for their wedding feast. At times when the hunters had been more than usually successful, the officers and scientists of the expedition indulged in the luxury of a feast upon the livers of the female seal, which are highly prized as a gastronomic delicacy.

One of the natives named Chuny was quite intelligent, and communicated to the whites many legends and traditions of his people. Among these was the following account of the manner in which dogs were first obtained: The primitive Esquimaux early felt the need of some animal to draw them to and fro in their hunting expeditions, and therefore importuned the Great Spirit for re-

lief. They made a rude harness of seal thongs, placed it near some large white rocks in the remote north, and returned to their homes; and in a brief time a fine dog team fully equipped made its appearance.

Domestic infelicity exists even among the icy regions of Cumberland Gulf. On the 1st of April a native from Katernuna arrived at the Florence colony in search of his runaway wife. She was found without difficulty, but persistently refused to acknowledge the husband's authority, and he was forced to return without her.

It is one of the observed peculiarities of the gulf region, that in the coldest seasons the water in certain localities does not freeze over. The most solid-looking winter ice is open here and there, in pools and hollows worn by the action of currents and tides. The massive ice which surrounded the little Florence had a tidal rise and fall of twenty-four feet. At the full tides the crunching and grinding of the ice, the dashing of the water, the gurgling of the eddies, and the toppling over of the nicely poised ice tables along the shores, impress the beholder with an awe-inspiring sense of power. In these open holes the seals are found in great numbers through the winter, and they are therefore favorite resorts for the hunters. Even here hunting is not without danger, as the tides run with such force as to frequently detach large masses of ice around the openings, and, lifting them up on edge, will carry them under the main floes.

On the 5th of April one little snow-white bird made its appearance.

The quantity of moisture in the air produced at times very beautiful effects, when congealed by frost upon the masts and rigging of the Florence, decking her out in bridal array.

The inactive habits of the men, with plenty of food, produce some astonishing results. The cabin boy, a slight youth of eighteen when he left New London, had increased to a weight of one hundred and seventy pounds by the following April. A part of his duty was to go on shore daily for the regular allowance of seal meat, which he brought off to the vessel on a little hand-sled. Being a round and rosy-faced youth, he became a great favorite among the dusky damsels of the colony, who would reserve for his special use the choicest delicacies of the season.

By the middle of April the weather became warm, and the crew and natives amused themselves by playing ball on the ice.

The following account of Lake Kennedy, a large body of fresh water to the west of the winter quarters of the Florence, is given by Captain Tyson : The approximate location of the lake is in latitude 66° north and longitude 73° west, but has not been accurately determined, as it is not known to have been visited by white men previous to the year 1876. The natives often speak of this great lake, of its fish and game, including seal, and of its great size. The land about it is a vast plain or prairie, stoneless and treeless, but covered in summer with tall grass, upon which the reindeer feed in immense numbers. The natives visit the lake every spring to hunt reindeer, of which they kill great numbers. They all agree in their statements of the size of the lake and of the abundance of game and fish. In the spring it is the resort of thousands of birds which breed there. Among these birds are several species of geese, the young of which the squaws destroy in vast numbers, and pile in heaps for dog food. The soil about the lake is dark and abounds in fossils. Considered from a scientific point of view, this section is interesting, and it is possible that in a pecuniary one it could be made profitable. It is not probable that so inviting an Arctic paradise will long remain unexplored. Mr. Kumlien occasionally joined the Esquimaux in their visits to this lake and in their seal-hunts, but none of the other members of the expedition felt active enough to do so.

The natives are nearly always traveling, either in the mountains deer-hunting, or over the snow-clad ice floes in search of seals or bears ; and, being light, strong, and muscular, they have greater powers of endurance than the heavier and less active white men. The natives can also sleep upon the ice when tired, and when hungry can easily satisfy their appetite upon such provisions as the country affords. White men, as was proved in the case of Captain Hall, can accustom themselves to the same mode of life ; and it is for the purpose of effecting this that the colonization plan of exploration is proposed.

The case of Nep-e-ken, Tyson's boy, is an instance of the inherent skill and courage of the natives. Although not more than five years of age, he captured six young seals while the Florence lay at Annanitook ; and it was reported that he had been equally successful the preceding year. In addition to his skill as a hunter, he was possessed of other accomplishments more nearly allied to those of civilization, such as chewing and smoking tobacco and drinking rum with all the zest of an old tar. The young girls

could equal him in these matters, having been trained to such evil courses by the ungodly whalemen.

The weather continued very fine through April, leading Captain Tyson to remark enthusiastically that there is no climate in the world superior to that of the Arctic region during the months of April, May, and June. At times the journal becomes quite poetical, as the following extracts will show :

"*April 13th.*—The beauty of the surrounding scenery, of the glorious sunlight shedding its glittering rays over mountains, valleys, and snow-clad floes, of the fleecy cumulus clouds floating lazily across the deep-blue vaulted arch of heaven, form a picture of marvelous beauty of indescribable splendor."

"*April 14th.*—Another perfect day. The sun has a peculiar silvery whiteness, like a burnished mirror, with not a cloud in sight to dim its brightness."

The eyesight of several of the crew soon became affected by the brightness of the sun's rays as reflected from the glittering snow and ice ; and, as by an unfortunate oversight there were no spectacles among the supplies of the Florence, recourse was had to the primitive ones used by the natives. These are made of wood fitted to the shape of the nose, with two slits for the eyes, over each of which a small shelf projects. They are fastened to the wearer with a thong of sealskin, and, although rude in construction, afford grateful protection to the eyes.

Auroras were frequent during the spring, and some of the displays were conspicuously beautiful. On the 14th of April an aurora, visible about midnight, was considered especially interesting by Mr. Sherman, from the fact that it hung over and apparently emanated from some water-holes to the eastward of the schooner.

The Esquimaux have a peculiar manner of expressing or noting distance. *Cone-took* means a little way only, as a hundred yards or a few miles. *Conings-twadle* means a distance that would not be undertaken without steam or sail, and in fine weather ; while *weser-pook* means distance so great that no person was ever known to accomplish it.

Mr. Kumlien's labor of procuring seal skeletons was greatly lessened by using those from which the flesh had been eaten by the colonists and crew. Each day the meat cart of the vessel was sent ashore laden with skulls and other anatomical fragments, for Mr. Kumlien to select specimens from.

By April 23d night had practically disappeared. At midnight it was light enough to render large print visible, and a week later fine print could be read at the same hour.

The order of precedence at meals was as rigidly enforced on board the Florence as at a Cabinet dinner in the White House. The whites came first, and took the best; they were followed by the male Esquimaux, who took their choice; and the squaws, coming last, took what was left.

On May 6th Mr. Sherman obtained a fair observation upon the transit of Mercury. The weather was foggy, but not sufficiently so to obscure the heavens.

May 10th was rendered noteworthy from its being a rainy day —the first observed during the month of May in this region since 1860. The day was an uncomfortable one for the crew, as the water penetrated everywhere on board the vessel. By the latter part of May grass in small quantities made its appearance on shore, and a few flowers straggled forth on the southern exposures. Flies were abundant, and as annoying as in more southern climes. The ice began breaking up rapidly, and large water-holes miles in extent were visible to the north and west; but the outlet to the south was still blockaded by a barrier of firm ice extending across the gulf from shore to shore. Mr. Sherman made daily visits to the land to take observations, but did so at the risk of a wet jacket. The native men also came off to the vessel regularly for their meals, but the women and children would not venture.

On June 11th the Florence got under way, and moved from her winter harbor; and from this date until the Kickerton Islands were reached, July 13th, the little vessel and her crew were exposed to all the dangers of Arctic navigation. They were repeatedly compelled to take shelter behind some protecting island or iceberg larger than its fellows, to escape destruction; and it was only by skillful seamanship, under Divine guidance, that they finally escaped.

On one occasion, the 21st of June, the scene from the deck was one of the wildest confusion. The Florence was at anchor. The ice outside the harbor, under the combined force of the wind and ebb tide, was rushing southward with fierce rapidity. The larger floes slid over the smaller and weaker ones, crushing and grinding them to atoms. The noise of the breaking ice and the wild roaring of the wind, with the flying snow, produced a scene not soon to be forgotten. During all this time the two scientists were steadily at

work—sometimes on shore, sometimes on the ice, and again on the vessel, but always actively employed.

Taking on board fifteen Esquimaux, who volunteered to go north with the expedition to remain indefinitely, twenty-eight dogs, several sledges, and the necessary household goods of the emigrants, the Florence left the Kickerton Islands on July 17th for Disco, and reached that port, after a dangerous and stormy passage, on the 31st of the same month. Off Cape Mercy, a large bear, seen on the floating ice, was killed. The Esquimaux confined in the hold of the vessel had an uncomfortable voyage, and, to secure better weather, held an *ankoote*, which in their opinion produced the desired result, as the wind the next day was less boisterous. The poor dogs suffered also, but only two of the number died. They were landed on one of the outer islands in the harbor, and, being fed daily, soon recovered their normal condition.

At Disco none of the crew were permitted to visit the town until the 13th of August, when the Governor returned from a visit along the coast and removed the restriction, which was based upon erroneous reports received from a Scotch whaler, to the effect that an epidemic was raging among the natives on the mainland where the Florence wintered. Captain Tyson and the two scientists made several visits to the Blue Mountains during this enforced detention, and secured several valuable specimens of meteoric ore, which is found there in considerable quantities. After intercourse was established with the shore, the Governor was exceedingly kind, and supplied such articles of food, etc., as were needed on the Florence.

On the 22d of August Captain Tyson gave up all hopes of seeing the main expedition, and, in compliance with his instructions, took on board the natives, dogs, and other material collected during the winter, and returned with them to the mainland near Niantilic, reaching that harbor on the 30th of August. In discharging the Esquimaux, they were paid liberally for their services, and given such articles of equipment and food as could be spared from the vessel. They joined the whites in the feeling of regret at the non-arrival of the expedition, and promised to be in readiness to join one in the summer of 1879 if called for.

Leaving Niantilic on the 12th of September, the Florence reached St. John's, Newfoundland, on the 26th. Here she remained, making such repairs as had been rendered necessary by the rough weather, until the 12th of October, when she sailed for home, encountering a succession of storms, during which anxious friends mourned those

on board as lost. She touched at Provincetown, Massachusetts, October 26th, for supplies, and dropped anchor in New London Harbor on the morning of the 30th, after an absence of fifteen months.

Her mission was fully accomplished. The practical and scientific results of the voyage equal the most sanguine hopes of its projectors, and show that Arctic colonization is as practicable as African colonization, and can possibly be made as profitable, if profit alone is desired.

It is to be hoped that Congress will take a broad and generous view of the subject, and, appreciating in its true spirit the devotion of the men who left the comforts of home to winter within the Arctic seas, enable them to plant the American flag as far to the north as human endurance and human pluck can carry it.

HENRY W. HOWGATE.

IX.

RECENT FICTION.

Trollope's Is he Popenjoy? | James's Daisy Miller.
James's The Europeans. | Black's Macleod of Dare.
Burnett's That Lass o' Lowrie's.

Novel-writing has become a business, almost a trade. Of those who engage in it, nearly all—the exceptions being very rare—do so merely for the purpose of making money by supplying a demand. For there has come to be, and indeed there has long been in existence in regard to novels, that first factor in the equation of the political economists, a demand; this demand being something very different from the interest awakened by the appearance of a book showing great original power, such for example as "Waverley," "The Pickwick Papers," "Vanity Fair," "The Scarlet Letter," "Adam Bede," or "Jane Eyre." There are millions of people in England, and millions in America, and almost millions in Australia, to whose enjoyment of life novels are almost as necessary as food is to their life itself, every one of whom asks month by month, almost week by week, a new story. They, many of them, take some credit to themselves for the time they pass in "reading"; complacently contrasting themselves with idlers and those who are given up to the frivolities of life. A vain and foolish notion! for there is probably no more insidious form of laziness, no method of passing time more absolutely void of exertion of any kind, than novel-reading, as novels are read by most of those for whom they are written. As a child opens its mouth and has sugar-plums put into it, so the ordinary novel-reader sits quietly and thoughtlessly, and has a story poured through his eyes into his mind, or into what serves him in that capacity. It is in quite another spirit and with another purpose that great works of imagination are approached by those who can appreciate them.

To meet this demand for novels, thousands of pens are constantly employed. The work of most of them never sees the light; but of the number that are set before the public, the general reader has probably no just notion. Moderately rating the number published yearly in London as three hundred, we may be sure

that fifty are published in the United States during the same time, which makes about one new English novel for every "week-day" in the year. Of this mass of fiction nearly the whole passes at once into oblivion. And yet not only is the writing of a good novel the great literary achievement of the day, but good novels are written more and more frequently year by year; as, when all men were soldiers, to be a valiant soldier and a great captain was the highest of all distinctions, and valiant soldiers were common and great captains were not rare; as, when London was full of playwrights and new plays were comparatively as common as new novels are now, the Elizabethan drama came into life, and above the crowd of successful men rose Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, and Beaumont and Fletcher. The great distinction is that which is won in the face of many competitors; and much competition exalts the standard of excellence.

Really good novels are, however, rare enough; so rare in proportion to the numbers of the people who read them, that the production of one is not only a sure distinction but a certain source of considerable money profit. Since the appearance of "Daniel Deronda" only one good novel, or perhaps it might be said two, have been published in England. Of the better of these Anthony Trollope is the author. His last novel has a name that would have deterred the public from reading it had it been the work of an unknown writer. Why he should have given it so ridiculous a title as "Is he Popenjoy?" when "The Dean" or "The Dean's Daughter" would have been so much better and so much more appropriate and descriptive, it is difficult to divine. The representation of character, of which Miss Burney in "Evelina" gave the English-reading world, if not the first, at least the most conspicuous and successful early example, has gradually become the one great purpose of the novel-writer. To this Mr. Trollope adds, incidentally perhaps, but surely not unconsciously, the portraiture of the society of his day. There is in all literature nothing like the picture which is presented in his novels of the social life of England in the middle of the nineteenth century. The truthfulness of the picture is confessed by those whom it represents. It is not merely vividly imagined, as an untrue thing may be and seem real, as for example Carlyle's Robespierre. It *is* "the form and pressure of the time." Even the most intelligent and fastidious women in the society which Mr. Trollope's novels represent admit that he portrays that society with absolute faithfulness; they con-

fess that he makes them act and talk to each other just as they do act and talk in their every-day life; and this admission they make in regard to him alone of all those who have undertaken to represent the higher classes of English society, Bulwer-Lytton not excepted. This being the case, it is worthy of remark by the way that Trollope's social pictures conform so nearly as they do to the traits of corresponding life in this country. That in the former certain men are called lords, or deans, or what not, and that there are great houses, and parks, and a tenantry, and fox-hunting, and so forth, are incidents for which allowance is to be made, but which do not touch the soul or even the substance of the picture. These are the mere outside, the accidents of the life that is set before us. It remains none the less true that as Mr. Trollope's personages pass before us singly or in groups in the familiar intercourse of their every-day life, the sense of reality and of intimacy is so strongly awakened in us that we have sometimes a sense of shame, as if we were watching our friends and neighbors from behind a curtain, or listening to them through the crack of a door. No such effect as this is produced by the best work of the best novelists of France or of Germany.

In Mr. Trollope's last novel he is, however, less in sympathy than usual with his American readers. The great personage of the book, the one that gives the story its strength and vitality, is Dean Lovelace; and the conditions of his life and the springs of his action are practically so unknown to us that, although we can understand them and may sympathize with them, we yet constantly feel their foreignness. The Dean of Brotherton is the son of a well-to-do livery-stable-keeper. This is his origin. As to himself, he is a man of character, of ability, of the highest culture, of fine presence, of personal dignity, and of unexceptionable manners. Moreover, he is a tenderly loving father, and a man whose life is sweetened by good nature, and whose passage through the world is made easy by humor, that sovereign and subtile lubricant. That such a man, even after he had become wealthy and attained the position of a dean, should be hampered by his origin, and should find it so in the way of his complete and proper recognition, and of the happiness of his daughter in the society into which they are thrown—that it becomes, next to that daughter's happiness and as a means thereto, the chief object of his life to assert himself socially, and to bring certain persons, people of rank among those about him, to a thoroughly respectful consideration of him and his daugh-

ter—is almost incomprehensible to those who have not been very directly under the influence of aristocratic institutions. Be this as it may, the man is an admirable creation. He will not suffer by comparison with Archdeacon Grantly or with Mrs. Proudie. And the difference between him and the Archdeacon is worthy of remark; the distinction is so fine and yet so clear, and it is so plainly produced, almost if not altogether by their difference of birth and early breeding. And yet the difference between them is as clearly distinguishable as if they were men of opposite natures and circumstances, although the difference—the inner unlikeness in character—is produced mainly by self-consciousness. The Archdeacon is conscious that, besides being archdeacon, he is a gentleman of recognized position. There are other men indeed who may take precedence of him, as there are men who may take precedence of a duke; but his position as a gentleman is as clearly acknowledged as a duke's, and it is not necessary for him to assert it, or to trouble himself at all about it. Dean Lovelace, on the other hand, knowing that he has every other advantage of the Archdeacon's but that one, feels constantly the lack of the assuredness which it would give him; and in this consciousness on the part of the two men lies chiefly the difference between them in their actions, and it may almost be said their characters. The Dean of Brotherton, in his union of worldly wisdom and a sleepless ambition with perfect honor, with kindliness and good-fellowship, and with a capacity of tenderest love for his daughter, is one of Mr. Trollope's happiest conceptions, and one of those which he has been most perfectly successful in delineating. He has never shown a clearer eye or a steadier hand.

The other personage in this book who commands most attention, and who also removes it from American sympathy, is the Marquis of Brotherton, who is a pendant to Thackeray's Marquis of Steyne, but a far more detestable character. Steyne's part might possibly be played here by a very rich, a very important, and a very coarse-minded man; but a Brotherton in America would be impossible. He is not very rich, for a Stewart or a Vanderbilt might buy him over and over again; nor is he a man of much importance. But he is a marquis, rich, and the head of the family; and, having the position given to him by these circumstances, he is able to tyrannize over his mother and sisters, to be brutally insolent to his brother, and to make himself pestilently offensive to the world in general, with impunity. The Marquis of Brotherton is a

personage impossible in America. At the North he would be excluded from every decent household; at the South he would be "shot on sight." And yet this marquis is not only possible in nature and consistent with himself, but a natural, although an extremely rare, product of the society of which he forms a part, and from which he yet holds himself as much aloof as possible. This Mr. Trollope makes apparent without saying it, and without condemning the system of that society; for he writes as an artist, portraying men and women as he sees them, and not as a dissector of morbid social anatomy, nor even as a satirist, except when he turns his eyes upon anything American.

From the long-practiced British novelist let us turn to a young American, Mr. Henry James, Jr., who, although he is the author of several books, including now four novels, is, compared with Mr. Trollope, almost a tyro. But, although one of the younger writers of the day, Mr. James is no timid experimenter, doubtful of his powers, ignorant of the field upon which he has entered, and uncertain of his aims. We do not know a living writer, except Matthew Arnold, who produces upon his readers a greater impression of self-knowledge, of self-restraint, or of perpetual self-consciousness, nor one whose work shows more evidence of fastidious taste, cautious proceeding, and careful elaboration. Indeed, in his mental traits and literary workmanship, Mr. James does not belong to the English school (English and American being in literature but one), but rather to the French. His cast of thought is French; he has the French nicety of taste, the French reserve of manner, dexterity of hand, and fineness of finish; what wit he has is French, and he is French in the paleness and paucity of his humor. He seems to have Balzac before him as his model; and the best thing he has yet produced is "Madame de Maulves," a sketch which appeared in the "Galaxy" magazine, and which Balzac himself need not have been ashamed to own.

Mr. James's latest work in fiction of any importance is "The Europeans," which is intended, of course, as a companion piece to "The American." The author of "The Europeans" styles it upon his title-page a sketch, probably recognizing himself, by that word, its absence of plot, and confessing that in writing it he did not propose to himself to interest his readers strongly in the fate of his personages. And indeed the sayings and doings of these shadowy people are not such as to trouble us much as to what becomes of them. Their sayings are many and their doings few. The Euro-

peans are two European-born Americans of very Bohemian type and tendency: a youngish woman, Eugenia Young, who as the morganatic wife of a German prince has received the title of Baroness Munster, and her brother, a clever draughtsman, half amateur, half professional, who is engaged in furnishing sketches to an illustrated journal in Europe. To put the matter plainly, the Baroness Munster is an adventuress, nothing more nor less. As an adventuress she became a morganatic wife of the brother of a petty German grand duke (it was thirty years ago), and now as an adventuress she comes to America to try her fortune in finding some rich American to take her in some fashion—as a wife preferable of course—off her German prince's hands. In the first place it is difficult to see why these people are called "the Europeans." They are in a certain sense indeed the product of the conditions of society upon the continent of Europe, as the Marquis of Brotherton and Dean Lovelace are the product of the conditions of society in England. But they are not, like the Marquis and the Dean, indigenous products of that society, integral parts of it; they are waifs and strays—Europeanized Americans of a not very admirable sort. It was a little fretting to see Mr. Newman set forth as "the American" by Mr. James; that personage being hardly, we think, what Mr. James himself would like to have accepted as a fair representative of the social product of his country. But Mr. James's Europeans have really no claim whatever to the style and title which he bestows upon them; being simply cosmopolite Bohemians of European origin; folk which the real people of no country would acknowledge as being of themselves, not to say take pride in owning.

These adventurers find their New England kinsfolk living in one of the suburbs of Boston, and are kindly received by them and placed in a pretty cottage near their own house. There the Baroness and her brother remain week after week, month after month, visiting the big house, doing nothing, suffering nothing, getting into no trouble and therefore getting out of none, making no material for a story even of the slightest kind, but revealing their own characters and drawing out those of their cousins, young and old. These cousins are a father, Mr. Wentworth, and two daughters, Charlotte and Gertrude, who seem to be presented as types of New England people of their condition. And what character they have, it may be acknowledged, is New-England-ish. Their common trait seems to be a pale, intellectual asceticism; but besides this they have very little character at all. Their coldly moral view of life is

admirably described by Mr. James. As he makes Felix say to Gertrude, who is falling in love with him, she and her family "take a painful view of life." This is also indicated reflexively by Gertrude, who, going from the bare neatness and respectability of New England to the Baroness's drawing-room in the little cottage, which the latter has decked and softened with curtains and colored drapery (some of it rather dingy), looks at it, and then "'What is life, indeed, without curtains?' she secretly asked herself; and she appeared to herself to have been leading hitherto an existence singularly garish, and totally devoid of festoons." These Yankee girls have none of the conventional reserves to which Felix has been accustomed; and the effect upon him is thus delicately suggested: "He had known fortunately many virtuous gentlewomen, but it now appeared to him that in his relations with them (especially when they were unmarried) he had been looking at pictures under a glass. He perceived at present what a nuisance the glass had been—how it perverted and interfered, how it caught the reflection of other objects and kept you walking from side to side." These traits of character and others like them, on both sides, are touched by Mr. James with a dainty and skillful hand.

Although Mr. James's Wentworths may be recognized as possible New England people, they can not be accepted as fair representatives, mentally or physically, of their class. His description of the young ladies personally is puzzling. Gertrude, whose slumbering love for the vanities of the world is aroused by the Baroness's festoons, and who finally captivates Felix, is described as being "tall and pale, thin and a little awkward; her hair was fair and perfectly straight; her eyes were dark, and they had the singularity of seeming at once dull and restless—differing herein, as you see, fatally from the ideal fine eyes, which we always imagine to be both brilliant and tranquil." Her sister Charlotte "was also thin and pale; but she was older than the other; she was shorter, and she had dark smooth hair." And yet these most unattractive young ladies are afterward referred to more than once as beautiful. The truth seems to be that Mr. James, clever literary artist as he is, is not strong in imagination. His personages do not exist, even for himself, as living, independent, "self-contained" human beings. They act and speak only as he wishes them to act and speak from time to time. He has no personal respect for them. How could it be otherwise? How could he treat them with any deference when they plainly have no existence for him out of the range of his own

consciousness? He calls "The Europeans" a sketch; and indeed its effect is very sketch-like as well as very French. It brings to mind some of those very clever things of which so many are done by French painters: a mere outline, with a dot or a line suggestive of light and shade set here and there, and then filled with color very faintly washed in; the whole thing indicative of the great skill that comes from careful training, but nevertheless a very shadowy hint of humanity, demonstrative rather of great half-exercised powers on the part of the artist than of the solid and vital personality of the subject. The author seems to be making his sketches, just as Felix did his, to send them to his illustrated paper. Hence it is, probably, that while they are touched off so cleverly they are so unsatisfactory. And yet this lack of individuality and vital force in their personages is the great defect of all Mr. James's novels. His men and women, although they talk exceedingly well, are bloodless, and remind one of the "vox et præterea nihil" of his youth. This shadowy, bloodless effect is not at all the consequence of the particular type of New England personage depicted in "The Europeans"; for, besides that it is manifest in the peopling of all of Mr. James's novels, let the Wentworths, any or all of them, be compared with Madame Launay in Trollope's recent "Lady of Launay," which is a mere sketch no longer than Mr. James's own "Daisy Miller." It consists chiefly of a pair of every-day lovers, and of an old lady who is ready to sacrifice everything and everybody, herself included, upon what she regards as the altar of duty. The lovers have the virtue of constancy; the old lady, Madame Launay, that of inexorable firmness. She is ill, she is almost bed-ridden, she becomes a shadow; but there is more strength, more individuality in this attenuated old woman than in a regiment of Mr. Wentworths. There is one scene in this little sketch in which Philip Launay faces his mother and wins a victory over her, partly by his boldness in assaulting her fortress of will, and partly by the treachery of love within the walls, in which that young man outweighs a ton of such men as are in "The Europeans," although one of them, Mr. Brand, is an enormous specimen of muscular Christianity, and the other is the sinfully positive and joyous Felix Young. This is the question in regard to Mr. James's ultimate success as a novel-writer—whether he will be able to bring before us living personages in whose fate we take an interest. As to his literary skill there is no question. The impression which Felix, always gay, always a little aggressive in his fullness of animal

spirits, makes upon the shy and shrinking Charlotte, is illustrated—we might say illuminated—with a little flash of wit of which the most brilliant French writer might be proud: "Poor Charlotte could have given no account of the matter that would not have seemed unjust both to herself and to her foreign kinsman; she could only have said—or rather she never would have said it—that she did not like so much gentlemen's society at once."

The moral pedantry and the chilly unemotional life characteristic of a not inconsiderable part of New England society in past generations are delicately exposed all through the book. These might have depressed a much less sybaritic person than the Bohemian Baroness. As the story, if story it must be called, draws to a close, these motives find happy expression in the view taken by Mr. Wentworth of the love affairs of Gertrude, who was with his approval to have been given to Mr. Brand, the big young minister, but who with that gentleman's consent transfers herself to Felix. When the change was made known to him, "Where are our moral grounds?" demanded Mr. Wentworth, who had always thought that Mr. Brand would be "just the thing for a younger daughter with a peculiar temperament." And soon after, when he is urged to consent to the marriage, he again reverts to his cherished view of her case: "'I have always thought,' he began slowly, "'that Gertrude's character required a special line of development.'" This brings to mind Mr. Howells's humorous presentation of the same trait of character in his charming "Lady of the Aroostook," yet incomplete. When the Rev. Mr. Goodlow's advice is asked in regard to the unfortunate circumstance of Lydia Blood's being the only woman on board that vessel, and her making the voyage to "Try-East" in company with five men, exclusive of the crew, he replies, "I think Lydia's influence upon those around her will be beneficial, whatever her situation in life may be."

But, merely remarking that Mr. James commits an error of fact and of time in making people of the position of the Wentworths, living in the suburbs of Boston, so ignorant as they are represented to be in regard to European social life and art and literature only thirty years ago, say 1845, we turn to his "Daisy Miller." This he calls a study; and probably it is, as surely it might have been, a study from nature. Daisy Miller is a beauty, and, without being exactly a fool, is ignorant and devoid of all mental tone or character. She dresses elegantly, has "the tournure of a princess," and is yet irredeemably vulgar in her talk and her conduct. She shocks all

Europeans and all well-bred Americans by the terms on which she is with the courier of her party, and by making chance acquaintances with men and flirting with them. She has a grand affair of this kind in Rome, which, after excluding her from the society of more reserved American women, ends in her going to see the Coliseum by moonlight with her Roman cavalier, who is not a gentleman, and taking there the fever of the country and dying. In Daisy Miller Mr. James has undertaken to give a characteristic portrait of a certain sort of American young woman, who is unfortunately too common. She has no breeding, little character, a headstrong will, in effect no mother, and with all this has personal attractions and a command of money which are very rare in Europe, even among people of rank. As she flares through Paris, and flits from place to place over the continent, attended but not controlled by her parents, she is the wonder and horror of all decorous people, American and European. Mr. James's portrait is very faithful. He has succeeded to admiration in the difficult task of representing the manner in which such people as Mrs. and Miss Miller talk; the difficulty being caused by the extremely characterless nature of their conversation, which is never coarse, or very vulgar, or even very foolish. It is simply inane and low-bred, and is marked by certain slight perversions of language; for example, "going around," instead of "going about," of which one phrase, by the way, Mr. James makes rather too much. It is perhaps well that he has made this study, which may have some corrective effect, and which should show European critics of American manners and customs the light in which the Daisy Millers are regarded by Americans themselves. But the probability is that, on the contrary, Daisy Miller will become the accepted type and her name the *sobriquet* in European journalism of the American young woman of the period.

William Black has returned to the scene of his former success. It might be said of him that in his last novel once more his foot is on his native heath, and his name is Macleod. The signal failure of "Madcap Violet" has evidently startled the author of the admirable "Princess of Thule"; and "Macleod of Dare" is a desperate effort to renew the Gaelic spell which in that book and in "A Daughter of Heth" he cast upon the public. To a certain degree the effort is successful; but it is not entirely so. Some of the personages in "Macleod of Dare" are interesting, and the story will certainly command the pleased attention of many readers; but the book has many weak places, and some great faults. It is pervaded

by the one great fault of constantly apparent effort, of a straining after "sensational" effect; and in its catastrophe this is pushed past the limit of the endurable. The two principal personages are as strongly contrasted as it is possible that two members of civilized society at this age of the world could be. Macleod is noble, generous, tender-hearted, unselfish to the verge of human possibility, but yet at bottom an untamed Highlander, capable of desperate actions, and incapable of submission to the restraints of cultivated, not to say of civilized life—almost incapable of their comprehension. It was to a certain extent a very clever device to bring such a man in contact with a beautiful, soft-mannered, selfish, and utterly heartless woman, the product of London life at the present day, like the actress Gertrude White. Macleod's noble nature is as open as the day. To him deceit, subterfuge of any kind, or a mean motive, is absolutely impossible. The woman whom he loves at first fatuously, and afterward desperately, is as faithless as a cat or a she-fox, and is always acting, not only on the stage but at home with her father and her sister, who yet see through her; for she is shallow and weak, and the only depths which she fathoms are the little depths of meanness. Flattered by the grand passion of such a man as the handsome Macleod, borne down perhaps by its strength, and willing to become the wife of a Scotch baronet and to exchange the theatre and her little house in London for Castle Dare, she engages herself to him, and he rides upon the crest of happiness. But she does not love him; and a visit to Castle Dare, where his mother and a female cousin are, soon gives her a distaste for the harsh and simple life that awaits her there, and makes her long for the flesh-pots and the flatteries of London. She soon says to her father that she shall not be sorry to get away from Castle Dare, and this when her lover is quivering in every fibre of his excitable nature with delight in her mere presence; for she neither makes love to him nor suffers him to make love to her. She returns to London, and briefly, in social slang phrase, she throws him over, and engages herself to a distinguished painter—"a woman-man," as the Highland huntsman, sailor, and swimmer calls him. Macleod, whose physical health and joyousness conceal a morbidly sensitive nature, has fretted himself ill under her coldness, and when he hears of her engagement to the painter he goes mad; that is, he becomes a monomaniac upon the subject of his love. Only on the assumption of his monomania can his subsequent conduct be regarded as any other than savage, fiendish. A faithful Gaelic henchman

of his, Hamish, whose admirably depicted character is not quit new, for it brings to mind another in "A Princess of Thule," hate the beautiful, soft-mannered Englishwoman, because of the deplo rable condition into which her indifference has brought the maste for whom at any time he would give his life; and he suggests plan to Macleod for carrying off Gertrude—plainly, for abductin her and forcing her inclinations. They go to London in Macleod' yacht, and the plot succeeds: Gertrude is taken on board the Um pire into the northern seas again. She still refuses Macleod; an he, seeing a tremendous equinoctial storm approaching, sends Ha mish and the rest on shore on a little island, awaits the storm wit Gertrude, and the yacht goes down with them together.

This is poor business for the author of "A Daughter of Heth," "The Adventures of a Phaeton," and "A Princess of Thule." I is artistically no better than the melodrama that wins the applaus of a cheap theatre. Essentially Macleod's act is no better or othe than that of the jealous ruffian of the slums who murders his "girl" because she "goes with another feller." It is dressed up very skill fully, and by Mr. Black's art is elevated in seeming into an act o just retribution, aided by the powers of nature, and accompanied b the self-sacrifice of love driven to desperation. But, for all that, i is simple revenge, murder, and suicide. Mr. Black, it must be con fessed, carries us through the strain of this catastrophe with a strong hand; but all his art cannot, upon a moment's reflection, conceal the base and savage character of Macleod's conduct, although w may partly excuse *him* on the assumption that he has become maniac. The development of Gertrude's character is an admirabl piece of work. The author reveals with great delicacy the utte baseness of her smooth and selfish nature; and, more, he shows us without describing, one of those women, happily rare, who, althoug they may not be without passions, are wholly devoid of sexual ten derness. Gertrude White was incapable of loving either man o child—the child that she might herself have borne, or its father.

Of all recent fiction, the flower and crown is "That Lass o' Low rie's." Its appearance, like that of "Jane Eyre" and "Adam Bede," marks the advent of a new writer of original power. Wha the range of that power may be, and what its endurance, is to b shown in the future. The conception itself is admirable, and i embodies in a most impressive manner a thought, or rather a senti ment, which is not new, but which is widespread and strong, and which has never before been born into flesh and blood. The exist

nce of such a noble soul and such noble beauty as Joan Lowrie's, n a condition of life so low and so coarsening as that of a Lan- ashire coal-pit girl, has doubtless occurred to other minds as among he possibilities; but it has been reserved for Mrs. Burnett to show is the workings of such a woman's soul, to make us feel the influ- nce of such a woman's beauty, to develop her before us by varied nfluences into a thoughtful, gentle woman, to let us see her love for . man so much above her that she deems herself hardly fit to speak o him grow into the one absorbing passion of her life, which she et sacrifices in mute agony rather than put him to shame. There re other personages in the story, all of which are admirable, even lown to Nib the terrier. Fergus Derrick is a complete man, and o different from the usual woman's model man. Old Sammy Crad- lock is a grotesque, yet full of life and nature. Anice Barholm is new woman, and a very winning one; and her father, the Rev. Harold Barholm, in his embodiment of mingled good nature and olossal conceit, is one of the most successful figures in the story. But before Joan Lowrie they all "pale their ineffectual fires." Like a great actress, she comes before us, and at once takes the tage; but it is a shame even to compare anything in her to act- ng, to hint that there may be any likeness between her and such a reature as Gertrude White. We feel her presence throughout the ook. From the time when we first see her at the pit's mouth, we ave an apprehension of her nature, its grandeur and its richness, nd of the supreme loveliness of her—soul and body. We see, too, what her heart's trial is to be, although we do not see how she will o through it or what will be its issue. The changes which are orked in her—which yet are not changes, but developments—are rought about with admirable skill, it might be said with skill intui- ive. The development of her womanly tenderness through her care f poor Liz's child, the elevation and chastising of her nature by her cquaintance with the story of Christ's life and suffering, and the uickening of her womanly reserve by the growth of her love and he sense of her humiliation, advancing side by side with equal steps —these unite to make the portrayal of the character of Joan Lowrie ne of the finest feats in modern novel-writing. And all this is one so quietly, with such a firm hand, with such reserve of power! t is, indeed, very admirable. Some of Mrs. Burnett's earlier stories ave been published in book form: "Pretty Polly Pemberton," Lindsay's Luck" (which has an American Robert Lindsay, a fine ellow, for its hero), "Surly Tim," and others. Although much

inferior to "That Lass o' Lowrie's," they show in common with it, to a certain degree, the power of making living men and women, and setting them before us in free natural action. What Mrs. Burnett may be able to do in writing of greater elaboration than she has yet attempted, cannot of course be now even conjectured; but she has already shown that, among all the novel-writers of the present generation, not one has surpassed her in vividness and strength of imagination. But, if she were never to write another book, we should owe her perpetual thanks for "That Lass o' Lowrie's." It is a book of which all women may well be jealous; for no man whose love is worth having can read it and lay it down not more than half in love with his ideal of Joan Lowrie.

RICHARD GRANT WHITE.

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I.

THE CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN CONGRESS.

THERE are few subjects of equal public interest concerning which so much misunderstanding prevails among well-informed people as the course of business in the national House of Representatives. Most persons think that their representative can at any time, if he choose, rise in his place and demand the attention of the House to a speech on any subject which may interest him or his constituents, and compel the body to record its opinion on any bill or resolution he sees fit to introduce. This is far from being true. The House of Representatives is governed by a complicated and artificial system of rules, so difficult to be understood that many able men of great national fame go through long terms of service without professing to comprehend it. It is not my purpose to write a treatise on this complex arrangement. I wish only to call attention to the operation of a few parts of the mechanism which seem to me to require alteration, and to show how they tend to diminish the authority, weight, and dignity of the House, and how they have deprived that illustrious body of the equality with the Senate which the framers of the Constitution contemplated.

The representatives of the large States in the Convention of 1787 contended earnestly for the apportionment of representation among the States in both branches according to numbers. The representatives of the small States demanded equality of representation in the Senate. This difference seemed for a long time inca-

pable of adjustment, and nearly caused the Convention to break up without accomplishing its purpose. The difficulty was compromised by the appointment of a committee of one from each State, whose report was adopted with some modification. The large States yielded the equality of representation in the Senate, but demanded and secured for the House the sole power of originating bills for raising revenue. The clause as reported was as follows:

> All bills for raising or appropriating money, and for fixing the salaries of the officers of the Government of the United States, shall originate in the first branch of the Legislature, and shall not be altered or amended by the second branch; and no money shall be drawn from the public treasury but in pursuance of appropriations to be originated in the first branch.
>
> In the second branch, each State shall have an equal vote.

The clause as to revenue bills was adopted in this form:

> All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

It will be observed that, while the Convention voted to confine the power of originating bills for raising revenue to the House, it with equal distinctness voted not to extend this prohibition to bills for appropriating money. The system so established differs from the Constitution of England in three essential particulars: In England, no appropriation for a public purpose can be introduced in the House of Commons without a previous request from the Crown; no money bill can be amended by the Lords; and the exclusive prerogative of the Commons extends to all bills for raising or appropriating money. So jealous are the Commons of this prerogative, that the Lords rarely attempt to make any but verbal alterations in money bills, in which the sense or intention is not affected; and, when the Commons accept these, they make special entries on their journals recording the character and object of the amendments, and their reasons for agreeing to them.

There is no historical evidence that anybody in the Convention gave much consideration to the effect of these changes from the English system upon the value of the prerogative. The better opinion was, that the importance of the privilege, as asserted by the English Commons, was very much exaggerated, and that American experience in those States whose constitutions contained a like provision had shown that it was without advantage, and was a fruitful source of wrangling between the two Houses. Mr. Madison

said: "I confess I see nothing of concession in it. The originating money bills is no concession on the part of the smaller States, for, if seven States in the second branch should want such a bill, their interest in the first branch will prevail to bring it forward. It is nothing more than a nominal privilege."

This is one of the few subjects upon which General Washington's vote is recorded: "He disapproved, and till now voted against, the exclusive privilege. He gave up his judgment," he said, "because it was not of very material weight with him, and was made an essential point with others, who, if disappointed, might be less content in other points of real weight."

Similar views were expressed by many of the most eminent members. Three of the larger States, to whom this privilege was offered as a concession, by way of equivalent for the equality of the small States in the Senate, voted against it as an independent proposition. Mr. Hallam, in his "Constitutional History," expresses a similar opinion as to the exaggeration by the House of Commons of the importance of their exclusive privilege. If this view was sound when the scheme was to deny all power of amendment to the Senate, it has infinitely greater weight after the power of amendment has been yielded. The pocket of the Englishman is protected against lavish expenditure by the fact that no sixpence of his money can be granted for a public purpose that has not first been asked for by the Crown, on the advice of a responsible and accountable minister, and because none of his possessions can be made the subject of tax, excise, or duty, unless the proposal come from his own representative. The assent of the sovereign and the Lords is only needed to give the force of law to what is the gift of the free will of the Commons.

To the system established by our Constitution, widely departing as it did from the methods by which the unwritten constitutional law of England keeps the power of the purse in the hands of her Majesty's faithful Commons, two important additions have been made by construction. It should be stated that, whenever a question has arisen between the two branches in regard to the construction of this clause in the Constitution, the House of Representatives has invariably had its own way. It was said by Mr. Webster, in the Senate, in 1833: "The constitutional question must be regarded as important, but it was one which could not be settled by the Senate. It was purely a question of privilege, and the decision of it belonged alone to the House."

1. By a practice as old as the Government itself, the constitutional prerogative of the House has been held to apply to all the general appropriation bills.

2. The power of amendment, as on other bills, has not been held, as between the two Houses, to be limited to the subjects embraced in the bill as sent from the House, or to perfecting its special arrangements. Each House has a rule, which seldom is an obstacle to the accomplishment of anything which a majority of its members desire, declaring that no proposition on a subject different from that under consideration shall be admitted under color of amendment. It seems impossible to doubt that the amendments contemplated by the framers of the Constitution were amendments touching the particular subject matter to which the clauses received from the House relate. The House of Commons, so strict to assert its prerogative against the Lords, admits the right of the Lords to amend, by admitting altogether provisions which are not germane to the other provisions of the bill (189 Hansard, third series, 411).

The rules of our House are so construed that, on the great appropriation bills, any amendment designed to carry into effect existing law, or provide for administering any department of the Government, is held admissible ; and they are never invoked by the House against the Senate.

If this were all—if the House and Senate were two bodies of equal numbers, acting under the same rules, and made up substantially of men of the same sort—it is difficult to perceive the slightest advantage that the House or the people could derive from this prerogative, so far as it relates to the appropriation of public money. The eleven general appropriation bills, and one or more deficiency bills, are reported annually. The former are required by a rule of the House to be reported from the Committee on Appropriations within thirty days after its appointment. This rule is seldom obeyed. These bills contain, on an average, appropriations to the amount of more than two hundred millions, to which the Senate commonly adds many millions more. These Senate amendments embrace every variety of expenditure for the public service, and every variety of new legislation ; the discretion of the upper branch being, in this particular, as absolutely unaffected by this constitutional barrier as if it had no existence whatever. The wishes of the Senate, in case of difference of opinion in regard to a proposition which the Senate originates, are much more likely to prevail when that proposition is added to a measure the House has agreed to,

than if the same measure should originate as a separate bill in the Senate, and be sent to the House by itself for consideration on its own merits.

The surrender of the power of amendment, then, as it has invariably been construed, was the surrender of the whole privilege. It has not only destroyed the advantage intended to be secured for the immediate representatives of the people, but has given the Senate a considerable preponderance of influence in legislation. It has enabled the Senate to exert the power of tacking clauses to bills of supply, and thereby to extort the consent of the House. This power has been always denied in Parliament, even to the Commons as against the Lords. On December 9, 1702, it was ordered and declared by the Lords, "that the annexing any clause or clauses to a bill of aid or supply, the matter of which is foreign to or different from the matter of the said bill of aid or supply, is unparliamentary, and tends to the destruction of the Constitution of this Government" (see Sir Thomas Erskine May's "Parliamentary Practice," seventh edition, pages 581–583).

But the destruction of the rightful power of the House over the great appropriation bills which regulate and supply the Government in all its ordinary administrative functions, and which contain a very large portion of its general legislation, is rendered more complete by the method of doing business to which the House has confined itself by its own rules. All appropriation bills which are first reported in the House must, by their rules, be first discussed in Committee of the Whole. No bill can be reported from this committee to the House until every member has had an opportunity to move as many amendments as he chooses. Debate cannot be stopped by the previous question. The House before going into committee may, it is true, order debate to close on any particular section or on the whole bill at a fixed time. Yet this does not prevent amendments, and is rarely resorted to until debate has strayed from the particular subject of the bill into general political discussion. So far, therefore, as the consideration of the appropriation bills as originally reported is concerned, the usages of the House preserve for itself the character of a deliberative assembly, and for each of its members the privilege of expressing his opinion in debate, and of bringing to a vote whatever measure he may desire. But these bills then go to the Senate. They are there examined by the appropriate committee, and reported to the Senate, where days are spent in their consideration, with unlimited opportunity for debate and

amendment. Not only is the original bill remodeled, reviewed, revised, at the pleasure of the Senate, but hundreds of entirely new provisions are added at the pleasure of the upper branch. The measure which came from the House, the prerogative of originating which is specially secured by the Constitution and guarded by the House with such jealous care, has precisely the same position and weight, neither more nor less, as any proposition moved by a single member of the Senate.

When the bill goes back to the House, containing the Senate amendments, the session is usually far advanced. In the year of the short session the constitutional limit of the life of the House is approaching. In the alternate years, when the session extends into summer, the scorching heats render men eager to leave Washington, and the two branches have usually fixed the time of adjournment by concurrent vote. There is no time for examination, debate, or reference to Committee of the Whole. The House non-concurs in the Senate amendments in the lump, without hearing them read. The Senate insists. A conference is asked and granted. Conference committees are appointed, consisting of three members from each branch, usually the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, with that member of the committee most conversant with the subject of the bill, and one member of the minority. These committees confer and agree upon a report compromising and compounding all matters of difference between the two Houses as they may be able. Their report is matter of the highest privilege. It may be made at any time, no matter in what business the House be engaged. A member who is speaking may be taken off his feet by its superior claim to attention. No motion to lay it on the table, to indefinitely postpone, or to amend it is in order. The House or Senate must accept it as a whole or reject it as a whole. If it be rejected, a new conference may be ordered, but the result of a conference must sooner or later be accepted in a mass, or the whole bill be lost. The House is all this time under a sort of duress. If it suffer the appropriation bill to fail, the Government must stop, or an extra session be held at midsummer, with its cost and discomfort. Every other year the House votes on the appropriation bill with the knowledge that if it do not agree to amendments on which the Senate insists, and the bill fail, its power over the subject must be lost altogether by the arrival of the 4th of March, when its life expires, and the new bill must be dealt with by its successors.

Degrading as this system is to the House as a body, its effect on

the individual member is still more remarkable. The whole power of legislation over that vast field which is covered by the Senate's amendments to the great appropriation bills is in practice delegated to two of the three members who are appointed on the conference committee. No other member gets a chance to discuss them, to vote separately on any one of them, to make any motion in relation to them, or even to see in print what the committee recommend in regard to them. "Gape, sinner, and swallow."

If the reader has followed this somewhat technical statement, he has observed that while the power of amendment reserved in our Constitution, as it is expounded in practice, allows to the Senate and to each of its members the fullest opportunity to deal with appropriation and revenue bills as freely as with bills relating to any other subject, the rules and usages of the House leave that body with much less practical power of deliberation or amendment in regard to all those provisions which have their origin in the Senate than the House of Lords has in relation to money bills under the English system.

Suppose, now, all this were reversed. Suppose the Constitution were to provide that all money bills should originate in the Senate, permitting the House to amend, as in the case of other bills. The House would then, on the arrival of the bill, commit it to the Committee of the Whole, where every clause proposed by the Senate and every amendment proposed in the House would be fully discussed, with unlimited power to propose changes, every individual member having the fullest opportunity to express his opinion or offer his plan ; and the conference committee of both branches would receive the bill fully possessed of the views of their respective Houses as to every syllable which had been proposed by either. When, therefore, the large States accepted the clause in question as a partial equivalent for the equality of the small States in the Senate, they accepted a further limitation of their own power. When the House, in 1832, refused to permit Mr. Clay's compromise bill to have its origin in the Senate ; when, in 1856, it refused to permit the Senate to originate some of the general appropriation bills ; and when, in 1870, it refused to permit the Senate to add a revision of the whole tariff to a bill abolishing the duties on tea and coffee, its victory was an abdication of its equality in legislation with the Senate, and tended to deprive every one of its members of his right to debate or amendment in regard to a large part of the most important legislation of the country.

I have been speaking of the course of the ordinary business of Congress. Upon the great questions which move the heart of the nation and divide political parties, the body of the House and its leaders are commonly in full accord, and the representatives of the American people know how to make their power felt and assume their rightful and constitutional place in legislation. But even here it is not enough that the House preserves its power. The power to do what it will, and to refuse consent to what it will not, will not preserve its own dignity or its value as an important factor in legislation, unless its will is the result of its best judgment; in other words, unless it preserve its function as a deliberative assembly. The difficulty is not that on great occasions and great questions the voice of the House is stifled. On such occasions the House and its leaders are in accord with each other, and commonly in accord with a public sentiment which the Senate will not lightly resist. But the practice I have been exposing tends largely to take from the House the character of a deliberative assembly. The barren and empty privilege of originating bills of revenue and bills of supply it has purchased at the sacrifice of that essential prerogative—essential to its own dignity and to that of every individual among its members—its freedom of debate.

Let us pass now from the subject of money bills to a glance at the methods of general legislation. The morning hour of every Monday is devoted by the House to a call of all the States and Territories for the introduction of bills and joint resolutions. The House commonly takes care that every member has full opportunity to introduce as many bills as he desires. These bills are usually printed. The rule is peremptory that they shall be at once referred to their appropriate committees without debate and without the right to move to reconsider the vote of reference. Several thousand bills are introduced in this way in every Congress. Worthy citizens interested in special reforms are much gratified to read that their member has introduced some excellent and radical measures of reform. The bills themselves are copied by approving newspapers, and redound greatly to the credit of their enterprising authors. For all practical purposes, they might as well be published in a newspaper in New Zealand or Alaska. The processes by which these bills are strangled will be understood by comprehending the operation of the committees and the effect of the previous question.

The House has forty-seven permanent committees, and usually half a dozen special committees on important subjects. Appropri-

ation bills, revenue bills, contested-election cases, and resolutions authorizing the necessary public printing may be reported at any time. All other national legislation can only, under the rules, be reported from the appropriate committee when it is called by the Speaker for reports in its turn. For this call, an hour after the reading of the Journal, on every day except Monday and Friday, is set apart. Each committee is entitled, when it is called, to occupy this morning hour of each of two successive days with the measures which it has prepared, and, if its second morning hour expire while the House is actually considering one of its measures, to have that single measure hold over in the morning hour till it is disposed of. Supposing the two sessions which make up the life of the House to last ten months, and allowing for the holidays, the time taken for organization and appointing committees, and the time when the four privileged subjects above named take up the attention of the House, so that the morning hour can not be devoted to this call, I suppose one hundred days in two sessions is an unusually large average of days when such a call is had. This gives an average of not more than two hours apiece to the committees of the House to report upon, debate, and dispose of all the subjects of general legislation committed to their charge. From this time is taken the time consumed in reading the bill, and in calling the yeas and nays, which may be ordered by one fifth of the members present, and which requires forty minutes for a single roll-call. The members of the committees, of course, take special interest in the subjects assigned to them, which they have investigated and reported, and which they have prepared themselves to discuss. It will readily be believed, therefore, that the House is inclined to shorten rather than to lengthen the time given to any one matter—each member eager that the committee holding the floor shall give way as soon as possible, that the call may go on and his own committee's turn come the sooner. The committee holding the floor, if it have several measures matured, desires to hurry each along as fast as possible, that it may dispose of the others. After the bill is reported, the member reporting it is entitled to the floor for an hour. If the previous question is ordered, he has a further hour to sum up. No amendment can be offered till the member's first hour is over, and none after the previous question is ordered. The result is, that the floor is held by the member who made the report, and parceled out by yielding portions of his time to persons who desire to speak for or against the measure. The sense of fair play

in the House usually secures an equal division of the time allowed for debate between friends and foes. But the person who reports the bill dictates how long the debate shall last, who shall speak on each side, and whether any and what amendments shall be offered. Any member fit to be intrusted with the charge of an important measure would be deemed guilty of an inexcusable blunder if he surrendered the floor, which the usages of the House assign to his control for an hour, without demanding the previous question. The House in rare instances refuses to grant the demand, but this is at the hazard of prolonging debate indefinitely, which, for the reason above stated, is usually the last thing which any considerable number of members desire. Another expedient is more frequent. A minority who wish to secure a chance to debate or amend a specially obnoxious bill sometimes bring the majority to terms by what is called filibustering, that is, consuming time by repeated motions to adjourn, on which the yeas and nays are called, so that no progress is made in business until the majority grant time for debate or agree to test the sense of the House by permitting an amendment to be moved. These difficulties, which stand in the way of the introduction of bills in the regular mode under the rules, and beset them after they are introduced, have led to another device by means of which a large proportion, perhaps a majority, of all the bills which pass the House are carried through. Every Monday after the morning hour, and at any time during the last ten days of the session, motions to suspend the rules are in order. At these times any member may move to suspend the rules and pass any proposed bill. It requires two thirds of the members voting to adopt such motion. Upon it no debate or amendment is in order. In this way, if two thirds of the body agree, a bill is by a single vote, without discussion and without change, passed through all the necessary stages, and made law so far as the consent of the House can accomplish it; and in this mode hundreds of measures of vital importance receive, near the close of exhausting sessions, without being debated, amended, printed, or understood, the constitutional assent of the representatives of the American people.

In administering this system, the general outline of which I have given, many subtile and artificial constructions and distinctions have been established, which it is not necessary to deal with here. I have failed to make myself understood if the reader has not seen how completely, by its own rules, the House has deprived itself of "that freedom of deliberation, speech, and debate" which

our early American constitutions declare to be "essential to the rights of the people." This result has been brought about by what is called "the previous question"—a guillotine which is in constant operation.

The previous question in England is used to postpone or defeat a question which for any reason it is not desirable to bring to a direct vote; never to force through a measure without debate. In early times the form of the previous question was, "Shall the previous question be put?" If this were decided in the negative, the question was indefinitely postponed; if in the affirmative, the question was at once put. In 1604, at the suggestion, it is said, of Sir Henry Vane, the present form, "Shall the main question be *now* put?" was substituted. Under this, if the vote be in the negative, the question goes over to the next legislative day; if in the affirmative, the question is at once put. If the previous question, as under our rules, were to be at once put without debate, it is obvious that the English system would put it in the power of a single member to stop debate, against the wish of the rest of the body, by making a motion which, if decided one way, causes the main question to be at once put, and, if decided the other, removes it altogether from before the House. But in England debate goes on after the previous question is moved as before, and the previous question is not voted upon till debate is exhausted. "Hence," Mr. Cushing says, "it happens that when the previous question is moved and seconded, the adversaries of the measure, instead of being confined in the debate to its merits, as would otherwise be the case, have the advantage of all objections which can be urged against the proposition itself, against the time when it is brought forward, and against the form in which it is moved; and this is an advantage of which they can not be deprived, so long as a single member objects to the withdrawal of the previous question."

The previous question thus restricted has never come into common use in Parliament. Sheridan, in a memorable debate, speaks of "the shabby shelter of the previous question." It never is applied in Committee of the Whole. It was never applied in the second reading of a bill until 1858, and it has probably not been resorted to a dozen times since.

The Senate, on its first organization in 1789, adopted by its rules the previous question as used in the House of Commons. On the 17th of March, 1806, it established a new code of rules in which no mention is made of the previous question; but the eighth rule was as follows:

While a question is before the Senate, no motion shall be received, unless for an amendment, for postponing the question, or to commit it, or to adjourn; and the motion for adjournment shall always be in order, and shall be decided without debate.

By this rule the Senate abolished the previous question altogether. For seventy-two years there has been no restraint in that body upon the liberty of debate and the power of amendment. Mr. Foot of Connecticut proposed, on the 23d of January, 1832, that the question of consideration should be decided without debate. This was denounced by Mr. Benton as an invasion of the liberty of speech, and was not pressed.

In 1841, after twelve years of Democratic rule, the Whigs took possession of the Government, with a majority of nearly fifty in the House and of seven in the Senate. On the 6th day of July, at the extra session, the rules of the House were amended by adding that the House might, "by a majority vote, provide for the discharge of the Committee" (of the Whole) "from the consideration of any bill referred to them, after acting without debate upon all amendments pending and that may be offered." This was carried by a vote of 117 to 95, after a considerable struggle. John Quincy Adams speaks of it in his diary as "a new screw." Mr. Medill, afterward Governor of Ohio, denounced the new rule in language which would seem both impressive and prophetic, if we did not find like epithets so constantly in the mouths of Democratic speakers on all occasions great and small:

What is the tendency and operation of this monstrous proposition? It is to enable the majority to apply the *gag* in Committee of the Whole as well as in the House, and thus cut off debate on any subject whatever. This is a proposition that I venture to say was never before made in any legislative body, and even in the British Parliament would subject its mover to the most indignant rebuke. In the Committee of the Whole the utmost latitude of debate has ever been indulged, and there the minority have a right to be heard without any other restraint than is imposed on all. In the British Parliament, as well as in the legislative bodies of this country, all bills raising supplies or levying taxes must be committed here, that the discussion may be free, and unrestrained by the majority, which is most frequently with the Executive.

But adopt the proposition of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Calhoun), and you can cut off all debate, not only in the House but the Committee of the Whole, whenever a drilled majority shall so determine. Thus appropriations may be made and our constituents taxed to maintain the expenses of our extravagance of government; and, standing here in the minority,

though representing a large and intelligent constituency, our mouths may be absolutely closed, and abuses of every kind may be practiced without the possibility of exposure.

Immediately after the declaration of the vote, Mr. Lott Warren of Georgia, with a view, as he said, "to carry out the reform which had been begun," announced his purpose to offer as an amendment to the twenty-eighth rule: "And that no member be allowed to speak more than one hour to any question under debate." This was adopted on the following day, June 7th; yeas 111, nays 75. Mr. Adams records in his diary: "I voted against the resolution, but hope it will effect much good." On the 8th of June, the House being in committee on the loan bill, while Mr. Pickens was speaking in opposition, the Chair reminded him that his hour was out. Mr. Pickens denied that the House had any constitutional right to pass such a rule. The Chair again reminded Mr. Pickens that he had spoken an hour. Mr. Pickens would then conclude by saying that it was the most infamous rule ever passed by any legislative body.

With this ineffective remonstrance the minority of the House submitted to the inauguration of the practice, which has ever since prevailed with constantly increasing strictness. I suppose the large majority of measures which pass the House of Representatives are passed on motion to suspend the rules and adopt the bill, on which motion neither debate nor amendment is permitted, or under the previous question, moved by the member who introduces the measure at the time of its introduction, either wholly without discussion or amendment, or with only so much of either as the mover, in his discretion, sees fit to allow.

These resolutions, which have had so great effect on the character of the House, are attributed by Mr. Benton to Mr. Clay. Mr. Clay was the leader of the Whig party in Congress. His lordly and imperious nature chafed under the incessant and vigorous attacks of his Democratic antagonists on the one hand, and the refusal of the Executive branch of the Government to submit to his dictation on the other. He was impatient to carry through the measures for which the extra session had been called. The Whigs had taken possession of the Government after the sweeping political revolution of 1840, eager to reverse the policy which had prevailed for twelve years, and, with a brief interval, since the accession of Jefferson in 1801. In regard to every one of the great subjects of legislation, the Whigs attempted to exercise national powers which had

never been used or had long lain dormant. The Democrats encountered every measure with the charge that it violated the Constitution, and that it was legislating for the rich against the poor. The Democrats in the Senate, reduced in numbers, were united and compacted by their defeat, and never had abler leaders. Franklin Pierce, Levi Woodbury, Silas Wright, James Buchanan, John C. Calhoun, William R. King, Robert J. Walker, William Allen, Lewis F. Linn, Thomas H. Benton, with associates of scarcely less eminence, acted, says Benton, "on a system, and with a thorough organization, and on a perfect understanding. There were but twenty-two of us, but every one a speaker, and effective. We kept their measures upon the anvil, and hammered them continually; we impaled them against the wall, and stabbed them incessantly." Almost every sentence of their speeches had its separate sting, often going to the very verge of parliamentary freedom of debate. "Action, action, action," cried Calhoun, "means nothing but plunder, plunder, plunder!"

As soon as the new rule had been adopted in the House, and the peaceable submission of the minority ascertained, Mr. Clay gave notice of his purpose to introduce it in the Senate. Fortunately for the Senate, fortunately for the country, he encountered a very different spirit from that which prevailed in the lower branch.

Mr. Benton states that the Democratic Senators, having got wind of what was to come, had consulted together and taken their resolve to defy and dare it—to resist its introduction and trample upon the rule if voted; and, in the mean time, to gain an advantage with the public by rendering odious the attempt. In pursuance of this agreement, the minority did not wait for Mr. Clay formally to propose his rule, but raised the first pretext to demand an explanation of his purposes. In reply to some remarks of Silas Wright on the fiscal-bank bill, Mr. Clay charged that the opposition to the measure was meant to delay the public business, "with no other design than to protract to the last moment the measures for which this session had been expressly called. This, too, was at a time when the whole country was crying out in an agony of distress for relief."

Mr. Calhoun resented this imputation with great spirit, and demanded: "Did the Senator from Kentucky mean to apply to the Senate the gag law passed in the other branch of Congress? If he did, it was time he should know that he and his friends were prepared to meet him on that point."

Mr. Clay replied that he was "ready at any moment to bring forward and support a measure that should give to the majority the control of the business of the Senate of the United States. Let them denounce it as much as they pleased in advance; unmoved by any of their denunciations and threats, standing firm in support of the interests which he believed the country demanded, for one he was ready for the adoption of a rule which would place the business of the Senate under the control of a majority of the Senate."

Mr. Calhoun said there was "no doubt of the Senator's predilection for a gag law. Let him bring on that measure as soon as ever he pleases." Mr. Benton: "Come on with it."

Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View," states that Mr. Clay found that some of his associates who had agreed to stand by him in establishing the hour rule withdrew their promise under the firm opposition of the minority, and that the latter had determined not only to oppose the adoption of the rule, but to resist its execution, even if the resistance should involve disorder and violence. Mr. Clay under these circumstances gave way, but proposed the introduction of the previous question, expecting this would be accepted as a compromise. Three days after the former debate he declared that "the minority controlled the action of the Senate, and caused all the delay in the public business. They obstruct the majority in the dispatch of all business of importance to the country, and particularly those measures which the majority is bound to give to the country without further delay. Did not this reduce the majority to the necessity of adopting some measure which would place the control of the business of the session in their hands? It was impossible to do without it; it must be resorted to."

Benton says that "several Whig Senators had refused to go with Mr. Clay for the hour rule, and forced him to give it up; but they had agreed to go for the previous question, which he held to be equally effective, and was in fact more so, as it cut off debate at any moment. It was just as offensive as the other."

Mr. King, afterward Vice-President, said he was "truly sorry to see the honorable Senator so far forgetting what is due to the Senate as to talk of coercing it by any possible abridgment of its free action. The freedom of debate had never yet been abridged in that body since the foundation of this Government. Was it fit or becoming, after fifty years of unrestrained liberty, to threaten it with a gag law? He could tell the Senator that, peaceable a man as he [Mr. King] was, whenever it was attempted to violate that

sanctuary, he, for one, would resist that attempt even unto the death."

It was thought best that the public mind should be prepared for what might follow by a full statement of the position of the minority, which Mr. Benton was designated by his Democratic associates to make. The report of his speech in the "Congressional Globe" is somewhat tamer than that found in the newspapers of the day. He said: "He understood it was in contemplation to introduce the previous question into the Senate, not only in its ordinary proceedings but in Committee of the Whole. It was easy to see how a bill would be amended there. He should consider an attempt to rule the Senate by the despotism of the gag as bad as introducing a band of soldiers into it to force measures through by pitching opposing Senators out of the windows."

He closed by saying:

> Sir, when the previous question shall be brought into this chamber—when it shall be applied to our bills in our *quasi* committee—I am ready to see my legislative life terminated. I want no seat here when that shall be the case. As the Romans held their natural lives, so do I hold my political existence. The Roman carried his life on the point of his sword; and when that life ceased to be honorable to himself or useful to his country, he fell upon his sword, and died. This made of that people the most warlike and heroic nation of the earth. What they did with their natural lives I am willing to do with my legislative and political existence: I am willing to terminate it when it shall cease to be honorable to myself or useful to my country; and that I feel would be the case when this chamber, stripped of its constitutional freedom, shall receive the gag and muzzle of the previous question.

Mr. Clay flinched before this resolute resistance, and in a day or two abandoned his project amid the taunts and defiance of his opponents.

Benton closes his narrative of this extraordinary contest by remarking: "Thus, the firmness of the minority in the Senate—it may be said their courage, for their intended resistance contemplated any possible extremity—saved the body from degradation, constitutional legislation from suppression, the liberty of speech from extinction, and the honor of republican government from a disgrace to which the people's representatives are not subjected in any monarchy in Europe. The previous question has not been called in the British House of Commons in one hundred years and never in the House of Peers."

Neither party appears to much advantage in this narrative

The Democratic leaders did not overrate the injurious consequences to public liberty of the suppression of debate and amendment at the will of a majority. The suppression of these in one branch of the national legislature renders infinitely more important their preservation in the other. Mr. Clay and his associates seem to have been acting under the pressure of a temporary exigency, and to have given little consideration to the grave and far-reaching consequences which their schemes involved. It is probable that the debate would have so fully exhibited the evil effects of the previous question on the Senate that Mr. Clay would have lost his slender majority before the vote; if not, the attitude taken by the Democratic party toward the rule would have assured its early repeal. But, however indefensible in principle, the Constitution gives to the Senate the power to make rules for the conduct of its business, and the question whether this rule were constitutional or expedient is one of which the Senate itself must, of necessity, be the final judge. The threat to resist its determination by violence was treasonable in its nature. Clay yielded to such threats, as he did in his compromise bill of 1832, and in his compromise bills of 1850. Benton was approving and sharing a defiance of lawful authority similar in kind to that which he supported Jackson in suppressing in 1832, and to that the shadow of whose near approach saddened the closing hours of his own life in 1858. We are dealing, however, with the effect of the previous question on the conduct of legislative business. The conduct of those who proposed or of those who defended it is foreign to our present purpose.

The vast increase of public business in modern times has pressed as heavily on the British Parliament as it ever did on Congress. On three occasions—in 1848, in 1854, and in 1861—committees have been appointed, including some of the ablest and most experienced members, to suggest a remedy. On the committee in 1848 were Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Hume, Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Evelyn Denison, since Speaker; on that of 1861, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Bright, Lord Stanley, Mr. Disraeli, Sir George Grey, and Sir John Pakington. These men have had each of them a personal responsibility for the conduct of public business in Parliament, and were quite as likely as Mr. Clay to be impatient of the useless consumption of time in fruitless debate. But it never seems to have occurred to any of them to consider for a moment that it was possible to secure the dispatch of business by any abridgment of the freedom of debate. The committee in 1848

took evidence as to the course of business in our House of Representatives and in the French Assembly, examining Mr. Edward Curtis of New York, Mr. Josiah Randall of Philadelphia, and M. Guizot. The last named was examined by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Cobden as to the operation of *la clôture* in the French Chamber of Deputies. He declared that he did not remember a case where *la clôture* was demanded by the majority to suppress discussion, and that, even with its existence, all subjects are amply and fairly debated.

The committee of 1848 say in their report:

> The Parliament of the United Kingdom conducts the whole work of public and private legislation, and to it all parties have recourse for the redress of real or supposed grievances. The extent, also, of the colonial empire of Great Britain imposes very heavy additional duties on the Imperial Legislature. It is certain that a far greater amount of business is transacted by the English House of Commons than by the Chamber of Deputies of France, or by the Legislative Assembly of the United States. ("Report of Select Committee on Public Revenues," 1847–'48, p. vii.)

Neither they nor the committee of fifty-four in 1861 suggest any interference with the freedom of debate. In 1861 the average length of the session was eight hours, thirty-four minutes, fifty-seven seconds. The number of days of the session was one hundred and forty-five; the number of hours the House sat after midnight, one hundred and forty-seven. The committee declare:

> The old rules and orders, when carefully considered and narrowly investigated, are found to be the safeguard of freedom of debate, and a sure defense against the oppression of overpowering majorities.

One other peculiarity of the conduct of business in the House, under its present methods, is the absence of responsible leadership. In the British Parliament the whole executive power of the Government is lodged. The prime minister, if a commoner, is the recognized leader of the majority of the House of Commons; if he is a peer, the function of leadership of that House is vested in a member of the Government, selected for that purpose usually for his tact and ability in debate. Differences of opinion, jealousies, struggles for personal advancement, distract the counsels of political parties in England as they do with us; but they are reserved for the secrecy of cabinet discussions, and are not permitted to show themselves in public in the House.

Lord Palmerston's diary for May 22, 1828, gives a curious ac-

count of the conduct of business in the cabinet, of which he was a member:

> The cabinet has gone on for some time past as it had done before, differing upon almost every question of any importance that has been brought under consideration; meeting to debate and dispute, and separating without deciding.

To this Sir Henry Bulwer adds:

> I can not help observing, with reference to the sentence last quoted, that the father of the late Lord Holland, who had lived almost all his life with cabinet ministers, once said to me that he had never known a cabinet in which its members did not dispute more among themselves during their councils than they disputed with their antagonists in the House of Commons.

These discords disappear when the measures of the Government are brought into the publicity of the House of Commons. Her Majesty's Government are responsible for the due preparation of all important measures. By the standing orders the right is reserved to her Majesty's ministers of placing Government orders at the head of the list on every order day except Wednesday; and near the close of the session this precedence is extended to other days, and sometimes to Wednesdays. In our House the business suffers from the want of some such arrangement. All subjects of legislation are parceled out among the different committees. Each of these almost comes to regard itself as a little legislature, and contends with great jealousy against encroachments on its own jurisdiction.

With rare and conspicuous exceptions of persons who bring to the House when they enter it a reputation which insures them a place at the head of some important committee, the members attain places of influence on these committees by seniority. The House becomes in this way a sort of presbytery, the senior member of each leading committee having special influence over his own subject. The result is, that there is a struggle between the different leading committees for the opportunity to bring their questions before the House. Toward the close of the session this contest becomes specially apparent. A member who has carefully prepared some important measure, with which he is identified in public estimation, feels that the success or failure of his political career depends upon his getting an opportunity to bring it to a vote. As the termination of the session approaches, the appropriation bills press for passage. The rules of the House give the Committees on Appropriations and

on Ways and Means, who have charge of the kindred measures of revenue, the right to report at any time when a member is not speaking. The right to report from a conference committee is even more highly privileged, and may be exercised when a member is actually on his feet in the midst of a speech. The chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, who may be held responsible if one of the great bills under his charge fails and an extra session is made necessary, feels that he must use his power without much mercy. The result is, that he becomes almost the natural enemy of every other important bill before the House. In the Forty-first Congress, General Schenck, as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, prepared a thorough revision of the tariff. The House spent many days and nights in perfecting the bill. At last, on the 16th of May, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee moved that the bill be postponed until after the appropriation bills. This motion was hotly resisted by the chairman of Ways and Means, but was adopted by a vote of 92 to 77, the Democrats voting for the motion in a body. Thus, the most important measure of the session, which had taken the House months to mature and perfect, was defeated by the opposition combining with a few Republicans, under the lead of the chairman of one of the two most important committees, against the resistance of the chairman of the other. Such an occurrence in the British Commons would have caused the overthrow of an administration. It could hardly be termed unusual in any Republican House for the past twenty years.

In the winter of 1874–'75 the House ordered several investigations into the condition of Southern States. On the 24th of February, eight days before the session ended, Judge Poland of Vermont had in his charge a bill which undertook to settle the question which of two rival State governments should be recognized in Arkansas; General Coburn of Indiana had in charge a bill which provided for a new general election in Alabama; the chairman of the Louisiana special committee reported the resolutions which gave peace to that State, under the arrangement known as the Wheeler compromise; Mr. Conger, representing the Vicksburg committee, demanded precedence for a consideration of the affairs of Mississippi; while Mr. Smith of New York, from the Committee on Elections, claimed consideration for an important bill in relation to counting the votes in the election of President and Vice-President of the United States. They were encountered by General Garfield, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and one of the

two unquestioned Republican leaders of the House, with a motion to take up the appropriation bills. This motion prevailed by 147 to 101, General Garfield and a few Republicans voting with the solid Democratic column against the large majority of the Republicans of the House to overthrow those important measures which nearly the whole of his own party favored, just as his predecessor overthrew General Schenck's tariff bill, which had a large majority of the Republican party. The Louisiana resolutions were adopted a few days after, on the 1st of March, the chairman of Appropriations, with great reluctance, consenting to permit a vote on them to be taken without debate, and the Republicans being strong enough to carry them by suspending the rules. I do not mean by this narrative to impute the least blame to General Garfield, or to his distinguished predecessor. Each of them was doing with entire fidelity the important duty he had undertaken of seeing to it that the appropriation bills, without which the functions of the Government must cease, were not lost. Neither of them had any more responsibility than the humblest member of the House for anything that did not come from his own committee.

It would be easy to multiply instances. The strength of the personal influence of able and popular men is and must be very great in a body composed as is our House of Representatives. But there is no man on the floor whose position gives him the right to lead ; no man who is responsible that each measure receives its due share of attention ; no man of prominence who is not likely to have matters under his special charge which, in the struggle for the command of the previous hours when the session draws near its end, tempt him to thrust out of the House other measures of equal public consequence.

It is needless to set forth at length the evils which this state of things brings forth. There is one which I regard as peculiarly unfortunate for the character and dignity of the House, and whose bad consequences can hardly be overstated. It is that almost inevitably the Speaker of the House is forced into the position of a party leader.

The space of this article will not allow me to point out other kindred evils that have grown up in the recent practice of the House of Representatives. Those to which I have called attention are the most important, and are growing year by year. The House is losing its freedom of debate, of amendment, even of knowledge of what it is itself doing. A member is almost the last person to ask what

is contained in an appropriation bill on its final passage. More and more the contest over important measures is a contest, not whether they shall be discussed, but whether they shall be brought to a vote. The Speaker becomes a party leader, while obliged to observe forms of impartiality. There is nowhere responsibility for securing due attention to important measures, and no authority to decide between their different claims. The chairman of the principal committee becomes almost the natural enemy of every other committee in the House.

I must take another occasion to deal with the question of remedy for these evils. I do not believe in radical changes in the institutions of the state, contrived by *doctrinaires.* The practice of the House of Representatives is a growth, not a scheme. Still less would I urge a blind reverence for English examples. But if we could in some way secure a Speaker who should be absolutely independent of party, it would be a great gain. If the three committees, Ways and Means, Appropriations, and Banking and Currency, could be blended in one, as formerly, the number of this committee to be at least fifteen, dividing its functions among subcommittees, the chairman never himself to have charge of an appropriation bill, but to be responsible for the order of business of the House, subject, of course, to the control of the body itself, a great step in efficiency would be gained.

But the great point, the restoration to the House of its function of a deliberative assembly, can only be fully accomplished by a reduction of its members. I know the strong objections to this reduction. For obvious reasons, it is not likely to receive the assent of the House itself, until demanded by an irresistible public opinion. That demand may be long delayed, perhaps avoided altogether, by making provision for removing from Congress the consideration of private claims, thereby diminishing the pressure of business, and by a reorganization of the system of committees, which shall give the House the benefit of responsible leadership.

George F. Hoar.

II.

THE MYSTERIES OF AMERICAN RAILWAY ACCOUNTING.

It is now nearly twenty-nine years since the passage by the New York State Legislature, in April, 1850, of a general law relating to railroads. There were no giants in those days. Possibly, however, the far-seeing and remarkable man who originated the vast combinations which now control, to a great extent, the internal commerce of the country, was even then engaged upon those plans which resulted in the formation of what a public speaker in the recent political campaign in New York City characterized as the closest and wealthiest corporation in America. It is a significant fact that the occasion which called forth this remark was an effort to prevent the importation of the Forty-second Street influence into the City Hall, through the election to the mayoralty of a gentleman who has long been identified with the interests of the company alluded to. Every well-regulated State very properly undertakes to control many of its public corporations, so that, through a perfect knowledge of their financial condition, only to be ascertained through complete and enforced reports, the public at large may know to what extent it is safe to trust their promises to pay, losses, interest, or dividends, as the case may be.

The purpose of this paper is to invite attention to the laws of New York, which, as they now stand, render possible, either the rendering of no account whatever of their financial condition, by companies whose stocks may constitute the sole means of subsistence of otherwise helpless families, or the publishing of such statements, or reports, as are a mockery of the law, and an insult to the common sense of every business man.

The New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company is

the most prominent and important of all the railroad corporations of the United States. Upon its honest and successful administration depends the welfare of a greater number of our people than upon any other enterprise or investment of capital in the United States. Because it is the most prominent and apparently the most successful of this class of corporations, and because it appears to furnish an illustration of the existence of such laws, a brief review of its history and practices is here proposed. There are other corporations, almost equally important, which will have attention in the future.

For some ten years past, no perfect "general balance-sheet" has been published by the company; and it is not a little singular that this circumstance, instead of awakening the suspicions of brokers and investors, seems to have been entirely ignored. The market price of the stock has been governed by the fact that it has paid eight per cent. dividends, regardless of the absence of any proof of its intrinsic value, as indicated by the existence of a due proportion of assets to liabilities. There has been, to be sure, given to the public every year, through Poor's "Railroad Manual," a statement purporting to show the financial *status* of the concern, but this exhibit will be demonstrated to be untrue and impossible on its face. The Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Company, which is under the same direction, furnishes annually, if not the very best, certainly one of the best reports in the country, a document that any management may well be proud of. Why, then, it may not unreasonably be asked, if the New York Central has nothing to conceal, does it not give an equally explicit statement? The reputation of the stock, acquired by its continual payment of eight per cent. dividends, and the knowledge by the direction that it is widely known and constantly quoted as an investment stock, would seem to make it the imperative duty of the company to publish such full particulars of its condition as shall leave no doubt of the actual value of the stock in the minds of trustees and others seeking a safe investment.

The history of the enterprise, for the purposes of this article, dates back to 1853. In that year the energetic founders succeeded in consummating their great scheme of consolidating eleven different companies operating in the State of New York between Albany on the Hudson River and Lake Erie, the stocks and convertible bonds of which amounted, as will be seen from the following figures, to $23,235,600:

Rochester and Lake Ontario	$150,000
Syracuse and Utica Direct	600,000
Schnectady and Troy	650,000
Buffalo and Lockport	675,000
Mohawk Valley	1,575,000
Albany and Schenectady	1,621,800
Rochester, Lockport and Niagara Falls	2,155,100
Syracuse and Utica	2,700,000
Buffalo and Rochester	3,000,000
Utica and Schenectady	4,500,000
Rochester and Syracuse	5,608,700
	$23,235,600

For this amount, stock in the new corporation was exchanged, it has been stated, to the extent of $24,000,000. The various companies had enjoyed different degrees of prosperity, and their stocks, consequently, bore different values. In the settlement, a computation of these values was made, and the difference settled by issuing bonds of the Central to the various stockholders, payable in thirty years—that is, in 1883—with interest at six per cent. These bonds were denominated "debt certificates (future income)," amounted to $8,894,560, and were provided for by a sinking fund of one and a quarter per cent., say $111,182, payable annually out of the future income of the road. The attention of the reader is specially called to these details, as in them may be found the first evidence of questionable statements put forth by the company. The business of the new line continued to increase, being of course greatly augmented by the war of 1861–'65, down to the year 1869, when a new and further consolidation was effected by uniting the Central with the Hudson River road, thus forming the present company. The last regular balance-sheet of the New York Central Company published in Poor's "Railroad Manual" was for the year 1868, and may be found on pages 204, 205, of that work for 1869–'70. It is here reproduced for examination :

Construction account	$36,607,697
Cash	2,372,855
Buffalo and State Line Railroad stock	816,687
Troy Union Railroad stock	89,350
Hudson River Bridge stock	467,500
Erie and Pittsburg Railroad bonds	212,971
Debt certificates (future income)	6,023,689
Fuel and supplies	759,776
Bills receivable	519,053
General Post-Office	34,936
Real estate	32,500
	$47,937,014

Capital stock	$28,780,000
Funded debt	11,458,904
Unclaimed dividends	5,777
Expenses (paid in October)	688,553
Interest accrued	301,072
United States tax account	71,795
Income balance	6,630,913
	$47,937,014

For the information of persons who may not be familiar with book-keeping, it may be pointed out that the two statements balance, that is, they equal each other in amount. The first represents the assets, and the second the liabilities of the company. In the latter will be found the item "income balance, $6,630,913," which, not being in the nature of a liability or debt, purports to be the excess of the assets over the liabilities. In other words, it purports to show that, if the company had at that date converted its assets into cash, and therewith paid off all its liabilities, it would have had remaining in its possession a surplus of $6,630,913. But to produce this result it is necessary that the items found in the list of assets shall be veritable assets. On examining the list we find in it the item of "debt certificates (future income), $6,023,689," being the alleged unpaid balance of the $8,894,560, issued in 1853, the remainder having been converted, or paid by the sinking fund created for that purpose. As these are not assets, they must be deducted from the list—the result being that the company, instead of having on hand at that date a surplus of $6,630,913, had really only $607,224. In plain terms, the statement represents the condition of the company as being better than it actually was by $6,023,689. To make this plain to the dullest comprehension, the following figures are presented:

Amount of assets as per statement	$47,937,014
Deduct item of debt certificates, as not being an asset	6,023,689
	$41,913,325
Amount of liabilities as per statement	$47,937,014
Deduct item of income balance, as not being a liability	6,630,913
	$41,306,101
Income balance (synonymous with surplus, or profit and loss)	607,224
	$41,913,325

To the professional book-keeper, it is only necessary to say that the original sum of $8,894,560, for which bonds were issued, being

an expense or loss incurred by the company in effecting the consolidation, should have been charged at the time of the transaction to profit and loss account, and afterward closed into income balance account. The stock sold in December, 1868, at 159. As the company in that year paid only seven per cent. dividend, there could have been no reason for the stock ruling so high in the market except the belief on the part of the public that the statement regarding its financial condition was true. From this time forward the plot thickens. In this year (1868) the famous scrip dividend of eighty per cent., convertible into stock, was declared, and in the following year the consolidation with the Hudson River road was carried into effect. The result of these two operations may be learned from the following figures :

Original capital of the two roads	$44,815,800
Present capital	89,428,300
Increase	$44,612,500

This increase appears to be just so much money made to the stockholders out of nothing. In these transactions may be found the explanation of the present attitude of the company toward the city of New York. There can now be little question that they represent the hugest financial blunder of the age. But, although the stockholders may be said to have made this large amount without giving an equivalent therefor, it is certain that some other parties must in some way or other pay it to them, and that these other parties are the public at large. The capital once doubled, if the value of the stock were to be maintained, regular dividends must be declared, and this could only be done by means of doubled business or increased rates of freight to be paid by the public, or, if needful, by a combination of both expedients. To increase the difficulty of the situation, the enormous impulse given by the war to the traffic of the country had begun to subside. The railroad interest was among the first to feel this. The New York Central continued to meet its regular payments up to 1871, but in the succeeding year its earnings seem to have been insufficient to provide for the sinking-fund demand of $111,182. This payment was passed in 1872, and has never been made since. The following statement, compiled from the annual reports to the State Engineer and Surveyor, shows that in the last six years the earnings of the company have fallen short of the amount required to meet the sinking fund by $436,102.21 :

		Balance.
Earnings in 1872	$25,580,675 87	
Payments, except to sinking fund	25,565,873 23	$14,802 64
Earnings in 1873	$29,126,851 17	
Payments, except to sinking fund	29,105,330 77	21,520 40
Earnings in 1874	$31,650,386 72	
Payments, except to sinking fund	31,534,471 16	115,915 56
Earnings in 1875	$29,027,218 03	
Payments, except to sinking fund	28,824,702 33	202,515 70
Earnings in 1876	$28,046,688 45	
Payments, except to sinking fund	27,973,040 73	73,547 72
		$428,302 02
Earnings in 1878	$26,579,085 90	
Payments, except to sinking fund	26,776,398 13	
Deduct deficit	$197,312 23	197,312 23
		$230,989 79
Six years' sinking fund, $111,182		667,092 00
Deficit		$436,102 21

The great revulsion of 1873, from which we are slowly emerging, has been called by thoughtful observers the "Railroad Panic," from the fact that railroad building was the last theatre of active speculation to which the remnants of the immense money accumulations of the war were transferred. Oil-wells, coal-mines, gold and silver mines, and village plots had been thoroughly exploited and as thoroughly exhausted. It would appear, from the figures here given, that a crisis was reached in the affairs of the New York Central in 1872, and subsequent events indicate that it was boldly met, in a manner characteristic of the presiding officer.

The exigencies of the case seem to have demanded immediate action, and this could be but in one direction. Hence the building of the additional tracks; the creation of the blanket mortgage of $40,000,000 in January, 1873; and the increase of the funded debt from $16,496,020 in 1872, to $40,003,667.62 in 1875. The deficiency of $197,312.23 in the operations of 1877, as shown above, superadded to the failure of the company to meet the sinking-fund quota of $111,182, looks as if this supreme effort had not been crowned with the success anticipated. In the light of the foregoing facts, the extraordinary letter of the President, published this summer, in which he states that "the New York roads have put New York on an equality" (in the matter of freight rates) "with the most fa-

vored rival" (city), "her merchants must do the rest," intimating that he feels bound to see that other cities shall not suffer through the commercial supremacy of New York, is apparently susceptible of but one construction. It seems to utter the sentiments of a man who, having exhausted every business appliance, at last stands at bay, against friend and foe.

During the last five years it may be said that the country has been in a state of bankruptcy. No class, no interest, has been exempt. From the humble depositor in the Dime Savings Institution to the millionaire promoters of railway undertakings that should grasp the continent with a span, all have alike bowed to the inevitable. Some of the soundest banks have reduced their capitals largely—capital, too, which represented solid money. Time will show whether the company under consideration is superior to all financial and commercial laws.

The preceding statements of earnings and payments are derived from the published reports of the company, which are sworn to, as required by law, and should therefore be truthful. One of them for the year ending September 30, 1870, is here presented for the thoughtful consideration of the reader.

EARNINGS AND CASH RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS.

RECEIPTS.

From passengers	$6,738,592 01
From freight	14,489,216 52
Rents, interest, dividends on stocks held in other railroad companies, use of engines and cars, work done at shops, telegraph, mail service, and miscellaneous items	1,135,511 14
	$22,363,319 67

PAYMENTS OTHER THAN FOR CONSTRUCTION.

For transportation expenses	$14,068,079 31
For interest	1,093,840 80
For dividends paid and balance on hand for dividends, October 15, 1870, at the rate of eight per cent	6,861,241 29
For United States tax on earnings	168,975 89
For rents	60,000 00
For sinking fund	111,182 38
	$22,363,319 67

The officers swear that in that year the company earned precisely enough money to pay certain fixed charges—no more, and no less. If it be true that the receipts in that year from passengers was $6,738,592.01, and that the odd cent was the amount needed to

make up a sufficient sum to meet exactly the fixed charges of the road for the year, then it may be conceded that the days of miracles and of supernatural intervention have not departed! But if there is some mistake about it, then the legal maxim, "*Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*," must be commended to the reflections of those interested.

To speak more seriously, can any sane business man believe such a report? And yet it is duly and formally sworn to, accepted and presented to the Legislature by the State Engineer and Surveyor, and printed and distributed in the bound volume of annual reports.

But there be sins of omission as well as sins of commission, and, mindful of this pregnant fact, it is here asked if the provisions of subdivision 101, section 31, chapter 140, of the act passed April 2, 1850, entitled "An act to authorize the formation of railroad corporations, and to regulate the same," have ever been complied with by the New York Central. The inquiry is important, because the act is known as the general railroad law, and, by the subdivision here indicated, the company is required to report annually the "payments to surplus fund, and total amount of said fund." The object of this inquiry will be understood when it is explained that, in the yearly statement furnished by the company to Poor's "Railroad Manual," there appear the following language and figures:

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, SEPTEMBER 30, 1877.

Construction.....	$75,033,786 52	Capital stock.....	$89,232,900 00
Equipment.....	17,868,949 26	" " certificates	195,400 00
Engineering, etc.....	2,999,473 27	Funded debt.....	39,801,233 33
Branches, etc.....	3,230,199 66	Bonds and mortgages and real estate.....	534,212 22
Balance, reserved fund, etc.....	30,631,336 84		
	$129,763,745 55		$129,763,745 55

The wording of the last item in the left-hand column is ingenious by hardly ingenuous. By the term "balance, reserved fund, etc.," there is evidently an implication that a reserve or surplus does exist, but how much of the large amount of $30,631,336.84 is of that character, is left entirely to the imagination of the reader. To assist the latter in his dilemma, it is suggested that the right-hand column contains simply an account of the debts due by the company, while the left shows the means at its disposal wherewith to pay them. If we suppose that each of the five items in the left-hand column is an asset equivalent to cash, and could be instantly converted into

money, it will be seen that, collectively, they would produce an amount precisely sufficient to liquidate the debts, so that he must have indeed a lively imagination who can discover any reserved fund in the premises. If, now, we turn to page 308, Table II., subdivision 101 of the printed volume of the State Engineer and Surveyor's Reports to the Legislature for 1877, we shall find, in the column entitled "Amount carried to surplus fund," a conspicuous blank space opposite the name of the New York Central and Hudson River Company.

It will not be denied that a case of this kind furnishes grave reasons for dissatisfaction. The question is, What is the remedy, and can it be effectually applied? It is obvious that the irregularities complained of are the fruits of imperfect legislation, and that consequently the remedy lies in a revision of the railroad laws. Not only do the present laws fail to call for such information as will demonstrate the financial condition of a company at a given period, but the penalties provided for non-compliance are so pitifully inadequate as to almost constitute a premium for disobedience. For instance, section 32 of the general act of 1850 reads as follows: "Any such corporation which shall neglect to make the report as is provided in the preceding section shall be liable to a penalty of two hundred and fifty dollars, to be sued for in the name of the people, for their use." As if the amount of fine were not small enough, it is provided that if any person expend time and money to bring a delinquent company to book, the money recovered may not reimburse him, but shall go for the use of the people. Section 3, chapter 906, laws of 1867, amends the preceding by imposing an additional fine of "twenty-five dollars for each day after the first day of December on which they shall neglect to file said report;" but this emendation is but slightly less ridiculous than the original provision. Indeed, it may be doubted if anything can be found in the entire railroad code to conflict with the supposition that it was framed directly in the interest of the roads, and under the inspiration of their agents. A defect in the law is the omission to prescribe the form of oath by which the correctness of the report is attested. Section 31 of the law of 1850 provides that the annual report shall be verified by the oaths of the Treasurer or President, and acting Superintendent of operations, neither of which officers can be supposed to be personally acquainted with the contents of the books or the methods of entries. They, accordingly, swear that they "have caused the foregoing statements to be prepared

by the proper officers and agents of the company from the books and records, and have examined them as far as practicable, and believe them to be correct." Practically, this oath amounts to nothing. Were a proper form prepared, to be signed by the chief book-keeper, auditor, and secretary, besides the officers already named, a long step would be taken toward the attainment of correctness.

The same section contains 105 subdivisions specifying the particular information to be set forth in the report. As touching the receipts of the company the following particulars are demanded:

Subdivision 95. Receipts during the year from freight.
" 96. From passengers.
" 97. From other sources, specifying what, in detail.

It will occur to any thinking person that if a railroad company pay eight per cent. dividends during a period of general bankruptcy, it is but natural that the stockholders should desire to know that the earnings from which the dividends are paid are legitimate. Now mark what the company under consideration reports for the last six years, as a compliance with the requirements of the law:

FROM REPORT OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1872.

RECEIPTS.

From passengers		$6,662,006 82
From freight		16,259,646 79
Car service	$882,078 54	
Rents	217,807 99	
Mail service	192,870 00	
Telegraph	5,964 89	
Interest	58,274 70	
Miscellaneous	1,302,026 14	
		2,659,022 26
		$25,580,675 87

FROM REPORT OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1873.

RECEIPTS.

From passengers		$6,999,456 01
From freight		19,616,017 90
Car sevice	$1,104,527 23	
Rents	235,940 54	
Mail service	179,172 55	
Telegraph	7,948 55	
Interest	154,888 81	
Miscellaneous	828,899 58	
		2,511,377 26
		$29,126,851 17

FROM REPORT OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1874.

RECEIPTS.

From passengers		$7,497,356 54
From freight		20,348,725 23
Car service	$1,292,655 67	
Rents	679,386 12	
Mail service	350,961 25	
Telegraph	7,395 76	
Interest	230,551 38	
Use of road	274,904 36	
Miscellaneous	968,450 41	
		3,804,304 95
		$31,650,386 72

FROM REPORT OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1875.

RECEIPTS.

From passengers		$7,276,847 54
From freight		17,899,701 50
Car service	$1,078,331 30	
Rents	730,636 87	
Mail service	325,319 00	
Telegraph	5,215 50	
Interest	263,869 27	
Use of road	273,964 74	
Miscellaneous	1,173,332 31	
		3,850,668 99
		$29,027,218 03

FROM REPORT OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1876.

RECEIPTS.

From passengers		$6,762,966 88
From freight		17,593,264 78
Car service	$973,293 01	
Rents	828,615 16	
Mail service	446,537 00	
Telegraph	4,434 62	
Interest	337,801 33	
Use of road	261,092 77	
Miscellaneous	838,582 90	
		3,690,356 79
		$28,046,588 45

FROM REPORT OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1877.

RECEIPTS.

From passengers		$6,576,816 33
From freight		16,424,316 67
Car service	$1,057,113 74	
Rents	1,055,855 72	
Mail service	326,420 52	
Telegraph	4,417 89	
Interest	355,281 24	
Use of road	236,008 31	
Miscellaneous	542,855 48	
		3,577,952 90
		$26,579,085 90

The preceding statements contain, in detail, the receipts of money from all the regular and ordinary sources that the company can be supposed to have at command, and in addition thereto:

Miscellaneous, 1872	$1,302,026 14
" 1873	828,899 58
" 1874	968,450 41
" 1875	1,173,332 31
" 1876	838,582 90
" 1877	542,855 48
Total miscellaneous	$5,654,146 82

The dividends paid in these years were as follows:

Dividends, 1872	$7,244,831 78
" 1873	7,136,790 08
" 1874	7,136,884 60
" 1875	7,136,679 97
" 1876	7,139,528 00
" 1877	7,140,659 48
Total dividends	$42,935,373 91

So that, when the stockholder puts his dividend check in his pocket, he has the satisfaction of knowing that more than thirteen per cent. of it consists of a miscellaneous and mysterious receipt which the company declines to "specify in detail." When the redoubtable Mr. Punch, of famous London town, characterized as the "Great Unaccountable," an alderman who was suspected of absorbing city moneys, but who firmly declined giving an account of his stewardship, he probably did not foresee that he was giving currency to a term that might become a classic among his "kin beyond sea."

It must not, however, be imagined that the New York Central monopolizes the distinction of contemning the law, and putting forth statements based, apparently, on improper book-keeping. An astounding chapter might be written concerning entries to be found in the books of another railway corporation, that has recently attracted a large share of public attention.

The law of this country, very wisely, recognizes no class or family as superior to all others in the management of corporations, or as free from the dangers of ambition, error, and peculation. With rare exceptions, either in this country or in England, have directors been found, no matter how important their titles or their families, who could or would safely and honestly administer the business of great corporations, unchecked and uncontrolled, by complete and absolute publicity both in general and in detail. Absolute knowledge and unlimited publicity can alone prevent such disasters as have recently, in England, been so great as to paralyze private credit and to beggar whole classes of people, who trusted everything to the respectable names of those controlling their property. Once given all the facts, the press will soon discover the weak spots in the balance-sheet, the errors of administration, or the frauds of managers. Figures cannot lie. But, that this truism may be made effective, all the figures and all the facts must be given; and to this end, our laws touching the form and substance of such reports as are proper to be made require instant and thorough revision.

AN ACCOUNTANT.

III.

A STATESMAN OF THE COLONIAL ERA.

As the Greeks were reminded that brave men existed before Agamemnon, so it may be well for the present generation of Americans to reflect that our land produced great statesmen in the past, whose memory should be cherished.

The populace, and especially in republics, has ever been attracted by the glitter of the soldier, the clang of whose martial shout deadens the footfall of the statesman, as the bray of the ass the song of the nightingale. Ignorant savages crowd in adoration about the loud, *criarde* colors of a sign-painting, while the masterpieces of Raphael or Correggio pass unnoticed. Napoleon wished to go down to posterity with the "Code" in his hand, but posterity forgets the great lawgiver, who made France, in despite of revolutions and calamities, the first of industrial and economic nations, and remembers Lodi and the Pyramids, Marengo and Austerlitz. Many, who have heard of Blenheim and Malplaquet, are ignorant of the fact that Marlborough was the most accomplished diplomatist of his age, and that all his skill was required to keep the frugal Dutch, the greedy Germans, and the selfish Austrians true to the "grande alliance."

In popular estimation Washington is always crossing the Delaware or receiving the sword of Cornwallis. His lofty patriotism, his pure motives, his calm civic wisdom are measurably overlooked, though his capacity as a commander did not reach mediocrity, and was far below that of Greene, the only general produced by our Revolutionary struggle.

The character and composition of our population strengthen this tendency. Many thousands of our citizens migrated from despotic governments, where they had dreamed of liberty as "monks of love." Without capacity for discrimination, they have mistaken for heroes, soldiers whose only triumphs have been over their own countrymen; for patriots, selfish place-hunters, and for statesmen, unscrupulous partisans. Vituperation has passed for eloquence, slan-

der for truth, denunciation for argument, and the practice of using official station as a means to private fortune has been regarded as evidence of loyalty to the Union. But if this Union is to endure as the home of national liberty, as the asylum of the nations; if the Federal authority is to be a beneficent agent for all and a tyranny for none, leaving the right of self-government to the people in their several communities, we must recur to the principles and methods of the founders of the republic, study their characters and acts, and emulate their examples. Among the wise and good who in the past century secured the independence of our country and founded its government, GEORGE MASON, of Virginia, holds a place second to none.

Of all pursuits in which men engage, agriculture best promotes sound minds in healthy bodies, when she is a kindly handmaid, not an exacting taskmistress. The yeoman, compelled to follow his plow-tail from dawn till dark, has little time for thought, less for study, and usually falls into that bovine condition characteristic of his class; but the proprietor who superintends his estate, and whose capital absolves him from the necessity of constant labor, has ample time for reflection and books, and his contact with mother earth is as refreshing as was that of the classic giant. To such proprietors England and America are deeply indebted. They conceived and brought forth the true spirit of liberty, liberty of thought, of speech, of action; whose limitation was at the point where its exercise intrenched upon the rights of others. Equally opposed to the tyranny of monarchs and majorities, they asserted the rights of individuals, and, controlled by dignity and self-respect, accorded to the persons and opinions of others the same courteous consideration which they claimed for their own. To this class in England belonged Eliot, Vane, Hampden, and, in America, George Mason.

His ancestor, of the same name, came to Virginia in 1651–'52. A Staffordshire gentleman of fair estate, he sat in the House of Commons in the reign of the first Charles, whose arbitrary measures he steadily opposed, but, like Clarendon, Falkland, and many others, joined the royal army at the outbreak of war. As a colonel of horse, he served until the royal cause went down at Worcester—the "crowning mercy" of Cromwell—when he escaped the country and established himself in Virginia. A younger brother—William—accompanied him. This William settled at Norfolk, Virginia, where he married and died, leaving a son who removed to Boston, Massachusetts. It is pleasant to think of the formal but kindly

intercourse that was doubtless kept up between the Virginia and Massachusetts cousins after their separation. Codfish, chow-chow, and chutney—for Salem and Boston were early traders to the East Indies—were exchanged as tokens of kinship for hams and tobacco, and with all the stately phraseology marking the friendship between the houses of Waverley and Bradwardine. Now, "*nous avons changé tout cela*," and it requires some effort of the imagination to recall a time when there was sympathy between Virginia and Massachusetts.

A great-grandson of the royalist colonel, and of the same name, married in 1726 Miss Anne Thomson, a relative of Sir William Temple, the wise and virtuous minister of the second Charles, who negotiated the triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, to curb the ambition of the fourteenth Louis. George Mason, the subject of this memoir, was the first child of the marriage, and was born near the close of 1726, at Doeg's Neck, in Stafford (now Fairfax) County, Virginia.

His childhood and youth were passed on the paternal estate, amid the wholesome and cheery influences of the country life of the period, when horse and hound, rod and gun filled a large place in the daily life of the Virginia gentry. The practice of sending youths of birth and expectations *home*, across sea, to be educated, was not followed in his case, but he was most carefully instructed at home, imbibing a taste for books and habits of study which he retained throughout life. Especially was he versed in English history, from Magna Charta to Somers's "Declaration," adopted by the convention calling William and Mary to the throne, and the struggles and methods by which our ancestors wrought out their liberties had been carefully studied by him. In the experience of our English fathers assaults upon liberty were to be apprehended from executive power, and hence they sought to protect it by limitations of the authority of the Crown; but Mason distrusted the nature of all power, its greed and tendency to encroachment, and in the Constitution of Virginia—largely his work, and the first written constitution of a free commonwealth in history—adopted on the 29th of June, 1776, he restrained legislative and judicial as well as executive powers.

He succeeded to the family estate of Doeg's Neck at the death of his father, who was drowned by the accidental upsetting of his sail-boat in the Potomac.

Subsequently, he married Miss Ann Eilbeck, of Charles County,

Maryland, and built a new mansion on his property, which he called Gunston Hall, in honor of the seat of his maternal ancestry in England. The estate consisted of seven thousand acres, and lies on the Potomac next below Mount Vernon. With his neighbor and devoted friend, Washington, he was a pewholder and vestryman of old Pohick Church.

Absorbed by the care of an increasing family and a great estate, Mason was averse to a public career, but no man in the colonies more closely watched the current of events, or held more decided opinions as to the rights of the people and the duty of asserting them. In 1766 the merchants of London addressed a public letter to the planters of Virginia, to which Mason, in the London "Public Ledger," replied, defending the position maintained by the colonists, and concluding with—"These are the sentiments of a man who spends most of his time in retirement, and has seldom meddled in public affairs; who enjoys a moderate but independent fortune, and, content with the blessings of a private station, equally disregards the smiles and frowns of the great." When Parliament subsequently asserted the right to tax the colonies "*in all cases whatsoever*," Mason wrote a tract entitled "Extracts from the Virginia Charters, with some Remarks upon them." From this many of the arguments against the claim of the Crown were drawn. In a letter to a friend in England, dated 1770, he writes: "We will not submit to have our money taken out of our pockets without our consent or that of our representatives; because, if any man, or any set of men, without such consent, take from us one shilling in the pound, we have no security for the remaining nineteen."

In 1769 he prepared the non-importation resolutions which were offered by Washington in the Virginia Assembly, and unanimously adopted. Among these resolutions was one not to import or purchase any imported slaves after the 1st day of November ensuing.

It may be said that Mason was the only leading man of the time to foresee the difficulties and dangers of the slave question. At a meeting of the people of Fairfax, held on the 18th of July, 1774, and presided over by Washington, Mason made his first public appearance on the theatre of the Revolution, by presenting a series of twenty-four resolutions, which embraced a statement of grievances and proposed the means and measure of redress. The ground of controversy with the Crown was reviewed, a Congress of the colonies recommended, and the policy of non-intercourse with the mother-country urged. These resolutions, conspicuous in our annals, were

transmitted to the first Virginia Convention which met at Williamsburg in the following August. They were sanctioned by that body, and substantially adopted by the first general Congress on the 20th of October of the same year.

Mason first appeared in the public councils as deputy from the county of Fairfax to the Virginia Convention in 1775, when he was elected a member of the Committee of Safety, and, at an early period of the session, pressed by Peyton Randolph, Pendleton, Jefferson, and others to accept a seat in Congress. This last he declined. The recent death of his beloved wife, leaving to his care nine children, made him unwilling to go abroad. To one of Mason's warm affections and domestic habits this bereavement was especially heavy. In a letter to a friend, written four years after, he alludes to this unhealed wound. The Convention of 1775 adjourned on the 29th of August, leaving the administration of the government in the hands of the Committee of Safety. It reassembled on the 6th of May, 1776, but Mason, detained by an attack of gout, did not take his seat until the 18th. The resolution instructing the delegates of Virginia in Congress to propose *independence* had been adopted three days before, when the committee to prepare a declaration of rights and a plan of government was appointed. He was immediately placed on this committee, as well as on three others, Propositions and Grievances, Privileges and Elections, and for the encouragement of the manufacture of salt, saltpetre, and gunpowder.

That a private gentleman of a retiring disposition should, on his appearance in council, have been charged with such responsibilities, is proof of his reputation, and of the general confidence reposed in his judgment and patriotism.

The Declaration of Rights was reported by the committee to the Convention on the 27th of May, and on the 12th of June, 1776, was adopted by a unanimous vote. This great instrument, the first of its kind, the work of a scholar, statesman, and patriot, in which may be found the history of English and American liberty, is here given :

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

DRAWN BY GEORGE MASON.

A DECLARATION of rights made by the representatives of the good people of Virginia, assembled in full and free convention; which rights do pertain to them and their posterity, as the basis and foundation of government, unanimously adopted by the Convention of Virginia, June 12, 1776:

1. That all men are created equally free and independent, and have cer-

tain inherent natural rights of which they can not, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; among which are the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

2. That all power is by God and nature vested in and consequently derived from the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.

3. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community. Of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of administration; and that whenever any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable, indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

4. That no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services; which, not being descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator, or judge to be hereditary.

5. That the legislative and executive powers of the state should be separate and distinct from the judicial; and that the members of the two first may be restrained from oppression, by feeling and participating the burthens of the people, they should, at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station, and return unto that body from which they were originally taken, and vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain, and regular elections.

6. That elections of members, to serve as representatives of the people in the Legislature, ought to be free, and that all men having sufficient evidence of permanent, common interest with and attachment to the community, have the right of suffrage; and can not be taxed or deprived of their property for public uses without their own consent, or that of their representatives so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not, in like manner, assented for the common good.

7. That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by any authority, without consent of the representatives of the people, is injurious to their rights and ought not to be exercised.

8. That in all capital or criminal prosecutions a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence in his favor, and to a speedy trial by an impartial jury of his vicinage; without unanimous consent he can not be found guilty, nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; and that no man be deprived of his liberty, except by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

9. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

10. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man

and man, the ancient trial by jury is preferable to any other, and ought to be held sacred.

11. That the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.

12. That a well-regulated militia, composed of the body of the people trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defense of a free state; that standing armies in time of peace should be avoided, as dangerous to liberty; and that in all cases the military should be under strict subordination to and governed by the civil power.

13. That no free government or the blessing of liberty can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.

14. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and, therefore, that it is the mutual duty of all men to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity, toward each other.

This is from the manuscript written by Mason, to which he added, "This Declaration of Rights was the first in America," and herein are to be found all the principles of the subsequent "Declaration of Independence" and the declaratory enactments of the several States. Indeed, the great principles on which free government rests are more perspicuously and forcibly stated by Mason than by his followers and copyists.

In a letter to a friend, written more than two years after, an allusion is made to the "Declaration," and, as it exhibits Mason's opinions at a critical period, as well as his style, the letter is here given:

VIRGINIA, GUNSTON HALL, *October* 2, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR: It gave me great pleasure, upon receipt of your favor of the 23d of April (by Mr. Digges), to hear that you are alive and well, in a country where you can spend your time agreeably; not having heard a word from you or of you for two years before. I am much obliged by the friendly concern you take in my domestic affairs, and your kind inquiry after my family; great alterations have happened in it. About four years ago I had the misfortune to lose my wife: to you who knew her, and the happy manner in which we lived, I will not attempt to describe my feelings. I was scarce able to bear the first shock; a depression of spirits, a settled melancholy followed, from which I never expect or desire to recover. I determined to spend the remainder of my days in privacy and retirement with my children, from whose society alone I could expect comfort. Some of them are now grown up to men and women; and I have the satisfaction to see them free from vices, good-natured, obliging, and dutiful; they all still live with me and remain single, except my second daughter, who is lately married to my neighbor's son. My eldest daughter (who is blessed with her

mother's amiable disposition) is mistress of my family, and manages my little domestic matters with a degree of prudence far above her years. My eldest son engaged early in the American cause, and was chosen ensign of the first independent company formed in Virginia, or indeed on the continent; it was commanded by the present General Washington as captain, and consisted entirely of gentlemen. In the year 1775 he was appointed a captain of foot in one of the first minute regiments raised here; but was soon obliged to quit the service by a violent rheumatic disorder, which has followed him ever since, and, I believe, will force him to try the climate of France or Italy. My other sons have not yet finished their education; as soon as they do, if the war continues, they seem strongly inclined to take an active part.

In the summer of 1775 I was, much against my inclination, dragged out of my retirement, by the people of my county, and sent as a delegate to the General Convention at Richmond, where I was appointed a member of the first Committee of Safety; and have since, at different times, been chosen a member of the Privy Council and of the American Congress; but have constantly declined acting in any other public character than that of an independent representative of the people, in the House of Delegates, where I still remain, from a consciousness of being able to do my country more service there than in any other department, and have ever since devoted most of my time to public business, to the no small neglect and injury of my private fortune; but if I can only live to see the American Union firmly fixed, and free governments well established in our Western world, and can leave to my children but a crust of bread and liberty, I shall die satisfied, and say, with the psalmist, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace."

To show you that I have not been an idle spectator of this great contest, and to amuse you with the sentiments of an old friend upon an important subject, I inclose you a copy of the first draught of the Declaration of Rights, just as it was drawn and presented by me to the Virginia Convention, where it received few alterations, some of them I think not for the better: this was the first thing of the kind upon the continent, and has been closely imitated by all the States. We have laid our new government upon a broad foundation, and have endeavored to provide the most effectual securities for the essential rights of human nature, both in civil and religious liberty; the people become every day more and more attached to it; and I trust that neither the power of Great Britain nor the power of hell will be able to prevail against it. . . . To talk of replacing us in the situation of 1763, as we first asked, is to the last degree absurd and impossible: they obstinately refused it while it was in their power, and now that it is out of their power they offer it. Can they raise our cities out of their ashes? Can they replace, in ease and affluence, the thousands of families whom they have ruined? Can they restore the husband to the widow, the child to the parent, or the father to the orphan? In a word, can they reanimate the dead? . . . The die is cast, the Rubicon is passed, and a reconciliation with Great Britain, upon the terms of returning to her government, is impossible. . . . As long as we had any well-founded hopes of reconciliation, I opposed, to the utmost of my power,

all violent measures, and such as might shut the door to it; but when reconciliation became a lost hope, when unconditional submission or effectual resistance were the only alternatives left us, when the last dutiful and humble petition from Congress received no other answer than declaring us rebels and out of the King's protection, I, from that moment, looked forward to a revolution and independence as the only means of salvation; and will risk the last penny of my fortune and the last drop of my blood upon the issue . . . God has been pleased to bless our endeavors in a just cause with remarkable success. To us upon the spot, who have seen step by step the progress of this great contest, who know the defenseless state of America in the beginning, and the numberless difficulties we have had to struggle with, taking a retrospective view of what is passed, we seem to have been treading upon enchanted ground. The case is now altered. American prospects brighten and appearances are strongly in our favor. The British ministry must and will acknowledge us independent States.

The well-balanced intellect, the noble independence of character, the unselfish patriotism of the man stand forth in every sentence of this letter. Indeed, all the opinions of George Mason, written or spoken, deserve attention. A collection of his writings and speeches would be an admirable text-book, wherein the student could find the true meaning of civil and religious liberty, the duty of a citizen in a free state, and the proper limitations of government.

After the adoption of the Constitution, Mason was appointed chairman of the committee to draft the oaths to be taken by the Governor and Council, and was subsequently made a member of the committee to revise the laws. It is remarkable that a man without professional training should have been placed at the head of committees, consisting of the ablest lawyers of the day, to deal with purely legal subjects. The last duty assigned him by the Convention of 1776 was to assist in the preparation of a seal for the new Commonwealth, and the present seal of Virginia, with the "*Sic semper tyrannis*," was recommended and adopted.

At this time Mason was fifty years of age, his dark hair sprinkled with gray, but retaining all the fire of youth in his bright eyes. Nearly six feet in height, his frame was massive, yet, despite of his hereditary gout, his step was elastic and free. His love of field sports preserved the activity of his limbs, and exposure to the open air had deepened his swarthy complexion. His contemporaries seem to have been much impressed by his dignified bearing. This description of his personal appearance is confirmed by his portrait which was preserved at Clermont, Fairfax County, Virginia, resi

ence of the widow of General John Mason, fourth and last surviving son of George.

In the first Virginia Assembly under the new Constitution Mason's talents for debate, as well as his liberal tendencies, were conspicuously displayed in many warm discussions. Assisted by Jefferson he brought forward, and carried through, measures for the repeal of all the old disabling acts, and for legalizing all modes of worship, releasing dissenters from parish rates.

Madison declared him the ablest man in debate that he had ever heard; and Jefferson, near the close of his life, wrote: "I had many occasional and strenuous coadjutors in debate; and one most steadfast, able and zealous, who was himself a host. This was George Mason, a man of the first order of wisdom among those who acted on the theatre of the Revolution, of expansive mind, profound judgment, cogent in argument, learned in the lore of our former Constitution, and earnest for the republican change on democratic principles. His elocution was neither flowing nor smooth; but his language was strong, his manner most impressive, and strengthened by a dash of biting cynicism, when provocation made it seasonable."

In 1777 Mason was elected a member of the Continental Congress, and was engaged in correspondence and consultation about public affairs with leading men, but took no conspicuous part until 1787, when he was chosen a member of the Federal Convention to frame the Constitution of the United States. Devoted to his home and children, he preferred privacy, and a sense of duty alone could induce him to accept public station. He took the lead in the debates on the formation of the Constitution, and always on the liberal and democratic side. When the question was discussed whether the House of Representatives should be elected directly by the people, he maintained that no republican government could stand without popular confidence, and that confidence could only be secured by giving to the people the election of one branch of the Legislature. He also favored the election of the President directly by the people and for one term, with ineligibility afterward, but opposed the project to give the Federal Legislature a veto on all State laws. He denounced the proposition to make slaves equal to freemen as a basis for representation, or to require a property qualification from voters. With great fire and energy he spoke against the clause in the Constitution which prohibited the abolition of the slave trade until 1808, *declaring slavery to be a source of national weakness and demoralization, and that it was essential for the General Govern-*

ment to have the power to prevent its increase; this by a Virginia planter, himself a large owner of slaves. The Convention defeated some of Mason's efforts to render the Constitution more democratic; and, an enemy to all implied and constructive powers, he was especially dissatisfied with the extended and indefinite authority conferred on Congress and the executive, declining for these reasons to sign it.

On his return to Virginia he was chosen a member of the Convention called to ratify or reject the Federal Constitution, where he led the opposition to ratification, unless subjected to amendments. Those proposed by him were a Bill of Rights and some twenty alterations in the body of the instrument. Several of these amendments were subsequently adopted by Congress and the States. In this debate Mason, followed by Patrick Henry in the Virginia Convention, and by Luther Martin in that of Maryland, clearly pointed out the danger of implied and constructive powers, and foretold the evils that would come. He was elected the first United States Senator from Virginia under the Constitution, but declined the position and retired to Gunston Hall, where he passed the three remaining years of his life with his children and books, preserving his fondness for field-sports to the last.

He died in the autumn of 1792, and was buried at Gunston Hall. A plain marble slab, inscribed with his name, date of birth and death, marks the spot; but, with those of other illustrious Virginians, his statue stands at the base of Crawford's statue of Washington in front of the Capitol at Richmond.

The following extract from his last will and testament is characteristic: "I recommend it to my sons, from my own experience in life, to prefer the happiness of independence and a private station to the troubles and vexations of public business; but if either their own inclinations or the necessity of the times should engage them in public affairs, I charge them, on a father's blessing, never to let the motives of private interest or ambition induce them to betray, nor the terrors of poverty and disgrace, or the fear of danger or of death, deter them from asserting the liberty of their country, and endeavoring to transmit to their posterity those sacred rights to which themselves were born." But the limits of a "Review article" are too restricted to give more than a sketch of Mason's public career. To be appreciated by the political student, who desires to understand the principles of free government and the formative history of the Federal Constitution, his work must be sought in the

journals of Congress, in the Declaration of Rights, Constitution and revised Code of Virginia, and in the debates of the Federal and Virginia Conventions, as must his affectionate nature in such letters to children and friends as have been preserved; and it may be safely asserted that no one can carefully exhaust these sources without doubting whether his own or any age has produced a man superior to George Mason in all the elements of greatness.

"Bon sang ne peut mentir," says the old French proverb, and the stock planted in Virginia by the ex-colonel of royal horse proves its truth. George Mason declined the position of Senator. His nephew, Stephen Thomson Mason, was a Senator from Virginia in 1794–1803. Another nephew, John Thomson Mason, was offered the position of Attorney-General of the United States by Jefferson, and again by Madison, but declined. A grand-nephew, Armistead Thomson Mason, was elected a Senator from Virginia in 1815, but fell in a duel with his cousin, John Mason McCarty, at the age of thirty-two. A grandson, Richard B. Mason, colonel and brevet-brigadier in the United States Army, was the first civil and military Governor of California. Another grandson, James Murray Mason, was sent to the Senate by Virginia in 1837, and remained a member until the civil war, when he went as Confederate commissioner to England. Descended, but more remotely, from the same stock was John Y. Mason, of Virginia, who was Secretary of the Navy under Tyler, held the same office, as well as that of Attorney-General, under Polk, and died in Paris, whither he had been sent by Pierce as United States Minister. Few families have furnished as many distinguished men to the service of the republic.

On the soil of Virginia rests the tomb of George Mason, within sound of the Capitol of the Union which he labored to establish, while pointing out, and in vain endeavoring to strengthen, the weak places in its foundation. A Virginian to the core, his sympathies extended to the uttermost limits of the colonies, and were as deeply stirred by the sufferings of Massachusetts as were those of her own great patriots, the Adamses, Warren, Hancock. Mayhap there lurks some germ of truth in the weird superstition that disembodied spirits keep watch and ward over the resting-places of their mortal remains. What changes has the spirit of Mason witnessed since his body was returned to earth! As the mighty prophets of Israel, mournfully has he watched the fulfillment of his own predictions. He strove for a Union of consent and love. He has seen one of force and hate. He urged independent States to

create a common servant, the Federal Government, as a useful agent. He has seen the creature they called into being rend, like Frankenstein, its creators, disperse their assemblies at the point of the bayonet, deprive their citizens of every legal right. This he was prepared for; this he foretold. While his mind was pregnant of the Union, like the Queen of Ilium, he dreamed of firebrands, knowing the greed of all power and the necessity for its limitation. But even he must be startled as he listens to the sentiments of the representatives of New England uttered in the halls of Congress; and more, as he hears those of the representatives of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, whose States were formed from territory so generously donated to the Union by Virginia.

With a sadness surpassing that of Rachel, he has seen the wealth and cultivation of the South destroyed by unlettered multitudes from the interior of the continent, directed by the fanaticism of the East. But time is as naught to immortal spirits, and he may witness a similar fate overtake the East, either through the physical force of these same multitudes, or through wild schemes of currency and finance, derived from the savage tribes which they have so recently displaced.

The *rôle* of Cassandra is not a pleasant one, but any calamity may be predicted of a land wherein millions of people have forgotten George Mason, to worship "old John Brown." Yet a pilgrimage to the shrine of Mason may restore to their first affections hearts alienated from our Union, and teach those whose devotion to it savors of fanaticism and intolerance the beautiful lesson of charity and love. The blood of our English fathers spilled in the "Great Rebellion" had not dried before Puritan and Cavalier were in earnest council to cement the fabric of England's greatness. The leaders, who had often met in mortal strife, had not passed into dust ere the Cavalier boasted of the unflinching endurance of Cromwell's "Ironsides," while the Puritan mother crooned her babe to sleep with songs of knightly Cavendish or Stanley.

That it may speedily be so with us is the fervent prayer of every true American heart; and then, should the cry arise that the republic is in peril, the only rivalry between the sons of the North and those of the South would be, as in days of yore, who could carry the common banner deepest into the ranks of the common foe.

R. Taylor.

IV.

RECONSTRUCTION AND THE NEGRO.

THE condition of the colored race of the South has been, for at least forty years, the leading question in our politics. For the most part it has been an unwelcome question, forcing itself into prominence and compelling attention against the choice and interest of most of our political leaders and their followers. The two forces which would otherwise have shaped our political ends—commerce and empire—have feared and hated this issue. The business interests of the country have constantly deprecated its agitation; the pride of empire, the sentiment of nationality, has always deplored its existence and struggled to banish it from the political field. The statesmen who from 1835 to 1860 held the foremost places of political honor and influence were engaged in a continuous effort to settle it by superficial compromises. Their successors at the North, with comparatively few exceptions, refused practically to recognize its essential and controlling power except under the final stress of unavoidable necessity. The same influences were strongly felt at the close of the war. Not a few of the leaders of the party which had pushed the conflict of arms to a successful close resumed the old temper of compromise in dealing with the new phases which this question then presented. Business and the desire for a formal national unity loudly demanded the restoration of the South without further changes than such as the war had actually accomplished.

Throughout this long conflict, the history of which is too fresh to need fuller statement, the nature of the issue touched and enlisted the deepest forces that affect human society. It was primarily an ethical question, a strict question of moral right and wrong. No economical or political tests could alone decide it. Conscience and the moral sense claimed jurisdiction of the question whether the colored race should be treated as men or as brutes, as brethren or as aliens and outcasts from the human family. The

moral convictions of the North would permit no settlement which did not recognize the complete manhood of this race. The stubborn and fanatic bigotry of the South would consent to no settlement which did not leave the political power of the States exclusively in the hands of the white race. Under these influences and circumstances the question, by what methods conformable to our system of government the civil rights belonging generally to other citizens might be practically secured to the colored race, became, in the judgment of a majority of the people, the most serious political problem growing out of the war. The result was the enactment by Congress, over the President's veto, of the reconstruction act of March 2, 1867, making it the condition of the restoration of the seceding States that new constitutions should be adopted, framed by "delegates elected by the male citizens, twenty-one years old and upward, of whatever race, color, or previous condition," and securing to all such persons the elective franchise. Under the provisions of this act all the seceding States were finally restored to their practical relations to the Union.

In the light of present results, the policy of universal suffrage thus enforced at the South is condemned not only by those who originally opposed it, but by many who were hitherto its advocates. It becomes, therefore, an appropriate inquiry, whether universal suffrage at the South, or especially what is commonly called negro suffrage, was a mistake. Such an inquiry should be made, if possible, without reference to partisan opinions or interests. The present condition of the colored race of the South can not be viewed with toleration by any right-minded man who is acquainted with the facts. It is certain, too, from the nature of the question itself as well as its close relations to all our public interests, that it will remain, as heretofore, an issue which can not be avoided. Settlements may be attempted which shall again leave this race to its fate, to an unaided and friendless struggle with the hostile forces which surround it; but such settlements will settle nothing. In the mean time it is well to consider whether whatever degree of failure may be fairly said to characterize the present results of the plan of Southern reconstruction is due either to the principle applied in the general enfranchisement of the colored race, or to the incapacity of that race to properly exercise the rights conferred.

In determining the correctness of the principle adopted in the enfranchisement of the colored race, it is essential to recall the chief features of the situation when that measure was adopted. A war

of four years, with its enormous sacrifices of life and property, had just ended. The cause of the war was the existence under the Government of the republic of the system of chattel slavery. Aside from this system the Government was essentially republican. All other leading influences had, for more than three quarters of a century, tended toward its harmonious growth, development, and consolidation. Territory and population had increased beyond precedent. A commanding position had been reached among the nations. All the elements of national prosperity and greatness had been developed to a high degree. Slavery, the one anti-republican influence, had put at hazard all this growth and glory. It had struck at the life of the nation. The struggle had agonized the land. The plain and inevitable lesson of this experience was, that our Government, to be safe, must be self-consistent; that, in Mr. Lincoln's words, "this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free"; that no anti-republican element can be safely suffered to remain in the fabric of our Government.

This lesson was strongly enforced by the influence of the great principles which inspired the founders of our Government, and still constituted the professed faith of the republic. By those principles the nation was "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Except in the slave States the suffrage had been the sign and safeguard of that civil equality contemplated by the fathers. The extension of the suffrage had kept even pace with the progress of our most prosperous and enlightened communities. The enjoyment by all citizens of the right of suffrage was therefore regarded as the true corner-stone of our Government as well as the best if not the only guarantee of individual freedom. In fixing the political conditions of the seceding States, the traditions and principles of our Government united in pointing to universal suffrage as the true defense of public welfare and personal rights.

But, at the time of which we speak, disloyalty to the national Government characterized the whole white population of the South. The weapons of armed rebellion had but just been wrenched from their hands. To permit the political power of the restored States to be wielded exclusively by this class, was to invite the recurrence of the dangers so lately experienced. A basis of loyalty must be found on which to build the new governments. The colored race alone furnished this indispensable condition of reconstruction. Their loyalty to the Union was undoubted. It was deep, passionate, unfaltering. If, then, the conquered communities of the South

were to be restored to political life and to resume their position as States, the logic of republican principles, the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and the logic of events and surrounding circumstances, alike pointed to the immediate enfranchisement of the colored race as the chief feature in a wise plan of reconstruction. Gradual enfranchisement could not meet the conditions then existing. Tests of property or education, if ever wise or admissible, under our theory of Government, were clearly inadmissible here. The application of these tests would exclude those whose influence and participation could alone insure a republican basis for the new governments and the political predominance of those who were loyal to the General Government.

Other considerations led to the same conclusions. It was believed, as the result of our political experience as a whole, that the best method of dealing with the so-called "dangerous classes"— those who have, for the most part, neither property nor education — was to admit them to the full privileges of citizenship. Such, with slight exceptions hardly requiring mention, had been the policy adopted in all the remaining States. It was believed, upon the same authority, that the exercise of the rights of free citizens was the best school for the education of the citizen in the proper discharge of the duties imposed by his rights. These beliefs were the results of experience. They were not theories merely. They were the practical, working rules by which our most successful political communities had carried on the business of government. Those who shaped the plan of reconstruction were convinced that the civil rights and future welfare of the colored race demanded that the ballot should be placed in its hands. They felt that the national Government was charged with the duty of recognizing and securing, so far as legislation could go, the complete civil and political equality of the colored race with the other races under our Government. This was especially due to that race by reason of its whole previous history in this country, as well as its peculiar position at the close of the war. But it was not sentiment alone that guided to this result. All other policies were open to insuperable objections. Direct military supervision of the South, the continuance of the abnormal condition existing from 1865 to 1867, or the return to power of those who had previously exercised exclusive political control, were the only remaining policies. Neither of these policies could be justified by reason or experience. That temporary evils would arise from the

immediate enfranchisement of the colored race no man doubted, but the men who supported the measure believed, with Macaulay, that "there is only one cure for the evils which newly-acquired freedom produces—and that cure is *freedom.* When a prisoner leaves his cell, he cannot bear the light of day; he is unable to discriminate colors or recognize faces. But the remedy is not to remand him into his dungeon, but to accustom him to the rays of the sun. . . . Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim! If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever." They believed, with Mackintosh, that "justice is the permanent interest of all men, and of all commonwealths," and that "the love of liberty is the only source and guard of the tranquillity and greatness of America." They believed, with Abraham Lincoln, "All honor to Jefferson; to a man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there, that to-day and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression." To men of real faith in the principles of our government, to men who loved and practiced justice, who held that governments exist for the good of all the people, the immediate and unconditional enfranchisement of the colored race of the South was an act and policy supported by the highest sanctions of political justice and civil prudence.

The charges now brought with most frequency and apparent effect against this policy are, first, that it was unjust and cruel to the white people of the South thus to subject them to negro rule; and, second, that the enfranchisement of the colored race was a deliberate giving over of society to the control of ignorance, a reversal of the order of Nature and Providence which demands that society shall rest on intelligence and capacity, not on ignorance and inexperience.

To the first charge the reply is that colored suffrage was not the subjection of the white race to negro rule. The white race retained its suffrage, with all its immense advantages of property and education. Colored suffrage was simply placing the two races on the

same plane of civil and political rights. It was the giving of a fair field and an equal chance to the members of both races. It was the removing of all legal or artificial hindrances from the path of the one race, without diminishing a single right or adding a single burden to the other race. Nor was this true only of the legal situation and relations of the two races. No restriction or hindrance in fact existed, under this policy, to the freest and most effective use and influence of all the advantages which property, education, and political experience necessarily gave to the white race as a whole. No such obstacle existed either as a proper consequence of the policy of colored suffrage, or of the temper of that race toward the other race. That policy had no elements but justice and civil equality; that temper was friendly and generous. The sole cause of the political supremacy of the colored race at the South was the willful and deliberate refusal of the white race to contribute its proper and natural influence to the practical work of government. They chose to yield to the embittering influences of defeat and race-hatred, rather than to act the part of faithful citizens in guiding and controlling those whose ignorance and inexperience most imperatively required their aid. The necessary results of such conduct on the part of a class occupying such relations to any community, under our form of government, are obvious and uniform. It was as if to-day the greater part of the tax-paying and educated class in New England and New York should cease from all influence or aid in the work of government, and sullenly leave public affairs to the control of such as might be left to take it. Or, more exactly, it was as if that class, not content with refusing all aid in the conduct of public affairs, should seek, in a spirit of bitter and vengeful hostility, to deride, dishonor, and embitter those into whose hands they had surrendered the political power. It is certain that no state or community could suffer such a separation and antagonism of its elements without plunging, more or less rapidly, into temporary misrule.

But with what patience would just and reasonable men listen to the charge, especially when coming from those who had forsworn their political duties, that this result was due to the false and cruel policy which had established universal suffrage? The indignant reply would be: "Your sufferings are self-inflicted, the just penalties of your own folly and crime; you have sown the wind, and you reap the whirlwind." The best success of self-government anywhere presupposes a fair degree of coöperation between all classes in carrying on the work of government. If such coöperation is refused by

the class representing property and education, that recusant class, not the policy or principle of self-government, is chargeable with the results, whatever they may be. "I do not admit," said Governor Dix, in vetoing the proposed city charter of New York in 1872, "that misgovernment in this city is proof of the failure of republican government. When the Legislature gives to New York municipal government in conformity with the general idea of American institutions, it performs its whole duty. All further responsibility is on the people of New York City themselves. If they culpably neglect their own affairs, if they will not give to their own political affairs the same attention which the rest of the people, in their several localities, are in the habit of giving, they must suffer the consequences."

The second main charge brought against the policy of universal suffrage in our reconstruction, is perhaps sufficiently answered already. Instead of violating or disregarding any natural or moral law, or law of human nature or society, it was the dictate and expression of the highest morality applied to the affairs of government, the recognition and protection of the natural and inalienable right of all men—the opportunity, without artificial shackles or hindrances, to run the race of life. It is safe to say that there is no political community of considerable importance, either State, city, or large town, in our country, in which the voluntary and complete withdrawal of the greater part of the educated and property-owning class from all participation in public affairs would not speedily produce the state of things which has been denounced, when seen at the South, as the forcible and artificial elevation of the ignorant and irresponsible over the educated and responsible. The cause of such results wherever seen, under our Government, is the same. It is the violation of moral duty and natural law by those who are endowed with the chief power of securing and upholding good government. To raise an outcry against universal suffrage because of results traceable directly to the neglect of their unquestionable duties as citizens, by the educated and tax-paying classes, is a conscious mockery or a pitiable mistake. No better words have been spoken of late on this point than these of Goldwin Smith: "There is yet another class *dangerous* in its way—the class of political seceders. Malcontents from this country are always telling their sympathizing friends in Europe that the best men here stand aloof from politics. The answer is, that those who in a free country stand aloof from politics *can not be the best men.* A

man is not bound to seek the prizes of public life; he will perhaps exercise more influence for good if he does not; he is not bound to become the slave of party; he is not bound to sit in any conclave of political iniquity. But he is bound to do his utmost, in such ways as are morally open to him, to get the best men elected, and to make the right principles prevail. If he can not do much, he is still bound to do what he can. Striking pictures have been drawn of men with high foreheads and intellectual countenances condemned to sit in council beside low brows and stolid faces. But would the matter be mended if the low brows and stolid faces had the council to themselves?"

And if, it may be further asked, the "low brows and stolid faces" do have the council to themselves, is it the fault of universal suffrage? Does it suggest the remedy of the restriction of the suffrage until the "high foreheads and intellectual countenances," without effort on their part, shall have the council to themselves? Not till we abandon all pretense of faith in the cardinal doctrines of republican government as understood and practiced hitherto in the United States, will it be admitted that it is the province or aim of government to secure to "high foreheads and intellectual countenances" anything more than it secures to "low brows and stolid faces," namely, a fair chance to exercise their own faculties, follow their own ends, and influence the course of public affairs according to their abilities and the dictates of their own judgments, subject only and equally to such impartial legal restraints as may be necessary to prevent crime and preserve public order. It is not claimed that there is anything sacred about the right to vote, except as it is believed and proved to be the best means of securing those other rights which *are* sacred and inalienable—"life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The ballot is no more than a means of securing the best government, and the best government is that under which all the people rise to the highest plane of intellectual and moral development. The American idea is that, by giving and securing to all the right to vote, the result in the large will always be, at least in any American community, that the various classes will have, each its appropriate influence; that good government being the general interest will be the general aim; and that in the process of reaching this end the whole community will be educated and elevated to a degree never resulting from other methods. And further, it is a part of this idea of government, that if for a time evils arise and prevail, the remedy will be constantly in the hands

of those who suffer, and that, whenever such evils arrest the public attention or threaten the public welfare, the general interest will compel their correction and removal. If, then, under this system and in this country, the "low brows and stolid faces" anywhere or at any time have the council to themselves, it is because the "high foreheads and intellectual countenances" have failed to use their proper influence. No single instance can probably be pointed out in our history, where it is not certain that the evils of bad government could have been promptly corrected by the earnest and faithful efforts of the educated and property-owning classes. The Southern States under colored suffrage were not exceptions to this rule. No class ever had greater advantages for securing a proper share of influence in public affairs than the white race of the South in 1867; no class were ever more open or responsive to the influences of property and education than the colored race of the South. The plan of reconstruction did not set the colored race to rule over the white; it did not place ignorance above education. Such results, if they have ever existed, were due to causes which would produce in New England evils similar to those which have prevailed in South Carolina and Louisiana.

If we turn now to an examination of the conduct and capacity of the colored race as shown during the period of its free exercise of the suffrage, it will appear that that race exhibited qualities entitling it to all the political privileges conferred by the reconstruction measures. It is necessary here to shut out the partisan clamor and misrepresentation of the day, and attend only to the authentic facts as the ground of judgment. First, then, it may be said that the colored race gave to the Southern States wise, liberal, and just constitutions. Under influences which elsewhere had led to punitory and proscriptive measures toward those who had supported slavery and rebellion, the organic law of the ten States embraced in the reconstruction act of 1867 shows no instance of a purpose or effort to exclude any classes or individuals from an equal share in all political privileges. The demands of public education were fully recognized and provided for. The methods and principles of taxation were just and enlightened. The modes of selecting judicial officers were such as prevail in the most prosperous States of the North. In a word, the constitutions of the reconstructed States would to-day command the almost unqualified approval of all competent and impartial judges and critics. And the same conclusion will follow from an examination of the general legislation in these

States during the same period. It was, with few exceptions, dictated by the public wants and suited to the public needs.

In the ordinary conduct of the practical affairs of government, much must be said in approval of the spirit and methods which then prevailed. Elections were free, fair, and honest. Political canvasses were conducted by the colored race without violence, or disorder, or excessive rancor. The power which they held they put fairly at hazard with each recurring election. They neither cheated nor intimidated nor sought to intimidate their opponents. Their popular assemblages listened with respect and attention to the arguments of their bitterest political foes on those rare occasions when their foes condescended to address them with argument. Public order was maintained. Crime was detected and punished. Life and property were as safe as in most of the States.

There was a period of official corruption and profligacy in the States in which the colored vote predominated, extending generally from 1869 to 1874. It arose from causes already explained. It was confined to official life; it was produced and inspired by a few leaders who had, for purposes of plunder, made their way to public places. As in the similar condition of affairs which prevailed in the city of New York from 1866 to 1873, official corruption at the South for a time baffled investigation and defied public sentiment. In its worst stages it did not equal this description, given by the "Committee of Seventy," of corruption in New York: "It has bought Legislatures, controlled Governors, corrupted newspapers, defiled courts of justice, violated the ballot-box, threatened all forms of civil and religious liberty, awed the timid rich, bribed the toiling masses, and cajoled respectable citizens, and has finally grown so strong and reckless as to openly defy the intelligence and virtue which is believed to be inert, voiceless, and powerless to stay its aggressions, or to assert the supremacy of honesty and justice." Southern corruption assumed more grotesque, and perhaps more offensive forms, than were displayed elsewhere; but it was never so powerful, daring, or pervasive as in other sections of the country. It never polluted the sources of political power; it never violated the ballot-box; it never bribed the "toiling masses." It may be said with perfect truth that the colored voters of the South never sustained public men whom they believed to be corrupt. They adhered with rare fidelity to those who had once gained their confidence. But, whenever a public man was shown to be corrupt, the colored voters rejected him with as much certainty and promptness

as the voters of the North have shown. It is not true—with whatever frequency or confidence the assertion may have been made—that the colored race of the South deliberately or consciously sustained leaders or public officers who were found guilty of dishonest conduct or corrupt practices. Such leaders and officers were deprived of office and power. From 1873 till 1876, when political power was violently wrested from them, it is the truth of history that there was at the South a steady progress toward good government, purity of administration, reform of abuses, and the choice of capable and honest public officers, in those States in which the colored race had most complete control. There were here, as there are in all communities, sham reformers. At periods of special excitement, or under peculiar influences and circumstances, the reform movement was checked, and corrupt and dishonored leaders seemed for a time to regain power. But such reverses were overcome, and in 1876 those who had most conspicuously shown their ability and courage in the work of reform were in substantial control of the political power of the colored race. In South Carolina, where perhaps official corruption had been greatest, the progress of reform had been such as to compel the acknowledgment, by those who had most violently denounced colored suffrage, that the best assurance of good government in the future lay in the continuance of the power of those who were then successfully working out, through the political party supported by the colored vote, the correction of public abuses.

This condition of affairs, it is to be remembered, was the result solely of the movement for reform within the political party which owed its power mainly to the colored race. The reforms accomplished were demanded and supported by the colored voters. The reform leaders were chosen and sustained in their work by the sympathy and approval of a vast majority of that class of voters. If, as was the fact in the crusade against corruption in New York, party lines could have been disregarded; if the white minority had looked only to securing the best means for reform and good government, the reform movement would have advanced to complete success without serious hindrance or delay. Such coöperation would have been welcomed by the colored race. A better agency for peaceful and permanent reform was never presented. The colored race by nature and habit were mild, peaceful, order-loving, teachable, patient, and religious. Taught by such influences and methods as are made use of in other States, this race would have yielded to

the sway of reason and justice in their political conduct, far more readily than did the masses through which for a time corrupt leaders and public officers maintained their power in New York. The work of maintaining good government without the aid and with the hostility of the greater part of the class possessing property and education must always be extremely difficult. No people or race that has shown itself able, under such conditions, to establish wise and liberal constitutions and laws, to set in successful operation the great agencies which produce and uphold our best civilization, and, when attacked and wellnigh overcome by official corruption and profligacy, to defeat and destroy this enemy, and to restore the rule of public integrity and honor, is without the very highest title to exercise the rights and assume the duties of self-government. This title the colored race earned by their conduct from 1868 to 1876.

The fact of the present suppression and overthrow of colored suffrage at the South is now made the ground of the argument that the race was not equal to the duties of self-government. It is said that every people worthy of freedom and self-government will have freedom and self-government. It is said that the inability of a people to cope, in physical and material resources, with its enemies, is proof that such a people is not entitled to retain its political power. Such conclusions are as illogical as they are immoral. Under the principles of our Government and of all just government, rights are not dependent on numbers or physical strength or material resources. The right to vote, and to have that vote honestly counted—the right to hold and exercise the political power conferred by a majority of the votes when honestly counted—these are rights, under our Government, totally independent of the power or wealth or education of the voters. If at any time or in any place these rights are denied or defeated, there the most characteristic principle of our political system is dishonored. Nor is it an answer to this to say—even if the statement were true in any sense—that better government has been secured by the defeat of the will of a majority of the voters. In the first place, there can be no legitimate State government, good or bad, under our system, which does not derive its title from the actual legal result of the votes cast. A government otherwise derived is tainted by an original and incurable vice. In the next place, no government, however wise and pure in administration, is worth the price of a violation of the first principles upon which all governments, under our system, must rest. To hold otherwise is to make government dependent

for its sanction, not on the consent of the governed nor on the will of the majority, but on the consent and will of any number or combination of persons who may chance to possess the preponderance of physical strength and resources.

The present political supremacy of the white race in at least five of the Southern States is the result of the violent exclusion or fraudulent suppression of the colored vote. No honest and well-informed man will question this. In South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the result has been reached by a system of deliberate, organized violence in all its forms, supplemented and crowned by the most daring and stupendous election frauds. It is an intolerable affront to every sentiment of humanity or dictate of justice, to argue that any results secured by such means are less detestable than the atrocities and crimes by which they were wrought. Whoever prevents any lawful voter from casting his vote, or constrains him to cast it contrary to his will, or deprives it, when cast, of its equal share in determining the result of the election, is guilty of a palpable and vulgar fraud. The defense of such fraud, by a reference to any results which may follow, is a specimen of degrading Jesuitism.

What morality and reason thus affirm, experience confirms. The only serious menace to the prosperity, unity, and life of the nation has proceeded directly from a departure from the doctrine of equal civil and political rights—the claim and exercise of exclusive political control by a few over the many. The South from 1789 to 1860 was the complete type and embodiment of communities in which political power is held exclusively by property and education. By a law as sure and uniform in its results as the operations of Nature, these communities became oligarchies in the most odious sense of the term, hostile in spirit and action to all republican ideas. In seventy years from the foundation of the Government "ordained to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty," the wealth, education, and piety of the South stood ready, sword in hand, to destroy that Government, and to maintain in its place a government proclaimed by its founders to rest on the corner-stone of human slavery. And to-day again, as in 1860, the same oligarchical power, crushing the colored race under its feet, seeks with bloody and rapacious hands to grasp the national power as the agency through which it may extend and perpetuate its own spirit and practice of caste and oppression.

D. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

V.

THE EMPIRE OF THE DISCONTENTED.*

It has been often remarked that foreigners visiting Russia derive from their journey widely different impressions, according to the social classes they had intercourse with, their personal experience, and still more, perhaps, according to the institutions, habits, and customs of their own country. Indeed, there scarcely can be found another country about which so many different opinions exist as about Russia. It appears to be something of a modern sphinx—a puzzle for all mankind, an unraveled and incomprehensible mystery.

That the present state of Russia is most deplorable is a plain fact, which is beyond doubt and discussion. The Russian press itself freely admits it. "Russia has become an empire of the discontented!" exclaimed the celebrated Katkoff, in his "Moscow Gazette," shortly after the war, and this expression has been echoed by the whole public opinion in Russia, and given a theme to all the press. Reviewing the abominable cases of corruption which the last war has disclosed, the "St. Petersburg News" says in a recent issue: "The moral standard of our society seems to have sunk so low that we have utterly lost the faculty of distinguishing right from wrong, honor from baseness, patriotism from egotism. In almost every representative of our official spheres we are led to suspect a rascal and a thief. We distrust each other, we believe no more in ourselves, all honest principles seem to have become an empty phrase; and a cold skepticism in all things not pertaining directly to our personal interests seems to have taken hold of the whole nation." Still more violent in its expressions is the "Novoye Vremja" ("New Time"), the leading St. Petersburg paper. "What a time we are living in!" it exclaims. "Every day brings new dis-

* This article is printed unaltered in the author's own English.—Editor.

closures, on all sides we are surrounded with rascals who have long ago lost all sense of their moral debasement. In this pestiferous atmosphere honest hearts lose their energy, gradually sink lower and lower, or are crushed in fruitless attempts to shake off the curse lying upon us." Such is the picture of utter demoralization drawn by the Russian press. Muzzled as it is by a barbarous censorship, it can certainly not be suspected of exaggeration. If we add to this picture financial exhaustion and utter impoverishment of the laboring classes caused by an exorbitant and disproportionate taxation, we shall convey to the reader a fair idea of the terrible crisis through which Russia is now passing, and exclude the suspicion of attempting to conceal its importance.

Is this state of affairs hopeless? Is it the agony of the Russian nation? Has the latter played out its part in history, and is this the beginning of an utter decomposition? There is every reason to believe that such is not the case. The nation itself is safe and sound—the *czardom* alone, that cancer which has for centuries sucked the life's blood out of the Russian people, with its whole train, is rotting off and falling to pieces. What the world is now witnessing is the *agony of Russian autocracy.* The czardom alone is the true cause of all the misery Russia has endured for centuries and is now still enduring. With its overthrow the nation will breathe freely, and will at last be able to develop all its latent energies. Few foreigners, and especially few citizens of a free country, can form an adequate idea of what the Russian Czar actually is, and of the necessary consequences of the power he is endowed with. I have had occasion to meet several Americans in St. Petersburg who, charmed by the pleasant intercourse with the representatives of the Russian court and high life, were rather inclined to consider the Russian Government a sort of paternal and comfortable arrangement, saving the peaceful citizen a good deal of trouble and expense, and forming a necessary part of the Russian national institutions. The truth, however, is that the czardom is not at all of Russian origin. It was born out of the Tartar yoke, which has weighed on Russia for two centuries. The Asiatic despotism of the Khans crushed all independent classes and political organizations in Russia; and the Czars of Moscow, after driving away the Tartars, continued the same policy, and achieved the work begun by their Moslem predecessors.

The power concentrated in the Russian Czars is without precedent in history, and has at all times exerted a most fatal influence

on public life in Russia as well as on the personal character of the Czars themselves. Trained to a slavish obedience and to the belief that the personal will of one man and not the law was the guiding principle of their whole existence, the people gradually sank into that political and intellectual apathy from which even now the mass of the Russian peasantry has not yet awakened. The Government took in the popular imagination the form of a law of Nature, the effects of which could neither be foreseen nor avoided, but only like those of Nature deified and adored. Not only to the people, however, but to the Czars themselves has their power become a curse. Feeling the awful responsibility weighing on them, they naturally sought to alleviate it by giving their power a divine character. Every one of their acts they began to consider as the will of God, themselves as His instruments, and every man who dared to oppose them as an insolent atheist not recognizing the dictates of Heaven, for whom no punishment could appear too cruel and severe. In a certain sense the opinion is well founded, that all Russian Czars were more or less maniacs. A human mind can not bear the strain put on it by the exercise of an almost divine power. It naturally acquires a morbid disposition, which takes different forms, according to the character and energy of each individual. A man with an undaunted will and energy becomes a maniac of his own power, a cold-blooded tyrant, in whose eyes the strict maintenance of his "divine" rights becomes a religion, a creed it is his duty to uphold. The prototype of this species of "Cæsarean" mania is to be found in our century in the person of Nicholas I., the present Emperor's father.

In order to understand rightly the present state of affairs in Russia, we must devote some of our space to the characteristics of that extraordinary man. Nicholas was the type of a convinced autocrat—of an autocrat "by the grace of God." In him all the traditions of ancient czardom were personified; he exercised his power not only as a right, but as a holy duty, imposed on him by Providence, and crushed his enemies, not from personal hatred or out of governmental interests, but simply as a work of heavenly justice.

An episode which happened in 1848 with a member of my own family will best serve to illustrate this feature in the character of the "Iron Czar." A relation of mine, who was then a student at the St. Petersburg University, had, with a few friends, formed a literary society, in which the works of contemporary political economists,

publicists, and philosophers, were read and debated. One of the innumerable spies of the secret police denounced the society as a "secret revolutionary organization," and my relative, as president thereof. The latter was of course arrested, locked up in one of the underground cells of the St. Petersburg fortress, and summarily condemned, by a special military court, to transportation to Siberia for life.

All the influence which our family possessed in high quarters was brought to bear on the Czar, but all in vain. At last the mother of the prisoner, meeting the Czar one day during one of his solitary walks in the Summer Garden, threw herself at his feet, averring her son's innocence, and imploring his pardon. The Czar seemed to be profoundly touched. He raised the old lady with the most chivalrous and pitying deference, and promised her to reconsider her son's case, and to have a personal interview with him. Nicholas was true to his word. The very next day the young culprit was brought out of his cell, and, a few moments later, he stood alone before the Emperor. The latter took him by the hand, led him before an image of the Saviour suspended in a corner of the room, and, forcing him down on his knees, exclaimed :

"Can you swear before the Almighty God that neither you nor your associates had any criminal design against my life? Can you swear that you believe in the holiness and eternity of the Russian autocracy?"

As soon as the prisoner had recovered from his unbounded surprise, he answered:

"I can swear to your Majesty that neither I nor any of my friends had the remotest design against your safety. As to the autocratic form of government, I can not conscientiously swear that I believe in its eternity. The history of other countries teaches us that the time must come, even in Russia, when the people itself will take part in its government."

The Czar answered not a syllable, embraced the young man with almost paternal tenderness, and drawing a ring from his own finger gave it to him, saying :

"This is a token of respect from your Czar. You have been sincere and truthful to me ; and there is nothing I hate so much as a lie."

He then approached his writing-table, on which the sentence of the court concerning my relative was lying, and with one stroke of the pen—signed the paper!

"I pity you from the bottom of my heart," he said; "you are an honest man, and an honest man, true to his convictions, is more dangerous to autocracy than an unprincipled rascal. Therefore I must punish you, though never was this duty more painful to me than now. God bless you, my son, and judge me mercifully if I should appear to be in the wrong."

And, once more embracing his victim, he led him to the door.

This story, every particular of which I have heard from my relative himself, who, at the beginning of the present reign, was pardoned and returned to St. Petersburg, depicts vividly the peculiarities of Nicholas's great but entirely deranged mind. The holiness of his position, as defender of autocracy, became a mania, an *idée fixe*, for which he would have sacrificed his life as he did those of others, if the occasion of doing so had presented itself. Nicholas may have been called the "Brutus of autocracy." Like all the princes of the Romanoff family, he had received but a miserable education. Accustomed from childhood to deal either with fawning courtiers or with severely disciplined soldiers, he considered a soldier the ideal of a true citizen, implicit obedience the only civic virtue, and a barrack the model of political organization. In his mind a spirit of military discipline was to pervade the whole country. The free will of each citizen was limited by the scope of his private life. In all public matters the "holy power" of the Czar reigned paramount, and not only criticism, but a plain discussion, even a thorough knowledge of such matters on the part of a private citizen, was considered criminal.

This horrible system, which only the morbid imagination of a maniac could have invented, was carried out with a merciless logic and a set purpose, as only a great mind, great even in its aberrations, is capable of. The public schools were managed on a thoroughly military plan. Learning by heart was the chief occupation, and all sciences were "arranged" specially for Russia, so as not to give the slightest possible occasion for liberal theories or religious skepticism. In ancient history, for instance, the Roman Republic was entirely eliminated. From the kings the pupils had to skip over to the emperors, and the intermediate period was done away with the sentences: "After Tarquinius the Roman people became unruly and revolted against the legal authorities. A time of hideous disturbance followed until Julius Cæsar appeared," etc. The history of France was taught only up to Louis XV. The history of Russia was distorted in all possible ways, so as to conceal all that could

have been interpreted unfavorably for some of the Czars. It seems scarcely credible, and yet it is but the plain truth, that until the present day the facts of the murder of Peter III. by his wife Catharine, and of Paul I. by a conspiracy of noblemen, of which the poor maniac's own son, the "gentle" Alexander I., was the guiding spirit, are not admitted to publication in Russia, and severely proscribed from all school-books!

To say that the public press was muzzled beyond description would scarcely give an adequate idea of the reality such as it was. Not only was all discussion of public affairs strictly forbidden, but even silence on certain matters was often considered a crime. Many instances may be cited of publications having been suppressed, not because they criticised the Government, but because they *did not praise* it sufficiently!

As I have said, this system was carried out by Nicholas with that steadfast logic and settled purpose peculiar to maniacs. His whole life, all the faculties of a naturally powerful mind, had been devoted to training the people into a nation of crippled idiots and knaves. When after the crash of the Crimean war this terrible truth began to dawn upon him—when the stern, merciless hand of History showed him the abyss of corruption, rascality, ignorance, and apathy into which he had cast his people by carrying out what he deemed to be the will of God—then the "Iron Czar" broke down like a reed and died. It is well known to the initiated in court matters at St. Petersburg that on his deathbed he confided to his son, the present Emperor, the secret of his broken life, and made him swear to adopt a series of liberal measures, and before all the emancipation of the serfs, which was accordingly accomplished in 1861.

A more striking contrast of character can scarcely be imagined than that which exists between Nicholas and his son and successor Alexander II. If the former presents a typical instance of the effects of czardom on a powerful, manly, and energetic mind, the latter illustrates, on the contrary, the perhaps still more direful influence of absolute power on a weak mind. Alexander received, under the auspices of the poet Joukoffsky, a somewhat better education than is generally awarded to the princes of the Romanoff family. But at the same time this education inculcated in the mind of the young prince that vague, purposeless sentimentality of the romantic school of which Joukoffsky was one of the distinguished representatives. Combined with his naturally weak, imaginative, and unsettled dis-

position, the romantic education he received exercised a pernicious influence on the further development of his faculties, impairing their energy and destroying that clearness and precision of thought which is the *conditio sine qua non* for an able ruler. Alexander's character can be defined in one sentence: he has not will enough to be good, and he is not good enough to have a will. Keenly aware of the heavy responsibility which rests on him, he constantly wavers between two opposite resolutions; he ponders sometimes whole years over one decision, and, when he at last carries it out, the right time for it is generally past, and it has long ago "lost the name of action." Hamlet on the throne, endowed with an almost superhuman power of doing good or evil, is the true picture of the Czar Alexander I. That such a character is open to all influences, that it mistakes obstinacy for strength of will, and is unable to distinguish, in the practice of government, truth from falsehood and good from evil, need scarcely be added.

Indeed, the present reign has as many phases as the Czar has had favorites, each phase retaining the peculiar tint of indecision and incompleteness cast on it by the Czar's personal character. The first years of the present reign awakened in the hearts of the Russian people the most sanguine hopes. Almost immediately after the death of Nicholas the whole system of government changed abruptly. The preparatory measures to the emancipation of the serfs were begun, the press was given a freedom of speech altogether unprecedented in Russia, the system of instruction underwent a most radical reform; the courts, the army, the local administration, in short, every branch of government, was revised and reformed, and a new life seemed to spring up amid the ruins of the former tyranny. A powerful liberal movement seized Russian society. Everything seemed possible and attainable. Out of the maddest tyranny Russia was to leap with one stride into the most accomplished liberalism, guided by an enlightened, benevolent Czar. Liberalism became the fashion, even at court. Of course even then, in the midst of this orgy of liberalism, men were to be found who were not blind enough to believe that the work of centuries could be effaced in a few days. In all the liberal excitement of the moment these skeptics could perceive little more than a passing fashion, a childish play with liberty on the part of a society which scarcely understood the true meaning of the word. And the event proved that they were right. An address, presented by the nobility of Moscow to the Czar, demanding an aristocratic

constitution, as a sort of compensation for the losses the nobility had sustained by the emancipation of the serfs, gave the first impulse to an abrupt change of politics. The address was received very ungraciously; the ringleaders of the whole concern were advised to retire to their estates for some time, in order to meditate at leisure on the true nature of Russian liberalism, and the very first occasion was seized upon to remind the "Liberals" that "autocracy was a heavenly institution, and that every attempt at anything which might possibly resemble a constitution was in future to be considered as an offense against his Imperial Majesty, and punished according to law"—a rather uncomfortable threat, meaning death, or Siberia.

It now became evident that a painful misunderstanding had prevailed all round. Like all natures endowed with a strong and morbid imagination, and but a weak mind and will, Alexander had built up his ideal of an autocratic millennium in all its slightest particulars. By his courtiers and by some of the half-crazy idealists of the old Slavophile school this dream was received with unbounded enthusiasm. When it was shattered to pieces by the "ingratitude" of the people, when it became apparent that what the people were impudent enough to desire was liberty, and not "paternal benevolence," the Czar's disenchantment was bitter, and gave the first impulse to that morbid melancholy which further events developed in his mind to the extent of a mental malady.

The ordinary consequences of political repression followed: the revolutionary movement became more intense. "Conspiracies" were almost daily discovered by the police. At last came the catastrophe: on the 16th of April, 1866, a crazy young fanatic, almost a child, Karakozoff by name, fired a shot at the Emperor while the latter was stepping into his carriage after a walk in the Summer Garden. This fatal shot marked a turning point in the Czar's policy toward his subjects, and opened the career of a man who richly deserves the name of an evil genius of modern Russia, in whom Russian autocracy with all its decay and hypocrisy found an able, unscrupulous, and powerful representative. This man is the now celebrated Count Peter Shouvaloff, at present Russian Ambassador at the court of Great Britain, and the probable successor of Prince Gortchakoff to the office of Chancellor of the Empire. Immediately after Karakozoff's *attentat*, Shouvaloff was summoned to the post of "Chief of the Third Section of his Majesty's Private Chancery," and the task of prosecuting the criminal and of extirpating

the "revolutionary party" in Russia to the very roots was intrusted to him.

Citizens of a free country are scarcely able to form an adequate idea of the true nature of this terrible and profoundly demoralizing institution. The "Third Section" is a great deal more than a secret police for political cases. It is in every sense the true and full expression of the Czar's supreme power; it is the organ and instrument of his personal will; it stands accordingly above all the laws, the institutions, and even the civil rights of each citizen. Its agents are spread all over the country, exercising a secret control over every officeholder, every provincial institution—the governor of the province himself not excepted, who is generally the first to quail before its secret power. It is clear that, so long as this institution exists, every law, every liberal reform, is but a mockery.

A history of the secret doings, of all the horrors and crimes, perpetrated by this disgraceful institution, would fill up many volumes, before the contents of which the most sensational novels would appear tame and shallow. There is scarcely any sphere of public or private life which is exempted from the irresponsible control of this inquisition of the nineteenth century. The verdict of a court has no value whatever for the Third Section. Not only acquitted political offenders are as a rule transported "administratively" to some distant town of the empire, but even the judges themselves, when they are considered to have passed too lenient a verdict, are liable to be forced into resigning their office and to be then exiled in company with the very prisoners who had stood before them!

Such is the institution at the head of which Shouvaloff was placed in 1866; such was the power given into his hands which made him in one year the actual master of Russia. Shouvaloff is a man of more than ordinary intellectual abilities, admirably suited for a post such as the one he occupied. Endowed with a profound knowledge of human nature, he understood at a glance the character of the Czar. He knew how to maintain the Czar in a state of perpetual nervous excitement by reporting almost daily about new conspiracies in a most distorted and exaggerated shape, leading him to the belief that the whole of Russia was covered by a net of a murderous and bloodthirsty revolutionary organization. Alexander lived in constant fear of assassins, and had a revolver always at hand. Once his aide-de-camp, Ryleeff, entering unexpectedly the

imperial private study, the Czar sprang up in dismay and fired at him, happily missing his aim.

Repressive measures against the press, the provincial elective assemblies (the *zemstvo*), the universities, and the new law courts, followed almost daily. A true and able disciple of that political adventurer *par excellence*, Napoleon III., Shouvaloff knew how to deprive public life in Russia even of that phantom of liberty which had been awarded by the "liberal" Czar; how to tear out of the new institutions their spirit, without touching their outward, civilized form. In the repression he exercised against every spark of independent spirit in Russian society, he artfully evaded any offense to that peculiar feeling of tact which is innate in persons of good breeding and high social standing: he carefully dealt with every case according to the social reputation and family position of the inculpated persons; he could discriminate between those who could be struck and crushed in the most merciless and brutal manner and those toward whom forms of a chivalrous and accomplished civility must be observed.

A personal experience of mine admirably illustrates this trait in the character of the "Great Russian Spy," as the Londoners called Shouvaloff. In 1872 I was an editorial writer on the staff of a weekly paper at St. Petersburg. This paper still exists, and I am therefore compelled from obvious reasons not to name it. Through the literary position I occupied, I naturally came into contact with all the stirring, turbulent, and intelligent elements of the Russian *bohème*—students, artists, young officers of the army, teachers in public schools, literary men, and such like—all of whom were anything but loyal subjects of the Czar, and therefore all *personæ ingratissimæ* in the eyes of the St. Hermandad. At the same time, in consequence of some family ties and traditions, I was intimately acquainted with some of the first aristocratic families of the capital, and had thus access to that mysterious and undefinable sphere which the French call "the world." One evening I was called upon to read a paper about "Socialism in Russia," before a literary society we had formed. In the very midst of my oratorical effort I was interrupted by the clash of sabers in the anteroom, and there appeared suddenly among us a man, clad in that awful blue uniform of the gendarmes, the executive agents of the Third Section. In the most civil manner possible he invited us to disperse, an invitation we of course acted upon immediately. At the door we met another "blue gentleman," who took down our names and addresses,

warning us of the consequences if any one should venture to give a false statement. The very same night I received a summons to appear the next day at two P. M. at the Third Section, or in the "building near the suspension bridge," as this amiable institution is usually called in St. Petersburg, from the locality it occupies. There an amiable and smooth-tongued official gave me fair warning that, if I should again be seized by a desire to express my opinions on socialism, the Government would be happy to give me the occasion for meditating further on the subject in the quiet town of Belozersk, and then let me go, after warning me that I had henceforth to consider myself under the strictest surveillance of the secret police. On coming home I found to my utter amazement on my writing-table an envelope, adorned with the Shouvaloffs' crest and coat-of-arms, and containing an invitation to a great ball which was to take place the next day in the same building which I had left a few moments before a suspected "Nihilist" and revolutionist!

In such petty details of tact and urbanity Shouvaloff was always a master, and it is principally by such means that he succeeded in conciliating to his policy all such representatives of superficial liberalism for whom public life and liberty were not an earnest necessity but only a play and a fashion. At the same time he carried out a system of preventive measures all directed to one purpose—that of diverting the public mind from political interests. Just like his master in Machiavelianism, Napoleon, he used public amusements, feasts, and pageants, even if they were of more than doubtful morality, as a diversion for the exuberant energies of society. Debauchery of every kind was patronized, the imagination of the ablest and best classes of the people was systematically perverted, their senses were flattered in every manner, and their mind and reason left as barren as possible. Liquor-shops, night restaurants with private parlors adorned in the most luxurious manner, low theatres specially dedicated to *can-can*, where performers and public chiefly belonged to the lowest class of fallen women, and other establishments of the same or of a worse kind, enjoyed an active protection on the part of the police, while public lectures, schools, newspapers, books — in short, every function of public thought and opinion—were subjected to a most tyrannical control of half a dozen police authorities.

The effects of this dastardly system of government were terrific, indeed more dangerous for the development of the nation than even

the tyranny of a madman like Nicholas. Lying and hypocrisy became the officially recognized principles in politics, and gradually invaded all the spheres of public life. A generation of knaves suddenly sprang up, invading all the branches of the government service, of the financial and economical institutions. With resounding phrases about liberty, honesty, and civic duty on their lips, this "new generation," these beloved children of the "liberal" czardom, inaugurated an epoch of corruption and demoralization unprecedented in the history of their country. The members of the imperial family themselves took the lead on this glorious path. The brothers and other relatives of the Czar were foremost in robbing the people, and took the lion's share of the booty. The education received by the princes of the Romanoff family mostly stands on a level with that of a groom in civilized communities. Their habitual associates are the most despicable and unprincipled snobs among the *jeunesse dorée* of the capital and French *courtisanes*.

More or less all the Russian princes come up to that level. They pass their whole life in brutal idleness, whiling away their time with drinking, gambling, and hunting. As far as education and knowledge is concerned, there is perhaps but one exception to this general rule: that is the Grand Duke Constantine Nicolajevitch, brother of the Czar, President of the Council of State, the supreme legislative body of the empire, and admiral-general of the Russian fleet. He is a man of more than ordinary intellectual ability, well informed, and possessing a keen appreciation for the fine arts: his palace is the constant rendezvous of artists, *littérateurs*, musicians, and singers. But, on the other hand, the Russian people have to pay dearly for the luxury of possessing a well-educated Romanoff: among the studies which Constantine has pursued with the most complete success, the science of bribery stands paramount. He has managed to discount his influence as President of the Council of State in the most profitable manner. Every new railway, manufacturing or banking company, which applies to the Government for incorporation, has to pay Constantine, of course not personally, but through half a dozen agents and sub-agents, a handsome tribute. Also the accounts of many a ship-building firm might, if published, tell curious tales about how expensive an article a clever and educated member of the Romanoff family actually is.

This remark, however, does not imply that stupid and badly educated grand dukes prove less expensive to the country than clever ones. A recent example has proved the contrary; that of

the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolajevitch, the commander-in-chief of the Russian army during the last Bulgarian campaign. The general opinion about that man in Russia *before* the war was, that he was a thoroughly ignorant, stupid, but honest and brave soldier. Recent events have proved, however, that if the former part of this judgment is correct the same can not be said of its latter part. The fact is now generally known in Russia that the Grand Duke Nicholas, the brother of the Czar, the generalissimo of the army, not only brought this army to the verge of ruin by his utter imbecility as a commander, but actually *robbed* the miserable, hungry, dying soldiers of *seven million rubles*, of which he gave a handsome share to his mistress, a former opera-dancer! I must earnestly request the reader to bear in mind that this is not idle gossip: the fact has been officially proved and reported to the Czar by General Greigh, the present chief of the Russian Finance Department, who was sent by the Czar to Bulgaria to investigate the terrific cases of corruption which occurred during the war. Greigh went earnestly to work, and the very first result he obtained from his investigation was that the Czar's brother was the chief criminal. Horror-stricken, he started at once for St. Petersburg and reported to the Czar—the truth. The investigation was immediately closed, and General Greigh received the Finance Department as price for his silence.

These examples, drawn from the life of two of the most prominent members of the Czar's family, will suffice to characterize the latter as a whole. With one or two exceptions (among these the Czarevitch, who, under the beneficent influence of his wife, the Danish Princess Dagmar, has as yet held aloof from the filth surrounding him), not one single prince of the Romanoff family can be named whose existence is not a burden to the people and a nuisance to society.

The different departments of civil service (with the exception of the law courts, where honest officials predominate) present an aspect which is in no way more pleasing than the picture I have drawn of the imperial family. Foremost stands the ministry of the imperial court, which is considered a sort of patrimony of the Adlerberg family. The old Count Adlerberg, a friend of Emperor Nicholas (the *chronique scandaleuse* of the Russian court has a good deal to say about the primary motives of this *friendship*), was the chief of this petty dynasty. His son succeeded him in office, and all the different departments of the ministry have been adroitly distributed among brothers, nephews, and cousins of the family. The chief,

and in the eyes of the uninitiated the only, purpose for which this ministry exists is the payment of the Adlerberg family debts. Every four or five years some six or seven hundred thousand rubles are paid off in this way out of the public Treasury. The good example of the chiefs is naturally followed by the minor officials, and thus the Russian court has been converted into a very den of burglars and thieves, in which corruption and bribery is exercised quite openly with a sort of refreshing *naïveté*.

What abyss of corruption has been disclosed in the War Department by the last war is too well known to need any illustration on my part. In all the Government offices in which money-making business is transacted we meet with the same system of bribery and venality. The party who best knows how to find the right man for the right price is assured of success, even if its case be as bad and as illegal as possible. Of course I do not wish to imply by this that every Russian official is a thief. In the Government offices hundreds of honest men are to be found, who abominate the system under which they are compelled to serve. But in most cases they are powerless. Only the drudgery work is intrusted to them ; the actual power rests in the hands of those who are unscrupulous enough to acquire it at any price. Examples illustrating this fact are so numerous that to choose among them is extremely difficult. I will mention but a few names of dignitaries who are known beyond the Russian frontier.

General Mesentzoff, the victim of the recent murder, began his service as a penniless officer of obscure family. By a series of unscrupulous manipulations, and base services rendered to persons of high standing, he obtained a position in the corps of the dreaded secret police, and since then identified himself entirely with all its darkest intrigues. By malpractice of every kind he rose gradually higher and higher, until he became the chief of the whole institution, and a rich man. Trepoff, "the honest father Trepoff," as he was universally called at St. Petersburg, from a penniless foundling educated by charity, became the absolute master of the Russian capital, and was on retiring from office in the undisturbed possession of three million rubles. The same may be said of the former Minister of Finance, Von Reutern, who, though an "honest German," has during his ministry succeeded in investing over one million rubles in foreign bonds, without counting the shares he possesses in Russian enterprises of every description.

"*Tel maître, tel valet,*" says a French proverb. It is natural

that the example set by the members of the imperial family and by the first dignitaries of the realm should be acted on by the subordinate agents of the Administration. And as, generally speaking, the higher social classes in Russia, that portion of Russian society which, though improperly, bears the name of aristocracy, are almost entirely absorbed by the Government service, the effect of such a state of things on public life and public morals generally may be easily imagined. The younger generation of Russian aristocrats presents a pitiful sight indeed. A cold-blooded, cynical materialism, scarcely varnished over with a superficial education and elegance of manners, treating honor, devotion to principles, and political convictions, as so many "humbugs," unworthy of a true child of the nineteenth century—such is the main feature of the present generation of Russian aristocrats. It is perfectly astonishing in what measure all moral feeling has died out among them. The worst slander and the highest praise seem to have lost all their significance in the leading circles of Russian society. The social standing of each individual is determined by a series of petty characteristics: his good breeding, his appearance, his wealth, sometimes his way of tying his cravat or putting on his gloves—all these undefinable nonentities which, put together, form the outward shape of a *jeune homme comme il faut*. From such things as these depends what in St. Petersburg one is pleased to call a *reputation*. The rest is of secondary importance. A man may be a gambler, a swindler, or worse—if he is but endowed with that peculiar varnish of genteelness and *savoir vivre* which society requires from him, he is welcome everywhere all the same.

One brilliant "swell," the favorite of the ladies, the leader of all the cotillions, owes his fortune, his social and administrative career, to the good graces of a lady *friend*, who happens to be at the same time the *friend* of a rich and powerful statesman. Another has been repeatedly caught cheating at cards, but, as he is indirectly related to a member of the imperial family, one gladly overlooks his "little peculiarities." There exists in St. Petersburg a whole set of the most fashionable and *fast* young men in society—officers of the guards, sons of old princely families, aide-de-camps of grand dukes and of the highest dignitaries of the Russian army—who, not being rich enough to pay for the life they are leading, contrive to discount their social position most dexterously by serving in a certain sense as living advertisements for commercial establishments, restaurants, horse-dealers, and such like, all of whom they

never pay, remunerating them indirectly by bringing them into "fashion." Among the business establishments thus enjoying the young aristocrats' protection the boudoirs of the *demi-monde* naturally occupy a prominent position. Such facts are perfectly well known to everybody, and do not impair in the least the social position of such men. On the contrary, they are the envied and admired models of fashion and good breeding; for them every door, from the gates of the imperial palace to the back door of a French variety singer's apartment, is opened far and wide; they are the future dignitaries of the empire; a brilliant career is opening before them!

Around this rotten, glittering "aristocracy" a whole swarm of speculators, swindlers, money-lenders, business men of every description, clusters, who, like dogs, feed from the crumbs falling from their master's table, and carry corruption, and decay even into the middle classes of society.

This is one side of the picture. Such are the "leading classes" of Russian society, as the "holy czardom" has shaped them. And the people? And those seventy millions of unknown, unheard-of human creatures who are strewed on the endless expanse of land between the Pacific Ocean and the Niemen, the White and the Black Seas?

There, all around, as Nekrassoff, the great poet of the woes and vices of modern Russia, sings—there, "in the depth of Russia, eternal stillness reigns!"—"Eternal stillness" over the fields on which, bending over his plow, the peasant toils from dawn to nightfall; "eternal stillness" in those dark, dreary, dilapidated villages with their black, smoky huts looking more like kennels than like human abodes; "eternal stillness" in the soul of that great, heroic nation, which with its hands' unrequited toil, with its hearts' blood, has made Russia what it now is, reaping for its reward but misery, ignorance, injustice of every kind; "eternal stillness" in the heart of that nation which still lies prostrate before its Czars, before the real and only origin of all its misery!

Such is the true picture of that "dark realm" the brilliant surface of which is mostly alone seen by foreign observers. And yet, disconsolate as this picture may appear, it is far from being hopeless. It would be so if the corruption and demoralization of the upper classes and of the Government pervaded the whole body of the nation, and did not arouse any indignation nor any active opposition on the part of the honest elements of the people. But such is not

the case. An opposition exists and it grows daily in strength and numbers, gathering around its banner all the stout hearts and honest minds of the nation.

Those are not rightly informed who think that the revolutionary movement now going on in Russia is the work of one party or of a secret society of any kind. It is the work of all intelligent Russian citizens, to whatever class of society they may belong, who are tired of the yoke Russia has borne for so many centuries, and who consider political liberty and the downfall of autocracy the necessary condition of all further progress of the Russian people. The name of this party, if it still may be called a party, is—*legion*. It is everywhere and nowhere. Representatives of the noblest families of the empire, professional men of every description, government officials and even priests, school-teachers, and army officers—all are to be found in the ranks of this great "army of the Discontented." The powerful machinery of Russian bureaucracy has long ago been undermined by this spirit of discontent, and it is now little more than a sham weapon in the hands of the Czar. He himself in his Winter Palace is surrounded either by cowards who will forsake him, as soon as their personal interest will no more depend on the maintenance of his power, or by secret converts to the great liberal movement who will gladly contribute to the overthrow of that same *régime* they are ostensibly serving.

Thus, from the present state of Russian society we may venture to predict with a considerable amount of probability that the Russian czardom will soon sink beneath the weight of its own decrepitude and of the merciless logic of history. Then, and only then, the true national life of Russia will begin; the vital forces of the nation will be enabled to act freely, and the scum of Russian society, which now holds the supreme power in its hands, will be wiped away from the surface of political events.

A Russian Nihilist.

VI.

THE SCIENTIFIC WORK OF THE HOWGATE EXPEDITION.

The scientific work of this preliminary expedition was intrusted to the writer as meteorologist and to Mr. Ludwig Kumlien as naturalist. We were both young, of strong *physique*, and full of zeal for the work.

Professor Loomis, of Yale, and Professor Abbe, of Washington, prepared the meteorological instructions, and Professor Baird, of the Smithsonian, those for the naturalist. These instructions were followed as closely as the circumstances of the situation and the outfit permitted.

It is difficult for a single observer to carry on a system of hourly observations in meteorology day and night for a whole year, even in a comfortable observatory in lower latitudes, and very much more difficult within the Arctic and the restricted limits of a small schooner. The same difficulties attend the naturalist, whose observations on land are limited to a few weeks of summer, in which 55° Fahr. marks the maximum of heat (in June), and with an average temperature of not over 37° Fahr., and who does not see the surface of the earth free from snow for even those few weeks.

Mr. Kumlien's collections in entomology comprise four or five species of butterflies or moths, a few beetles, mosquitoes, and house-flies; and of birds perhaps forty species, chiefly aquatic. It was among the quadrupeds and marine vertebrata that he found his chief reward, and in this field he was greatly assisted by the remarkable sagacity of the native Esquimaux, whose senses, by long training, enable them to detect the spoors of animals and other

indications of their presence in those snow-clad regions, which the hunter from lower latitudes would disregard.

With better equipment and a more numerous staff, the exploration of Kennedy Lake—a large body of fresh water, near which the Florence wintered—might have been undertaken. This lake is almost wholly unknown to science, and there is no doubt that it will yield rich results to the future explorer.

On account of the limited space and equipment of the Florence, many physical phenomena were of necessity unobserved, such as the polarization of the atmosphere, the spectra of the aurora, the actinic force of the sun's rays during the long reign of the "midnight sun," etc., etc. All these and other problems, physical, chemical, vital, astronomical, and meteorological, must be considered and provided for in the complete outfit of the proposed Arctic colony on the shore of Lady Franklin's Bay. Many of these problems can never be so well solved as by a thoroughly equipped party resident for a sufficient time within the Arctic as contemplated in the colonization plan.

The following brief abstract will show what was accomplished by the meteorologist. The position of the observatory was determined by the averages of sextant observations made on April 12 and May 24, 1878, as being in latitude 66° 13′ 45″ north, longitude 67° 18′ 39″ west.

This is the position of Annanatook, the Esquimau name of a collection of small islands on the western coast of Cumberland Gulf, where the Florence wintered. This determination of position differs from that given on published maps. But those who are acquainted with the gulf—as the whalers, for example—say the map is incorrect. There is no record of any other observations for this station except those by the writer. On the northeast of these islands rises a range of high, snow-capped hills ; the western horizon is bounded by a chain of low hills ; southeast is open water ; and northwest, as far as the eye can reach, are seen only small, rocky islands dotting the surface of the sea. The surface of the Annanatook Islands is naked rock, save only in the valleys and rocky crevices, where a little soil has gathered, and a few grasses, flowering plants, and mosses grow. Dwarf willows, resembling blackberry-vines, run along the ground, and diminutive beeches lie hidden, buried in the moss, while the rocks are covered with lichens.

The highest hill at Annanatook, by barometer, measured only

wo hundred and ninety-nine feet in height, two others being one undred and ninety-eight and eighty-four feet respectively. But n the eastern mainland one hill, by no means the highest, measured ourteen hundred and sixty-six feet, an elevation corresponding ery closely to the snow-line in summer at this point. Patches f snow were observed at this elevation on other hills behind the ne here measured rising to the estimated elevation of from two to hree thousand feet.

Barometer.—The monthly averages of the barometer at Annantook show a gradual increase of the atmospheric pressure from December, when it is at minimum, until May and June, when it the greatest. It then falls pretty uniformly to its initial point in December and January, as will be seen by comparing the means in he following condensed table. The lowest pressure observed was 3·89 in December, and the highest recorded was 30·47 inches, a ifference of 1·58 inch.

The mean hourly difference was only ·005 inch; the greatest as June 9th, ·025 inch.

Northwest winds accompanied the highest and southerly winds he lowest barometer.

ble of Barometric Means observed at Annanatook for the Several Months of 1878, *corrected for Temperature.*—O. T. Sherman, *Observer.*

MONTHS.	7 A. M.	4 P. M.	11 P. M.	Means.
nuary	29·598	29·594	29·594	29·595
bruary	29·736	29·716	29·719	29·724
rch	29·830	29·823	29·815	29·823
ril	29·995	29·984	29·999	29·993
y	29·960	29·964	29·959	29·961
ne	29·786	29·785	29·799	29·790
ly	29·757	29·748	.....	29·753
gust	.....	.....	.....	.....
ptember	29·712	29·698	.....	29·705
tober	29·735	29·751	.....	29·743
vember	29·770	29·775	.....	29·773
cember	29·571	29·575	.....	29·573

Temperature.—It is often remarked that it is the extremes of mperature rather than its averages which decide the character of climate. It is undoubtedly true that extremes are the limiting nditions of distribution of species if not of life in both animals d plants, but especially in the latter. At Annanatook we were o far south to meet the extreme of Arctic cold, the lowest tem-

perature observed being — 52·5° by the ship's thermometer, and — 49·5° by the station thermometer on shore in January. But in the same month the temperature rose to 21·5° Fahr. Sudden changes of temperature occur in these high latitudes as well as in lower : for example, on the 5th of May there was a rise in the thermometer of 11° F. in an hour, and encouraged perhaps by such a promise of warm weather a fly was found on the ice on the 8th of the same month, and by the 24th of May crowsfoot was in bud. Yet in May the temperature fell to — 8° Fahr. How relative our notions of temperature are is evident from the fact that in Disco Bay the ladies of the Danish officers, resident there, find use for their parasols against the fervid heat when the thermometer reads 35° to 40° Fahr. ! On the day in January when we had the lowest temperature, coming on board the Florence I was met by the cabin boy, bareheaded on deck, rejoicing in the fine warm day, which he guessed might be about + 10°. It was by record — 49·5 ! This confirms Dr. Kane's statement that they felt oppressed by heat when the temperature rose from — 60° to zero. We print a condensed tabular statement of the highest, lowest, and mean temperatures observed at Annanatook :

MONTHS.	Highest.	Lowest.	Mean.	MONTHS.	Highest.	Lowest.	Mean.
January....	21·5	— 49·5	— 17·6	July	52·8	34·0	40·0
February..	11·5	— 42·0	— 18·0	August...	....	....	....
March.....	35·8	— 45·0	— 13·7	September	47·0	28·0	37·0
April.....	35·4	— 14·0	10·4	October...	35·2	4·0	22·8
May.....	48·5	— 8·0	25·6	November.	28·0	— 10·0	7·3
June.....	55·3	18·0	34·9	December.	21·5	— 41·0	— 11·8

Thus it appears that in seven months of the year the temperature fell below zero, and for four months the mean was under — 10°. In the three summer months alone is the mean above freezing, the maximum summer temperature (55·3°) being in June (August having no record).

A limited number of observations only were made with the black-bulbed thermometer showing the effect of absorption of solar radiation. The results are presented in the following table :

Table showing the Difference of Temperature due to Absorption of Solar Heat by a Thermometer-Bulb blackened with India Ink and protected from Wind, at Annanatook.

DATE.	Mean time.	Black bulb.	Air.	Difference.
January 31	Noon.	— 13°	— 20·3°	7·3°
February 1	12·15	— 10	— 21·4	11·4
" 1	2·15	— 15	— 22·5	7·5
" 1	3·15	— 23	— 23·5	0·5
" 2	12·15	— 10·5	— 20	9·5
" 2	1·15	— 12·8	— 18	5·2
" 4	12·15	— 9·0	— 18·2	9·2
" 4	1·15	— 10·0	— 17·5	7·5
March 6	11·15	+ 46	— 27·5	73·5
" 6	12·15	+ 36	— 34·5	70·5
" 6	2·15	+ 26	— 33	59·6
" 7	10·15	+ 30	— 26	56·0
" 7	11·15	+ 40	— 28·5	68·5
" 7	12·15	+ 40	— 28·6	68·5
" 7	2·15	+ 27	— 27	54·0

The differences noted in these observations are remarkable, and render the multiplication of similar observations hereafter very desirable with an instrument properly constructed for the purpose.

Temperature of the Human Body.—A few observations appear to show that the normal temperature of the human body, 98·4° Fahr., is very slightly if at all changed by the climate. Thus, February 28th the temperature of two of the corps was respectively 98·2° and 98·4°. March 4th, a native was 98·4°. "This fellow has come this morning on a sledge-ride, and has been working in the snow, building a house, at a temperature of — 25° Fahr." Three Esquimau children, March 8th, had a temperature of 98·4°, and a man 98·4°. It is desirable that these observations should be extended. The blood is known to become abnormally heated by intense summer weather, rising even to 99·7°, and by prolonged exposure to cold baths the human body has been cooled with safety to 88° Fahr., but not lower, showing an extreme range of observed temperature of 11·7° Fahr.*

Sea-Water Temperature.—The surface-water at Annanatook was in January, 28·2°; February, at surface, 29°; at 18 feet depth, 29·1°–29·3°; in May, 29° at surface, 29·5° at 18 feet depth; in June, 31·8° at surface, and 31·1° at 18 feet depth; in July, 38·2° at surface, and 22·4° at 18 feet depth; these are means.

* Dr. B. F. Craig, "Variations in the Temperature of the Human Body," "American Journal of Science" (3), ii., 330.

In September the surface in the early days of the month was 37°; in the latter days, 33°; and for the mean, 35°. In October it was 30·01°; in November, 28·8°; and in December, 27·8°. The highest temperature observed in the sea, at Annanatook, was 39·4°, and the lowest, 26·7°. At Disco, in August, the surface of the sea was 44·1°.

Day and Night.—There are two circumstances influencing the Arctic night by way of compensation, not often mentioned, namely, the great length of the twilight, and the power of the moon to temper the darkness. During winter the moon has her highest north declination, and remains above the horizon for some days continuously, giving light enough for the traveler, and greatly alleviating the gloom of this oppressive season. All Arctic travelers agree in the depressing effect of the darkness. Work at other times pleasant then becomes most irksome. As showing the approach and departure of night, it is noted in my journal:

"*November 7th.*—Observation at four taken by lamplight."

"*March 14th.*—The first day we were inconvenienced by the glare of the sun's reflected light."

"*April 26th.*—Read common pica type with ease at midnight."

Table of Mean Length of Day and Night, and of Twilight, at Annanatook.

MONTHS.	Day.	Night.	Twilight.	MONTHS.	Day.	Night.	Twilight.
	h. m.	h. m.	h. m.		h. m.	h. m.	h. m.
October 16...	9 28	8 24	6 8	April 16.....	15 56	....	8 4
November 16.	5 44	11 28	6 48	May 16.....	21 16	....	2 44
December 16.	2 32	12 56	8 32	June 16.....	24 00	....	....
January 16...	4 37	12 01	7 22	July 16.....	21 02	....	2 58
February 16..	8 14	9 36	6 10	August 16....	16 48	....	7 12
March 16....	11 48	5 58	6 14	September 16.	13 00	3 20	7 40

Aurora.—The aurora is emphatically a polar phenomenon, and all who have wintered in these boreal regions dwell on the wonders of this polar light.

The records show that one hundred auroral exhibitions were observed at Annanatook from November, 1877, to August, 1878, distributed as follows, viz.: twenty in January, sixteen in February, twelve in March, seventeen in April, and two in May. After the first few days of May it was too light to observe the aurora, and so continued until the close of August, when two were observed—in November ten, and in December twenty-one.

The most brilliant auroras were seen in January and April.

The colors observed were usually pale blue, sometimes very pale green, rarely straw yellow, and once only, rose, at the base. The light from the aurora was sufficient to guide the traveler in his path. Twice I recovered my lost way by its aid, and once its brilliancy was sufficient to cast a glare on the water like that of the moon. It occasionally affected the ordinary compass-needle, as on the 29th of August when the ship's compass could not be used while the auroral display lasted. Doubtless if our magnetic instruments had been more complete we would have observed more frequent magnetic disturbances. The number of auroras observed is larger than could have been expected at this position. The usual appearance of the polar light as seen at Annanatook is as follows: On the approach of evening after a clear day, a dim, haze-like bank appeared along the south-southeast horizon, above which could be detected a faint line of bluish light. About nine o'clock this line began to show some motion, the signal of the grand display which rapidly followed. Arches two or three degrees in breadth commenced to shoot upward toward the zenith, following each other in rapid succession, to the number usually of two or three, the highest number observed being six or eight. Sometimes only one arch was seen. The night of January 10th furnished the following record: About 4 A. M. the arches which had remained in quiet glow, without motion for some time, darted up to the zenith, arch after arch following, until at 5.30 there were eight arches in sight. Each of these sprang from one original arch, advancing rather rapidly toward the zenith. After reaching a point a little to the south and east of the zenith each arch halted. Here five of the arches rested, forming one bright nucleus at the junction, the lower portions of the arch extending beyond and seemingly bending it concave toward the north. The zenith meantime remained fixed, as also the base of the arches. Now, on the approach or development of each new arch the others break into streamers, all passing through the bright nucleus already named. Of the three remaining, two are indistinct, to the south and east, and the third has passed the zenith and to the north in a line running through Capella and Gemini, remaining here as a row of streamers. These gradually fade out, and at 6 (A. M.) only one arch is left in the zenith, moving slowly southward, to be soon blended in the advancing dawn.

On the 2d of March, during a fall of snow, one of the clouds was overspread with a faint-yellow light, which later developed, or

continued, into an aurora. At other times the margins of clouds are seen lined by a faint-white light, and the activity of the compass indicated the presence of an aurora.

They have in Greenland comparatively few auroras, so that the European inhabitants at Disco seemed incredulous as to the reports of the constant recurrence of this phenomenon in other parts of the Arctic. The number recorded at Annanatook is exceptionally large.

Halo.—One conspicuous halo was observed on the 19th of January. It consisted of a circle of 22° radius with two extraordinary arcs beyond. Through the sun ran a circle of 40° radius, which appeared to rest horizontally. There were no mock moons at that time; but on the 24th of February there was a halo with mock moons.

Snow.—The fresh-fallen snow (December 24th) crackles under foot like glass beads or "dry oats hanging on the stalk." On the 1st of January the snow fell like spiculæ of ice, hardly noticeable save as it gathered on one's clothes and other objects.

The temperature of the snow at surface and below the surface was taken on two occasions with interesting results. Thus, December 25th, the surface of the snow being − 20°, at one foot below it was − 7·5°; at two feet, − 3°; at three feet, − 1°; at four feet, +3°; at five feet, +10°.

January 5th the same observations gave, at one foot below the surface, − 15°; at two feet under, − 9·5°; at three feet, +0·5°; at four feet, +9°; and at five feet, +10°.

These observations explain the comparative comfort of the native snow-houses with walls five feet thick. The precipitation for January was 0·5 inch of water; for February, 0·49; for March, 0·5; for April, 0·77; for May, 1·18; for June, 1·85; for July, 4·18; for August, —; for September, 8·88; for October, 1·07; for November, 1·04; for December, 0·98—total (less August), 21·44, or, for the twelve months, about 28 inches, probably, estimating August as a mean between July and September.

Ice—Freezing of the Sea.—October 9th, ice appeared in the fiord. October 12th, crystals of ice came up with the deep-sea thermometer. October 29th, ice is reported in the lower gulf. November 10th, new ice formed in the harbor, and afforded passage to the ship. November 27th, the ice in the harbor would hardly bear passing. May 10th, the ice at the schooner was very rotten, and quickly

broken through by a cask thrown overboard. May 19th, the ice decayed very rapidly. May 28th, the Esquimaux hunters report the ice as very treacherous. June 4–5th, on the breaking up of the shore ice the passage to the ship became hardly passable. June 8th, the ice near the ship, eight inches thick two days since, would not bear a man's weight. June 9th, ice formed on the salt water near the edges of the firm ice—probably fresh-water ice from regelation.

Winds.—Happily during the winter months the winds are very light in the Arctic. A much less degree of cold would become intolerable with a high wind. The change from a westerly to a southerly wind produces a marked change in the atmosphere, and becomes most depressing to those exposed to its influence. The year's observations on the wind are condensed in the following

Wind Table.

MONTHS.	MEAN HOURLY VELOCITY.			Prevailing current.	Highest velocity per month.
	8 A.M.	5 P.M.	Midnight, 12.		
January	4·1	4·3	4·1	West.	36·3 miles.
February	3·9	4·0	3·0	West.	24·1 "
March	4·4	5·1	4·8	West.	48·0 "
April	6·4	8·1	5·7	West.	35·7 "
May	5·6	8·1	5·0	Southeast.	26·9 "
June	8·1	12·1	....	West.	33·9 "
July	17·0	21·0	11·0	Southeast.	25·0 "
August	....	....	....	.....	.....
September	5·2	5·9	....	Northwest.	35·0 "
October	8·2	11·7	....	Northwest.	29·5 "
November	11·4	15·2	....	West.	42·8 "
December	8·98	8·4	9·49	West.	31·8 "

Clouds.—Taking the mean of the year, about 68 parts in the 100 of the sky at this station were overcast. November, December, and January were the least cloudy months; from May to October was the period of cloud, and in September was the maximum, 89 parts in 100 of the sky being overcast. The stratus was by far the most common cloud. It was found difficult to distinguish between the stratus and the cirro-stratus. The cirrus was unlike the form so distinguished in our latitudes. In place of the so-called "mares' tails" the cirrus clouds of the Arctic seemed to repose on beds inclined to the horizon at an angle of about 40–55° from southeast to 120° northwest, the impression on the mind of the observer being that the cloud-mass thus stratified always moved from some westerly point. Out

of forty-two recorded cases the movement in only two instances was from an easterly point, and one of these is doubtful. The Esquimaux say that high clouds moving from the east indicate fair weather. Many facts go to show the sagacity of these people with regard to natural phenomena.

The cumulus or "thunder-head," so common as a summer cloud in lower latitudes, was not observed. Cumulo-strata do occur, however, as has been noticed by another voyager.

Table of the Amount of Cloudiness observed at Annanatook.

MONTHS.	HOURS OF OBSERVATION.				MONTHS.	HOURS OF OBSERVATION.			
	7.	4.	11.	Mean.		7.	4.	11.	Mean.
January.....	$\frac{51}{100}$	$\frac{43}{100}$	$\frac{39}{100}$	$\frac{44}{100}$	July.....	$\frac{80}{100}$	$\frac{80}{100}$	$\frac{70}{100}$	$\frac{77}{100}$
February....	$\frac{63}{100}$	$\frac{73}{100}$	$\frac{59}{100}$	$\frac{65}{100}$	August.....	...	...	...	...
March.....	$\frac{65}{100}$	$\frac{62}{100}$	$\frac{58}{100}$	$\frac{62}{100}$	September..	$\frac{91}{100}$	$\frac{87}{100}$	...	$\frac{89}{100}$
April.....	$\frac{73}{100}$	$\frac{61}{100}$	$\frac{47}{100}$	$\frac{60}{100}$	October.....	$\frac{79}{100}$	$\frac{80}{100}$	...	$\frac{80}{100}$
May.....	$\frac{70}{100}$	$\frac{77}{100}$	$\frac{80}{100}$	$\frac{76}{100}$	November...	$\frac{82}{100}$	$\frac{71}{100}$	$\frac{59}{100}$	$\frac{71}{100}$
June.....	$\frac{79}{100}$	$\frac{75}{100}$	$\frac{84}{100}$	$\frac{79}{100}$	December...	$\frac{37}{100}$	$\frac{58}{100}$	$\frac{53}{100}$	$\frac{49}{100}$

The average cloudiness of the year in New England is about 53 parts in 100, while for Great Britain it rises to $\frac{70}{100}$, or a little more than the average within the Arctic at this station.

Other Observations.—Systematic observations were also conducted, as far as circumstances permitted, on several other lines of investigation, such as determination of the density of sea-water by the balance, upon ocean currents, on sediments obtained from melted snow and ice, upon tides, etc., etc.

The tidal records, when reduced, will, it is believed, give valuable data for comparison with the work of other observers in this line, no observations in this part of the Arctic having been hitherto made. The rise and fall of the spring tide at Annanatook was twenty-four feet and six inches; of the neap tide, seven feet. Establishment $4^h\ 52^m$, and the age of the tide $54^h\ 8^m$. From January 13th to April 26th the record is nearly complete, and for forty consecutive days, ending in April, it was uninterrupted. The writer desires to acknowledge here the valuable assistance rendered him in the preparation of this article by Professor B. Silliman, of Yale College.

ORRAY TAFT SHERMAN.

VII.

SENSATIONALISM IN THE PULPIT.

We do not believe that the American pulpit is fairly chargeable with sensationalism. If, indeed, we were content to take our impressions from the general character of most of the sermons which our daily papers think it worth their while to report, or from some of the *ad-captandum* advertisements which appear weekly under the heading of "Religious Notices," we might be led to an opposite conclusion. But it must not be forgotten that the daily papers are *news*papers. When, therefore, they report sermons, it is not so much for their excellence as for that in them which brings them under the head of news. If the preacher be a distinguished stranger, they will faithfully reproduce his utterances, that all their readers may know what manner of man he is. But equally, if any stated pastor has done or said anything out of the common, they will be sure to chronicle his eccentricity. That which they are after is the unusual, and if a minister has said something daring in its defiance of all good taste, or something that smacks of heresy, or something that will be shocking to the feelings of the better portion of the community, then for that very reason his words will be faithfully recorded. There are, it may be, in these two cities, some six or seven hundred Protestant places of worship, in each of which weekly sermons are delivered, and it would be monstrously unjust to judge of the character of those which are unreported from that of those specimens which are given to the public just because of their deviating in some respect from the general standard. We do not wonder that readers at a distance should fall into the mistake of supposing that all our clergymen are of the same class as those whom the daily press has made notorious; but it is due to the Christian community to make it clear that in this case the unreported are overwhelmingly in the majority, and that they are unre-

ported not for lack of excellence so much as for lack of peculiarity in their ministrations. In our own immediate locality you may number all who by any correct use of the words can be called "sensational preachers" on the fingers of both hands; while hundreds of others are seeking with quiet earnestness "to commend the truth to every man's conscience in the sight of God." And what is true here is, in the main, true also over the whole country. It is not to be supposed, therefore, that by writing on this subject we mean to insinuate that sensationalism is a common pulpit vice, or that American preachers are sinners above all others in regard to it.

In fact, much as we dislike sensationalism, and greatly as we deplore the evils to which it leads, we are far from believing that it is either the only or the chief danger of the pulpit in these days. We have more fear, on the one hand, of that heartless intellectualism which, by its uniform appeals to the head, develops a cold moderatism that leads at length to a positive unbelief; and, on the other, of that tepid sentimentalism which, in its method of proclaiming that "God is love," wipes out all moral distinctions and drugs conscience into sleep. On each of the three sides of our nature, the intellectual, the moral, and the sensational, the preacher is in danger of yielding to that which it is his proper function to seek to correct and control; and, in proportion as the moral and intellectual are superior to the sensational, the peril in regard to the former is more serious than it is in regard to the latter.

But, while not ignoring the others, our present business is with the sensational, and it will contribute to clearness if we here attempt a definition of that which we propose to treat. So soon, however, as we try to formulate that vague conception which we have of the thing, by putting it into words, we encounter difficulty. For it is immediately discovered that a certain kind and degree of the sensational enter into all eloquence. The orator, whether in the pulpit, or at the bar, or in the senate, seeks to persuade. But in pursuing that main design he uses certain tributaries, all of which are made by him to run into the swelling current of his speech. He employs ridicule to expose the absurdity of his antagonist's position; he uses pathos to enforce the appeal which he makes for the consideration of the weak; he turns imagination to account, by a harrowing description of the sufferings of those for whom he is pleading: and at length, by the united force of these influences, he carries his position and secures the consent of his audience to the course which he has been advocating. While he was dealing in

ridicule, his hearers laughed, and that was a sensation. When he was pathetic, the tears coursed down their cheeks, and that was a sensation. When he set the miseries of the suffering plainly before their eyes, they shuddered, and that was a sensation. Are we, then, to condemn all this? And, if we do, must not our censure lie against every triumph that the orator has won? Plainly, therefore, we must admit that the production of a sensation is not, in itself, an evil thing in eloquence, and can not be regarded as that which we designate sensationalism. The mischief lies in the prominence given to the sensation as an end in and of itself; and in the nature of the sensation as being out of harmony with the great purpose which every preacher of the gospel ought to have in view, and with the associations of the place in which his discourse is given. Much that would be proper enough on the platform, or at the bar, or in the senate, would be sensational in the pulpit, because there are certain restraints around the house of God, and the treatment of sacred subjects, the mere passing of which would be a shock to all reverent worshipers, and would tend to keep them from being suitably impressed by what is otherwise excellent. And, in every instance, the making of the production of an incidental and secondary effect a deliberate object must be pronounced objectionable. This, like the seeking of wealth, or the pursuit of pleasure, or the gratification of taste, for their own sakes, is more than an infelicity. It is the violation of an ethical principle. It is an immorality in rhetoric, and in the end it loses that which it desires, while the pursuit exposes him who enters on it to many perils. It might be too much perhaps to say that, like the determination to be rich at all hazards, it leads to evils "which drown men in destruction and perdition"; but it is undoubtedly true that they who *will* practice it do "fall into temptation and a snare."

These distinctions, as important as they are simple, will prepare us for defining sensationalism in the pulpit as the deliberate production by the preacher of an immediate effect which is not subordinated to the great purpose of his office, and is out of harmony with the sacred associations of the house of God. It is differentiated by the character of the effect, and the intention of the speaker to produce it. The sensationalist aims at an immediate result, and loses sight of the great permanent object which the minister of Christ should have in view. Instead of seeking to "present every man perfect in Christ Jesus," he desires instant appreciation of his own performance. He sets a trap for the applause of his audience,

and when that comes he has his reward. He does not seek to persuade, but to please, or to exhilarate, or to startle, or to excite, and so descends from the lofty position of the sacred orator to the lower level of the actor. He is not forbidden to do any of these things, provided they be not in themselves irreverent or ridiculous, and provided also they be made by him conducive to the highest interests of his hearers. But he rests in the doing of them as itself his success. Every true minister feels, as Chalmers has so eloquently illustrated in his sermon on "The Slender Influence of Taste in Matters of Religion," that his hearers are in danger of mistaking their appreciation of "the loveliness of the song" for their submission to the truth which it expresses. But that which is an incidental peril even to the sincerest preacher is made by the sensationalist the deliberate object which he seeks to gain. It is to him, above all things, indispensable that his "effort" be enjoyed, and the ultimate issues are of small importance.

We have said all this is his deliberate purpose. There are men, who are unconsciously carried away by the vividness of their imaginations, or their natural dramatic power to say things which produce what might be described as sensational effects, and yet it would be unfair to call them sensationalists. Thus when Whitefield, in depicting the danger of the blind man, did it so graphically that even the cold and phlegmatic Chesterfield was compelled to relieve his feelings by crying out, "Good God! he is gone"—that was undoubtedly a sensational effect; but it does not follow that Whitefield was a sensationalist. The truth rather is that, in that case, he had a sensational hearer, who came not to be benefited by the discourse, but to enjoy the eloquence of the speaker. It is, of course, possible for one unconsciously to overdo that which is in itself perfectly legitimate, and every true preacher, who has any adequate conception of the sanctity of what Spencer used to call "that awful place the pulpit," will seek to curb everything that would savor of a mere performance. But, in fairness to every speaker, his motive must be allowed here, as in other cases, to give its character to his action. When the anniversary orator at Bunker Hill, seeing the last survivor of the Revolutionary fight rising in the midst of his address, thus apostrophized him, "Sit down, venerable man! it is for us, the descendants of that generation, to stand up before you!" he did a thing which, if it had been spontaneous, would have been truly as eloquent as it was appropriate; but, when the ancient warrior was

heard muttering to himself, "What does the man mean? Why, he told me to get up at that part of his speech," it was discovered that it was all a trick which he had devised for the production of a factitious effect, and that stamped it as sensational. So when subjects are announced beforehand of such a character as the following: "A Man getting out of a Ship"; "How Jonah lost his Umbrella"; "The Speckled Bird"; "A Little Man up a Tree"; "The Run-away Knock," we can not but recognize in such advertisements so many deliberate baits to catch a crowd, and it is impossible that the sermons should not be constructed with a view to pander to the multitudes when they came. All this is beginning at the wrong end, and is a mistaking of the expectation of curious hearers for that genuine acceptance which sooner or later always follows excellence. But it is worse—it is a deliberate letting down of the great aim of the Christian ministry, and makes the gathering of a large assemblage the primary object of the preacher; while the spiritual instruction of the people is treated as secondary and subordinate. We do not find fault with advertising the services. On the contrary, it might be very useful if the churches would combine to furnish every Saturday morning, in the columns of the daily papers, a complete directory of the places of worship in the city, with their locations distinctly defined, and the hours of service carefully noted. There would be no harm either in adding to each the pastor's name. But this hunting for taking sermonic titles, much as the author of a new romance cudgels his brain for a fancy name to it, is out of all taste; and we are glad to see that it is becoming less common among us than it was a year or two ago. It always seems to us to be a flag of distress, which indicates that it is with the utmost difficulty that things can be kept afloat; and those who indulge in it are apt to enter into a rivalry with each other as to which shall outdo his neighbor. Thus the subjects are chosen, not because the minister feels that there is something existing among his hearers that he can not keep silence about, or because there is something in his own heart which is as "a burning fire shut up in his bones" which he is weary with forbearing and he can not stay, but because he wishes to outrival others who have gone into the same line with himself. It is reported of Robert Hall that he declined attending what were called "association meetings," at which, in the course of the exercises, several ministers officiated before each other, saying, "What is it, sir, but preaching for a hat?" but sometimes, as we have glanced down the column of religious advertisements (so

called), we have thought that the brethren have been advertising for a hat; and occasionally we have been reminded of the story Lockhart tells concerning the minister of Lilliesleaf, who, on being complimented by the father of Sir Walter Scott on having maintained his popularity as a preacher for two generations, made reply: "Indeed, I sometimes think it's vera surprising. There's aye a talk of this or that wonderfully gifted young man fresh frae the college; but, when I'm to be at the same occasion with any o' them, I e'en mount the white horse o' the Revelation, and he dings them a'!" Alas, there it is! the object is not to save souls, but to distance all competitors in the race for popularity; and notoriety is supposed to be the precursor of usefulness. It is a poor thing at the best, but even at its best it is an effect and not a cause. The gardener never concerns himself about the fragrance of his flower, but he seeks to make the flower itself the best of its kind, knowing that then the perfume will take care of itself. So let the minister strive to secure the great end of preaching in the salvation of men, and never trouble himself about the popular recognition of his work, for that will always come where it is deserved. The crowd that comes for an advertisement will go for a more attractive subject; but they who are drawn to a ministry because they are spiritually fed by it will be seldom absent from their places, and will frequently bring others with them.

But sensationalism connects itself with the character of the effect produced as well as with the intention of the preacher to produce it. Everything shocking from its irreverence, or merely startling in its character, which is out of harmony with the great design of a discourse, and tends to detain attention upon itself to the exclusion of that which ought to have been, and which, perhaps, in other portions of his address really was the main purpose of the preacher, must be accounted blameworthy. Thus, to take an illustration from one of the grandest works of the great dramatist himself, it is impossible to acquit even Shakespeare from the charge of sensationalism for the introduction of the grave-digging scene into "Hamlet." It is out of harmony with the great purpose of the production, which is to show how

> . . . . the native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,

and brooding reflection lays an arrest on action. It is, besides, harrowing in its suggestions; and the ill-timed mirth of the sexton is

not atoned for even by the moralizings of the hero; while the presence of the ghastly skull produces a physical horror that does not help, but hinder, the spiritual effect of the whole. We can not read the tragedy without feeling that the teaching of the story is marred by the introduction of an entirely extraneous and repulsive thing; and that, however true to nature the representation is, it is a dead fly in a very noble pot of ointment. In the estimation of many doubtless it will be the best-remembered part of the poem, and multitudes who have no glimmering of an idea of the lesson which the author meant to teach in it, or who have been unmoved by the noble passages in which it abounds, will greatly enjoy the witticisms of the men at their hardening work. Now, some sermons, otherwise excellent, are marred by similar incongruity. There is something in them which does not lie in the line of the design which they profess to have in view, but which has been brought in because of the shock which its presence there will give. Who does not know that the zest with which some preachers are listened to springs not so much from the things said by them as from the fact that such things are said in a church, in defiance of the sanctity of the associations with which such a place is connected? The same expressions coming from men in other circumstances would provoke no remark, but in a church they show that the preacher has risen above conventionality, and so they commend him to a certain class of hearers. The joke which would be little accounted of elsewhere is greatly relished in the sanctuary, and the effect which it produces remains, while other portions of the sermon which were in every way unexceptionable are forgotten. The profanity of the oath which is common on the street has a peculiar piquancy when it is quoted, even if it be quoted only to be condemned, in the house of God, and the gusto with which it was given will be commented on when other things of great value are entirely lost sight of. We know, indeed, that conventionality may be so cared for that power will be destroyed, and we have heard fears expressed lest the pulpit should die of dignity; but that is no reason why it should be murdered by irreverence. In order to escape the one extreme, it is not necessary to run into the other; and, to prevent an audience from going to sleep, it is not absolutely essential to turn the sermon into a midnight directory. We would not reject an apt illustration which would clinch a lesson, even if it should bring a smile to the countenance; but we demur to the deliberate introduction of low comedy into a discourse pronounced in a church. To our thinking, all that

comes under the category of "jesting which is not convenient"; and, if it be said that it is resorted to in order to bring an audience out, we can only reply that we are not of those who believe that the end sanctifies such means, and moreover that such means are not needed in order to gain the end. Everything low, vulgar, or in the least degree savoring of the profane, ought to be banished from the pulpit. For, though we draw a distinction between the service and the sermon, they are both alike a part of our homage to God. Why does the preacher care to preach if it be not because preaching is God's ordinance? Why does the hearer care to hear if it be not because of the reverence which he has for preaching as God's way of saving them that believe? The sermon is an offering to God on the part of the preacher equally with the praise and prayer; and the hearing is an offering to God on the part of the worshiper equally with the hymns and supplications; and, if that were remembered by all, there would be less disposition to say smart things, or to laugh at them when said. The associations of the place, too, should count for something. Even if we do not believe in what our Episcopal friends call consecration, "Nature herself" may teach us that a certain propriety should be observed by us when we are in a house of worship. Call it conventionality, if you please, still we are entitled to ask what greater harm there is in maintaining it there than there is in enforcing special rules at an evening party? And yet men who would be scrupulous to nicety in their regard to the etiquette of dress and address in the latter case will laugh to scorn all deference to recognized rules of decorum in the pulpit, and make a merit of their rudeness. But they can not do so without shocking the more refined of their hearers and inflicting an injury upon themselves. They destroy their usefulness with all who seek to be devout. But they blunt also their own finer instincts. It makes no great matter whether the conventionality be in every respect proper or not; the mere existence of it suffices, and it is one of the things in which a wise man, even if he differed from it, would seek to become as "a Jew to the Jews." Few uphold the justice of the game laws in the old country, yet the poacher commonly ends in becoming a good-for-nothing, for in breaking a bad law he has lost his sense of the sanctity of law as such, and so is ready for something worse. In the same way even if the conventionality that puts a restraint around the pulpit were not in every respect to be approved, the setting of it at defiance must break the enamel of the preacher's reverence, and may end in eating it away

altogether. How much more likely is that to be the case when the sentiment to which we refer is in the main a right one, sustained and approved by Christian people generally!

But this prepares us for looking a little at the evils to which sensationalism leads. One can see at a glance that it is hurtful to the hearers. It not only depraves their tastes, but it blunts their sensibilities. It has an effect upon them not unlike that produced by highly-seasoned novels of the "blood-and-thunder" order on their juvenile readers. It renders them largely impervious to the ordinary presentation of truth. The pampered appetite disdains everything that is not "gamey"; and he

> who peppers the highest is surest to please.

Besides, the exhilaration that is produced by the hearing of such exciting things is apt to be mistaken by those who experience it for real enjoyment of Christian ordinances; and so under its influence they make professions which time only dishonors. They have confounded the intoxication created in them by the gratification of their perverted tastes with that totally different thing which the apostle describes when he says, "Be ye filled with the Spirit." It is nothing to the purpose here to reply that the same thing is done at the other end of the scale by those who are highly æsthetic in their likings; for that is only another form of the evil, and not an extenuation of it. It makes little difference whether intoxication be produced by the vulgar absinthe or the aristocratic champagne; the thing is always bad, and is not to be mistaken for the enthusiasm of a sober man. And the misfortune is that, in the case of those of whom we speak, a sensuous effect is regarded as a spiritual result to the detriment both of the self-deceiver and of the church at large.

But perhaps the most insidious danger is incurred by the preacher himself. He is apt to think more of saying a "smart," a "telling," or a "taking" thing than of communicating the truth. In this way he uses extravagant epithets, gives exaggerated descriptions, and magnifies or distorts features for the sake of effect. Even so noble a man as Thomas Guthrie once said, in regard to the preparation of a sermon, "It is like the drop-scene in a theatre, and you must lay on the color thick." But, with all deference to such an authority, that advice is exceedingly pernicious. For he who consciously exaggerates does at the same time blunt the edge of his conscience. Every time he deviates from or adds to the real state of the case he

makes himself a worse man. Truth is the girdle of character, and he who loosens that is on the way to looseness in other departments of morality. He is on an inclined plane, and may some day produce the biggest sensation of his life by a terrible *fiasco*. For the temptation is to go on. His hearers become accustomed to the dose, the appetite "grows by what it feeds on," and, in order to have the effects which were at first produced, they crave for something stronger. He seeks to meet that new demand just as he sought to meet the first, and so it increases until the flippant has become the irreverent, and the irreverent has become the profane, and the profane becomes the impure ; or until the odd has become the heretical, and the man who began with throwing aside conventionalities ends by parting with the central verities of the gospel. We do not affirm that all this has actually happened in any individual case, but the drift and tendency of sensationalism are in that direction ; and, in a day when some who are guilty of it are riding on the top of the wave, it is proper to warn young preachers of the peril that is incurred by entering on such a course.

It may seem, indeed, to offer a short and easy path to success ; for it can not be denied that we are living in an age which appears to crave for the sensational, but the yielding to it is always attended with danger, as may be seen by looking at what has actually occurred in other departments. There has been a call for it in worship, and the answer has been given in that ritualism which has honeycombed the Church of England ; but the peril has been revealed in the perversions to the Church of Rome which have thereby been caused. There has been a call for it in business, and the answer has been furnished in those feverish speculations which have maddened our Exchanges, while the danger has been made manifest in Black Fridays, Glasgow Bank failures, and that general depression from which we are only beginning to emerge. There has been a call for it in politics, and the response has been made by the appearance of a Beaconsfield conjurer on the one side of the Atlantic, while the peril has been exposed by cipher dispatches on the other. Now when the same appeal is made to the pulpit, we may not flatter ourselves that we can respond to it without similar danger. That which in literature has made the difference between Walter Scott and Ouida will make as wide a chasm in the pulpit between the true minister of the word and the caterer to the cravings of the crowd. Trustees of embarrassed churches may so far catch the infection of our times as to look for a minister who will fill the pews by son

sudden rush, and bring up the revenue to a flowing surplus. But it will be "lightly come, lightly go," and pastors should steadily refuse to lead any such forlorn hope in that commercial spirit. There is but one attraction that it is safe for a minister to use, and that has not yet lost its power: "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." Let him adhere to that, for in the end it will prove sufficient. It may not bring the crowd so rapidly; but it will transform them as they come, and they will come to stay. But, if they do not come, let him still keep to the lifting up of Him. Let him not forget that, when the sensation-loving multitude sought Him that they might see his miracles, he declined to gratify their curiosity, and gave them instead that deeply spiritual sermon which drove them largely away. But it was with the winnowed men that remained that he laid the foundations of his church. The call of the age for the exciting is a temptation to be resisted, rather than an influence to be yielded to, and if in resisting it the multitudes should be offended, then let them be offended, for in that case the discipline is only what they need. But they will not be offended, for, wherever the gospel is faithfully and earnestly proclaimed, "the common people hear it gladly." Let the ministers of Christ among us, therefore, remain true to the scriptural ideal of their office as designed not merely for the pleasing of men, but for their salvation "through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth"; let them be loyal to the Master whose they are and whom they serve; let them preserve that reverent spirit which a belief in the inspiration of the Book which they expound is fitted to produce within them; above all, let them follow fully the example of Him of whom it was said, "He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street; a bruised reed he shall not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench," and they will never be long without eager and numerous hearers; nay, they may succeed, by the might of his gentleness and the power of his Spirit, in changing the character of the age from that of spasmodic and erratic excitement to that of steady, sure, and benevolent advancement.

William M. Taylor.

VIII.

MEDIÆVAL FRENCH LITERATURE.

1. Ch. Aubertin, Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française au Moyen Age. 2 vols. 1876–'78.
2. Léon Gautier, Les Epopées Françaises. I. 1878.
3. M. Sepet, Le Drame Chrétien au Moyen Age, 1878; Les Prophètes du Christ, 1878.
4. Société des Anciens Textes Français: Guillaume de Palerne, 1876; Les Sept Sages de Rome, 1876; Miracles de Nostre Dame. I., II. 1876–'77; Aiol, 1877.

The immense influence exerted on the rest of Europe during the middle ages by the literature of France should entitle it, aside from æsthetic considerations, to more careful attention than it has yet received. Not only is its volume enormous (a proof of intellectual activity such as it was), but several departments are fully represented in which the French mind has, from its modern manifestations, been supposed to be inferior to its neighbors, the Germans and Spaniards—we mean the epic and the national drama. Finally, certain favorable influences—the rapid and complete assimilation of Roman culture, the early adoption of Christianity, and the perfection of the feudal system—contributed to render the mediæval literature of France the most splendid and varied of Europe. The causes which have led to the neglect of this literature are those which have affected the rest of Europe to a greater or less degree. The revival of letters produced in no other country so profound a revolution in literary taste, or led to such deep scorn of all that was mediæval. A reaction had, however, begun in France before the indiscriminating enthusiasm of the Romantic school had directed attention to the early literature; and two French scholars, Sainte-Pelaye and Raynouard, devoted their lives to rendering accessible treasures which only a radical change in taste could enable their countrymen to enjoy. Unfortunately, the question of literary criticism became

entangled at the outset with the religious questions involved in the revival of mediæval studies, not so much as in Germany, perhaps, but sufficient to render any impartial judgment impossible for a long time, and to lead in turn to a reaction the effects of which are now strongly felt. In other words, the mediæval literature of France has been exposed to the extreme criticism of two schools, one cherishing for it a blind worship, not because it is national (its truest title to reverence), but because it is Catholic, the other refusing to see any good in a literature which is the exponent of a spirit they fear and hate.

Fortunately, two causes have worked to modify these extreme views and restore old French literature to the place it rightly claims at the head of the mediæval literature of Europe. One of these causes is the linguistic interest awakened by the new methods introduced into Romance philology by Friedrich Diez, and continued in France with such brilliant success by Caston Paris, and which has caused the early literature to be carefully edited and critically examined in the interest of philology alone. Thus a common meeting place for both parties was rendered possible. The second cause is the new method of study in literary history in which prime importance is laid not upon æsthetic considerations, but upon the historical development of a literature. From this standpoint the beginnings of a literature, formerly passed over as barbarous, assume an importance not attained by much that is æsthetically superior.

The vast extent of the subject has as yet prevented any strict application of this method to mediæval French literature as a whole, and the lack of a compendious history of this period has long been felt, and has contributed in no slight degree to the ignorance of the subject.* M. Aubertin has therefore laid the general reader as well as the scholar under great obligations by his recently completed history, which, with certain restrictions, we do not hesitate to pronounce admirable. † The author has patiently and skillfully consulted the most recent works (not often enough those published out of France) on the subject, and compiled a work which, while it lays

* There are two very unsatisfactory German compends of mediæval French literature: the first "Geschichte der altfranzösischen National-Literatur," von J. L. Ideler, Berlin, 1842, is a dry bibliographical manual; the second, "Geschichte der französischen Literatur im Mittelalter," von Dr. H. Semmig, Leipzig, 1862, is incomplete and unreliable.

† Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française au Moyen Age d'après les Travaux les Plus Récents, par M. Charles Aubertin, Paris, Belin, 1876–'78, 2 vols. 8vo, vol. i., viii.–582; vol. ii. 585.

little claim to original research and independence of opinion, is valuable as a digest of the results of the best scholarship in this field. At the same time M. Aubertin has known how to give his book the appearance and attraction of an original work, and has accomplished, with certain limitations, the object he proposes in his preface: "Mon ambition est qu'en sortant de la lecture de cet ouvrage on emporte non pas un aperçu, une idée vague et superficielle, mais une connaissance intime et pénétrante de notre ancienne littérature et des nombreux travaux que l'étude de nos origines littéraires a sus cités." In addition to great care and industry in the study of his sources, he has brought to his task skill in the arrangement of his material and sobriety of judgment in the critical portions of his labor. The faults of M. Aubertin's work are a multitude of minor errors of fact very difficult to avoid in view of the immense mass of material to be examined and collated, and some errors of judgment in the due proportion of his matter and its æsthetic valuation.* We will mention briefly some faults of the second class which affect more particularly the general reader. The author devotes almost everywhere too much space to the discussion of the origins of the literature and too little to the literature itself. The general reader does not need to read an entire chapter on the *débris* of the ancient tragedy at the beginning of the middle ages in order to learn what the author states at the outstart, that "no living germ could spring from this *débris*." The *épopée* is treated with unwarrantable brevity, but one chapter of thirty-two pages is devoted to the *chansons de geste* and only two are analyzed at some length, the "Chanson de Roland" and "Raoul de Cambrai," which represent but two of the five great cycles adopted by Gautier in the work to be mentioned later. The same remarks apply to the author's treatment of the romances of the Round Table, those belonging to the ancient cycle and the *romans d'aventures* to which we shall return *à propos* of "Guillaume de Palerne."

To conclude, the weakest part of the work is the introduction on the origin of the language and the treatment of the *chansons de geste;* the best the pages devoted to the drama in the first volume, and in the second to the prose writers of the twelfth to the sixteenth century, especially the second section, devoted to the orators.

Fortunately, the weakest part of Aubertin's book, his treatment

* We advise the student who uses Aubertin to consult the careful review of the first volume by Gaston Paris in the "Romania," No. 23, pp. 454–466.

of the *chansons de geste*, is supplemented and completed in the fullest manner by Gautier's masterly work.* The author represents the most extreme Ultramontane school in literature. Everything about his work, to the very printer, is Catholic, and the "indulgent reader" whom the author has in view is indicated by the words in the preface to the second edition: "S'il est chrétien et Français, il n'accueillera pas sans quelque sympathie un livre consciencieux et qui a été surtout inspiré par l'amour de l'Église et de la France." We venture to predict that the author's circle of readers will be larger than he imagined, and many not embraced in the above category will welcome with delight a work which, when completed, will be a monument of profound scholarship and ardent enthusiasm.

In 1865 M. Gautier published three volumes of the first edition (it was never completed), the success of which was immediate and great. It was three times crowned by the French Academy, receiving the great Gobert prize in 1868, and the edition was soon exhausted. Not all the author's theories, however, were accepted by the learned world, and the work was exposed to the severe and intelligent criticisms of such scholars as Karl Bartsch ("Revue Critique," 1866, No. 52) and Paul Meyer ("Recherches sur l'Épopée Française," Paris, 1867), who rectified many of Gautier's errors. Moreover, since the publication of the first edition several works have appeared in France which have made an epoch in the study of its early literature; we need only mention the "Vie de Saint-Alexis," Paris, 1872, in the introduction to which Gaston Paris formulated (for the first time in France) the principles of textual criticism which have made a veritable revolution in this field.

In preparing, then, a second edition of his work, M. Gautier was able to avail himself of a large mass of new material, and was obliged, in order to keep abreast of the immense advance in scholarship, to entirely rewrite his former work. He has performed this difficult part of his task in the most exemplary manner, rectifying his minor errors and modifying his theories, so that the work before us is, to all intents and purposes, a new one. The work has grown in the process, and when completed will consist of six volumes, their contents disposed as follows: the first and second will be devoted to the origin, form, and vicissitudes of the *chansons de geste* in France and abroad; the third to the analysis of the *chan-*

* Les Épopées Françaises. Étude sur les Origines et l'Histoire de la Littérature nationale, par Léon Gautier. Seconde édition, entièrement refondue. Paris: Société Générale de Libraire Catholique. 1878. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. xii.–561.

sons de geste of the Cycle of the King (those relating more closely to Charlemagne himself), the fourth and part of the fifth to the Cycle of William of Orange; part of the fifth to the Provincial *Gestes;* and the sixth to the Cycles of Doon de Mayence and the Crusades.

The first volume may be considered complete in itself, and is of value, not merely to those interested in the *chansons de geste*, but to all students of mediæval French literature. It is principally concerned with the origin, poetical form, *refacciamenti*, and style of the *chansons de geste*. The discussion of these topics involves a number of other important questions, which are treated *in extenso* by the author. The principal are: the age of the chronicle attributed to Turpin, the MSS. of the *chansons de geste* and the various modes of editing them, and an exhaustive treatise on early French versification in general, and that of the *chansons de geste* in particular. The most important theories in regard to the subject treated in the first volume are as follows: The French epic was born toward the ninth century, when the Gallic, Latin, and Frankish nations were no longer clearly separated, and when from their fusion a new nationality had arisen to which the name "Romance" must be applied, or, in the words of Gaston Paris, "the French epic is the German spirit in a Romance form." The epic was preceded by certain popular songs which were lyrical and narrative at the same time. These *cantilènes* were sometimes the source of the epic, which, however, in many cases had its rise in oral tradition. The theory that there was between tradition and the epic an intermediate link in the shape of Latin chronicles (such as the Chronicle of Turpin) is incorrect. The date of the chronicle falsely ascribed to Turpin is the beginning of the twelfth century and posterior to the early *chansons de geste*, some of which the writer of the chronicle must have used. Finally, the epic is essentially French, and the claim of Provence to an extensive epical literature must be denied.

In conclusion, the author has produced a work of great scientific value and popular interest, which can not but give a powerful impetus to the study of a period and subject so dear to the author's heart, and to which he has devoted his life with the most intense enthusiasm.

The extent of the subject of Gautier's work may be inferred from the statement he makes on page 223 (note) that about one hundred *chansons de geste* have come down to us, most of them from the twelfth century; forty-seven of these have been published

in extenso, and ten or eleven in extracts. It will be seen that not quite half have been published, and that a wide field is still left for the editor and scholar. One of those most recently published, "Aiol," presents many features of interest.* The original poem, written in French and in verse of ten syllables, about the middle of the twelfth century, was made over at the beginning of the next century by a Picard poet who employed the Alexandrine verse. The change in metre takes place in about the middle of the poem, and is accompanied by a very noticeable change in the character of the narration. The Alexandrine verse follows the usual rules of mediæval French versification: the ten-syllable verse is noteworthy for having the cæsura at the sixth instead of at the fourth syllable. This cæsura, heretofore supposed to be peculiar to Provençal, is now shown to be French also. Another peculiarity of the ten-syllable verse in "Aiol" is that the cæsura is always after the sixth syllable, but in a large number of verses the second hemistich begins with the last mute syllable of the preceding word, which counts as an accented syllable. The poem rests on an historic basis, and with Élie de Saint-Gille constitute a little cycle by themselves. In the thirteenth century, however, the tendency was to include the minor separate *gestes* in one of the three great ones (the *gestes* of the King, of Doon de Mayence, and of Garin de Monglane), and our poem was accordingly referred to the last named.

The subject of the poem is exploits of Aiol, son of Avisse, sister of Louis, son of Charlemagne, and Élie, who has been unjustly driven from France by the intrigues of the traitor Makavie of Lausanne.

This poem enjoyed unusual popularity abroad, imitations being found in the Netherlands, Italy, and Spain. It has been very differently judged by different scholars, some deeming it unworthy of notice, and others, among them Gautier, not hesitating to call it a fine poem, and one which can occupy one of the most honorable positions among the monuments of mediæval literature.

The *roman d'aventures* is not considered by Gautier as epic in its nature, and is therefore excluded from his work as well as the romances of the Round Table and those belonging to the Cycle of Rome. Aubertin treats them very insufficiently, not laying enough stress on their literary value or their importance for the history of

* Aiol, Chanson de Geste, publiée d'après le MS. Unique de Paris, par Jacques Normand et Gaston Raymond. Paris, 1877. (Société des Anciens Textes Français.) 8vo, pp. lxvii.–350.

culture. Of especial value from the latter standpoint is "Guillaume de Palerne,"* a *roman d'aventures*, and also interesting from being the original of an English version composed about 1350 and edited by Sir F. Madden for the Roxburghe Club, and again in 1867 by W. W. Skeat in the first volume of the "Extra Series of the Early English Text." Besides the English version there is a prose version in French which has passed through several editions, and an analysis in the "Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Romans," that final resting-place of mediæval romances.

The hero Guillaume is the son of a King of Sicily and of the daughter of the Emperor of Greece. A perfidious uncle plans his destruction, but the child is carried off one day by a were-wolf who bears him to its den near Rome. The wolf, we learn, is the son of the King of Spain, turned into a beast by his mother-in-law to assure the throne to her own son. Guillaume is found in the forest by a shepherd who brings him up until one day the Emperor of Rome, having lost his way in a forest, meets him, takes him to his court and makes him the page of his daughter, the fair Melior. Guillaume is knighted and defeats the Duke of Saxony, who has declared war against the emperor. After this the Emperor of Greece demands the hand of Melior, who has long loved Guillaume. The lovers flee, disguised in the skins of bears. The wolf accompanies them and assists their flight. They all make their way to Sicily, where, after many complicated adventures, the plot is unraveled, the wolf is restored to his original shape, Guillaume becomes King of Sicily, marries Melior and succeeds her father, the wolf becoming later King of Spain. The influence of the Orient is felt not merely in the enchantment of the prince, but in the exaggerated tone of gallantry that reigned at the period the work was composed, the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Entirely Oriental is the next work we shall mention, two versions of the famous "Seven Wise Masters."† Both versions are in prose: the first is the old French poem published by Keller in 1836, unrhymed and not following exactly the original; the second is a reprint of the French translation (published at Geneva in 1492) of the Latin version known as the "Historia Septem Sapientum," here-

* Guillaume de Palerne, publié d'après le Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal à Paris, par H. Michelant. Paris, 1876. (Société des Anciens Textes Français.) 8vo, pp. xxii.–280.

† Deux Rédactions du Roman des Sept Sages de Rome, publiées par Gaston Paris. Paris, 1876. (Société des Anciens Textes Français.) 8vo, pp. xliii.–217.

ofore considered the source of most of the European versions. The ditor does not share this opinion, and shows very clearly in the reface that the Latin work is only a translation, with some changes, f a French original from which is derived a group represented by ome dozen MSS., one of which, B. N., No. 2,137, has been partly ublished by Leroux de Lincy (in "Essai sur les Fables Indiennes," ar A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, Paris, 1838). The Latin work s very rare, and the French translation here reprinted will replace t very conveniently for scholars. The interest attaching to the Seven Wise Masters" is not entirely a thing of the past, for the ork is still popular as a whole in some parts of Europe, and many f the individual stories still entertain crowds of listeners in Italy.

We have to mention very briefly in conclusion three works reating to the mediæval drama.* The first of M. Sepet's works is a opular account of the mediæval drama, contained in a series of rticles published in various periodicals. The author gives a clear nd interesting account of the origin and development of the *mys-ère* from the liturgy of the Church, and shows how the Renaissance revented it from being transformed into the modern national dra-na, as in Spain and England. He also gives examples of religious ramas belonging to the cycles of Christmas and Easter, and a ketch of a dramatic representation at the end of the fifteenth cen-ury. The second work is strictly technical, its object being "to how how a sermon on the Nativity, which formed in a large num-er of dioceses during the middle ages one of the lessons for Christ-mas, was transformed into a liturgical *mystère*, then into a semi-liturgical *mystère*, performed both within and without the Church, nd finally became an integral part of the great dramatic cycle of the fifteenth century." The author's profound scholarship and pa-tient research are everywhere apparent in this valuable work.

The remarkable series of plays entitled "Miracles de Nostre Dame" represent the highest æsthetic point reached by the mediæ-val drama, and the most interesting stage of its development as far as the possibility of a national drama based on the *mystères* is con-cerned. The forty *miracles* of the MS. will be contained in six volumes, a seventh will give the necessary notes and the glossary.

* Le Drame Chrétien au Moyen Âge, par M. Sepet, Paris, 1878. Les Pro-phètes du Christ. Étude sur les Origines du Théâtre au Moyen Âge, par M. Sepet, Paris, 1878. Miracles de Nostre Dame par Personnages publiés d'après le MS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale, par Gaston Paris et Ulysse Robert. I., II. Paris, 1876–'77. (Société des Anciens Textes Français.)

These plays early attracted the attention of scholars, and some fi teen have been published at different times. The MS. is of th beginning of the fifteenth century, and the plays were probabl performed by some of the religious and literary *confréries* so com mon in the north of France in the thirteenth century. Some of th plays are preceded by short sermons, and terminated by a poe (called *serventoys*, from the Provençal form), one of which is sai to have been crowned at the *Puy*, or assemblage where the play were performed.

From the above brief review of some recent works it will b seen that the interest in mediæval French literature is constantl increasing, and rapidly losing a *dilettante* character. An excellen history of the literature of this period and the publications of th *Société des Anciens Textes Français* will aid in making a large circle acquainted with the remarkable manifestations of Frenc genius in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

T. F. Crane.

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I.

OUGHT THE NEGRO TO BE DISFRANCHISED? OUGHT HE TO HAVE BEEN ENFRANCHISED?

James G. Blaine. James A. Garfield. Montgomery Blair.
L. Q. C. Lamar. Alexander H. Stephens. Thomas A. Hendricks.
Wade Hampton. Wendell Phillips. Conclusion—James G. Blaine.

MR. BLAINE.

THESE questions have lately been asked by many who have been distinguished as the special champions of the negro's rights; by many who have devoted their lives to redressing the negro's wrongs. The questions owe their origin not to any cooling of philanthropic interest, not to any novel or radical views about universal suffrage, but to the fact that, in the judgment of many of those hitherto accounted wisest, negro suffrage has failed to attain the ends hoped for when the franchise was conferred; failed as a means of more completely securing the negro's civil rights; failed to bring him the consideration which generally attaches to power; failed, indeed, to achieve anything except to increase the political weight and influence of those against whom, and in spite of whom, his enfranchisement was secured.

Those who have reached this conclusion, and those who are tending toward it, argue that the important franchise was prematurely bestowed on the negro; that its possession necessarily places him

in inharmonious relations with the white race; that the excitement incident to its free enjoyment hinders him from progress in the rudimentary and essential branches of education; that his advance in material wealth is thus delayed and obstructed; and that obstacles, which would not otherwise exist, are continually accumulating in his path—rendering his progress impossible and his oppression inevitable. In other words, that suffrage in the hands of the negro is a challenge to the white race for a contest in which he is sure to be overmatched; and that the withdrawal of the franchise would remove all conflict, restore kindly relations between the races, place the whites on their proper and honorable responsibility, and assure to each race the largest prosperity attainable under a Government where both are compelled to live.

The class of men whose views are thus hastily summarized do not contemplate the withdrawal of the suffrage from the negro without a corresponding reduction in the representation in Congress of the States where the negro is a large factor in the apportionment. And yet it is quite probable that they have not given thought to the difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of compassing that end. Under the Constitution, as it is now construed, the diminution of representative strength could only result from the States passing such laws as would disfranchise the negro by some educational or property test, as it is forbidden by the fifteenth amendment to disfranchise him on account of his race. But no Southern State will do this, and for two reasons: first, they will in no event consent to a reduction of representative strength; and, second, they could not make any disfranchisement of the negro that would not at the same time disfranchise an immense number of whites.

Quite another class—mostly resident in the South, but with numerous sympathizers in the North—would be glad to have the negro disfranchised on totally different grounds. Born and reared with the belief that the negro is inferior to the white man in everything, it is hard for the class who were masters at the South to endure any phase or form of equality on the part of the negro. Instinct governs reason, and with the mass of Southern people the aversion to equality is instinctive and ineradicable. The general conclusion with this class would be to deprive the negro of voting if it could be done without impairing the representation of their States, but not to make any move in that direction so long as diminished power in Congress is the constitutional and logical result of a denial or abridgment of suffrage. In the mean while, seeing no

mode of legally or equitably depriving the negro of his suffrage except with unwelcome penalty to themselves, the Southern States as a whole—differing in degree but the same in effect—have striven to achieve by indirect and unlawful means what they can not achieve directly and lawfully. They have so far as possible made negro suffrage of none effect. They have done this against law and against justice.

Having stated the position of both classes on this question, I venture now to give my own views in a series of statements in which I shall endeavor to embody both argument and conclusion:

First. The two classes I have named, contemplating the possible or desirable disfranchisement of the negro from entirely different standpoints, and with entirely different aims, are both and equally in the wrong. The first is radically in error in supposing that a disfranchisement of the negro would put him in the way of any development or progress that would in time fit him for the suffrage. He would instead grow more and more unfit for it every day from the time the first backward step should be taken, and he would relapse, if not into actual chattel slavery, yet into such a dependent and defenseless condition as would result in only another form of servitude. For the ballot to-day, imperfectly enjoyed as it is by the negro, its freedom unjustly and illegally curtailed, its independence ruthlessly marred, its purity defiled, is withal and after all the strong shield the race has against a form of servitude which would have all the cruelty and none of the alleviations of the old slave system, whose destruction carried with it the shedding of so much innocent blood.

—The second class is wrong in anticipating even the remote possibility of securing the legal disfranchisement of the negro without a reduction of representation. Both sides have fenced for position on this question. But for the clause regulating representation in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution we should to-day have the South wholly under the control, and legally under the control, of those who rebelled against the Union and sought to erect the Confederate Government—enjoying full representation by reason of the negroes being counted in the apportionment without a pretense of suffrage being conceded to the race. The Fourteenth Amendment was designed to prevent this, and, if it does not succeed in preventing it, it is because of evasion and violation of its express provisions and of its clear intent. Those who erected the Confed-

erate Government may be in exclusive possession of power throughout the South, but they are not so fairly and legally; and they will not be permitted to continue in the enjoyment of political power unjustly seized—and seized in derogation and in defiance of the rights not merely of the negro but of the whites in all other sections of the country. Injustice cannot stand before exposure and argument and the force of public opinion; and no more severe weapons of defense will be required against the wrong which now afflicts the South and is a scandal to the whole country.

Second. But, while discussing the question of the disfranchisement of the negro, and settling its justice or expediency according to our discretion, it may be worth while to look at its impracticability, or, to state it still more strongly, its impossibility. Logicians attach weight to arguments drawn *ab inconvenienti.* Arguments must be still more cogent, and conclusions still more decisive, when drawn *ab impossibili.* The negro is secure against disfranchisement by two constitutional amendments, and he can not be remanded to the non-voting class until both these amendments are annulled. And these amendments can not be annulled until two thirds of the Senate and two thirds of the House of Representatives of the United States shall propose, and a majority in the Legislatures or conventions of twenty-nine States shall by affirmative vote approve, the annulment. In other words, the negro can not be disfranchised so long as one vote more than one third in the United States Senate, or one vote more than one third in the House of Representatives, shall be recorded against it; and if these securities and safeguards should give way, then the disfranchisement could not be effected so long as a majority in one branch in the Legislatures of only ten States should refuse to assent to it, and refuse to assent to a convention to which it might be referred. No human right on this continent is more completely guaranteed than the right against disfranchisement on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, as embodied in the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Third. In enforcement and elucidation of my second point, it is of interest to observe the rapid advance and development of popular sentiment in regard to the rights of the negro as expressed in the last three amendments to the Constitution of the United States. In 1865 Congress submitted the Thirteenth Amendment, which merely gave the negro freedom, without suffrage, civil rights, or citizenship. In 1866 the Fourteenth Amendment was submitted, declaring

the negro to be a citizen, but not forbidding the States to withhold suffrage from him—yet inducing them to grant it by the provision that representation in Congress should be reduced in proportion to the exclusion of male citizens twenty-one years of age from the right to vote, except for rebellion or other crime. In 1869 the decisive step was taken of declaring that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." A most important provision in this amendment is the inhibition upon the "United States" as well as upon "any State"; for it would not be among the impossible results of a great political revolution, resting on prejudice and grasping for power, that, in the absence of this express negation, the United States might assume or usurp the right to deprive the negro of suffrage, and then the States would not be subjected to the forfeiture of representation provided in the Fourteenth Amendment as the result of the denial or abridgment of suffrage by State authority. —In this stately progression of organic enactments the will of a great people is embodied, and its reversal would be one of those revolutions which would convulse social order and endanger the authority of law. There will be no step backward, but under the provision which specifically confers on Congress the power to enforce each amendment by "appropriate legislation" there will be applied, from time to time, fitfully perhaps and yet certainly, the restraining and correcting edicts of national authority.

Fourth. As I have already hinted, there will be no attempt made in the Southern States to disfranchise the negro by any of those methods which would still be within the power of the State. There is no Southern State that would dare venture on an educational qualification, because by the last census there were more than one million white persons over fifteen years of age, in the States lately slaveholding, who could not read a word, and a still larger number who could not write their names. There was, of course, a still greater number of negroes of the same ages who could not read or write; but, in the nine years that have intervened since the census was taken, there has been a much greater advance in the education of the negroes than in the education of the poor whites of the South; and to-day on an educational qualification it is quite probable that, while the proportion would be in favor of the whites, the absolute exclusion of the whites in some of the States would be nearly as great as that of the negroes. Nor would a property test operate

with any greater advantage to the whites. The slave States always had a large class of very poor and entirely uneducated whites, and any qualification of property that would seriously diminish the negro vote would also cut off a very large number of whites from the suffrage.

Thus far I have directed my argument to the first question propounded, "Ought the negro to be disfranchised?" The second interrogatory, "Ought he to have been enfranchised?" is not practical but speculative; and yet, unless it can be answered with confidence in the affirmative, the moral tenure of his suffrage is weakened, and, as a consequence, his legal right to enjoy it is impaired. For myself I answer the second question in the affirmative, with as little hesitation as I answered the first in the negative. And, if the question were again submitted to the judgment of Congress, I would vote for suffrage in the light of experience with more confidence than I voted for it in the light of an experiment. Had the franchise not been bestowed upon the negro as his shield and weapon of defense, the demand upon the General Government to interfere for his protection would have been constant and irritating and embarrassing. Great complaint has been made for years past of the Government's interference, simply to secure to the colored citizen his plainest constitutional right. But this intervention has been trifling compared to that which would have been required if we had not given suffrage to the negro. In the Reconstruction experiments under President Johnson's plan, before the negro was enfranchised, it was clearly foreshadowed that he was to be dealt with as one having no rights except such as the whites should choose to grant. The negro was to work according to labor laws; freedom of movement and transit was to be denied him by the operation of vagrant laws; liberty to sell his time and his skill at their market value was to be restrained by apprentice laws; and the slavery that was abolished by the Constitution of a nation was to be revived by the enactment of a State. To counteract these and all like efforts at reënslavement, the national authority would have been constantly invoked; interference in the most positive and peremptory manner would have been demanded, and angry conflict and possibly resistance to law would have resulted. The one sure mode to remand the States that rebelled against the Union to their autonomy was to give suffrage to the negro; and that autonomy will be complete, absolute and unquestioned whenever the rights that are guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic shall be enjoyed in every State

—as the administration of justice was assured in Magna Charta —"promptly and without delay; freely and without sale; completely and without denial."

JAMES G. BLAINE.

MR. LAMAR.

THE precision with which Mr. Blaine states his premises and the unimpassioned spirit in which he draws his conclusions render the discussion which he proposes both possible and profitable. His statement itself deprives the issue of nearly all its difficulty and danger. He lays down with force and clearness his propositions:

1. That the disfranchisement of the negro is a political impossibility under any circumstances short of revolution.

2. That the ballot in the hands of the negro, however its exercise may have been embarrassed and diminished by what he considers, erroneously, a general Southern policy, has been to that race a means of defense and an element of progress.

I agree to both propositions. In all my experience of Southern opinion I know no Southern man of influence or consideration who believes that the disfranchisement of the negro on account of race, color, or former condition of servitude, is a political possibility. I am not now discussing the propriety or wisdom of universal suffrage, or whether in the interests of wise, safe, and orderly government all suffrage ought not to be qualified. What I mean to say is, that universal suffrage being given as the condition of our political life, the negro once made a citizen cannot be placed under any other condition. And in this connection it may surprise some of the readers of this discussion to learn that in 1869 the white people of Mississippi unanimously voted at the polls in favor of ratifying the enfranchising amendment for which Mr. Blaine voted in Congress—believing, as they did, that when once the negro was made a free man, a property-holder, and a tax-payer, he could not be excluded from the remaining privilege and duty of a citizen, the right and obligation to vote. And I think I can safely say for that people what Mr. Blaine says for himself, that, if the question were again submitted to their judgment, they "would vote for negro suffrage in the light of experience with more confidence than they voted for it in the light of an experiment."

I concur also in the second proposition, that the ballot has been in the hands of the negro both a defense and an education; and I

am glad to find this important truth recognized so fully by Mr. Blaine. We might possibly differ as to the extent to which the defense was needed, or as to the progress which has been made in the education. But enough would remain for substantial agreement. There can be no doubt that in the unaccustomed relation into which the white and colored people of the South were suddenly forced, there would have been a natural tendency on the part of the former masters, still in possession of the land and of the intelligence of the country, and of its legislative power, to use an almost absolute authority and to develop the new freedman according to their own idea of what was good for him. This would have resulted in a race distinction, with such incidents of the old system as would have discontented the negro and dissatisfied the general opinion and sentiment of the country. If slavery was to be abolished, it must, I think, be admitted that there could be nothing short of complete abolition, free from any of the affinities of slavery ; and this would not have been effected so long as there existed any inequality before the law. The ballot was, therefore, a protection of the negro against any such condition, and enabled him to force his interests upon the legislative consideration of the South.

What I do not think Mr. Blaine fully realizes, or makes due allowance for, is that this sudden transformation, social and political, would necessarily produce some jar in its practical operation, and that its successful working could be effected only by experienced and conscientious men acting on both sides with good sense and good temper. Conquest on either side only complicated the problem. Its only solution was a sagacious and kindly coöperation of all the social forces. The vote in the hands of the negro should have been genuinely "a defense," not a weapon of attack.

The proper use of this defensive power, and its growth into a means of wholesome and positive influence upon the character and interests of the country, could only be attained by the education of the negro. And I agree fully with Mr. Blaine that his practical use of the ballot was an important part of that education. I am willing to accept the present condition of the South as the result of that practical education. Will he ? I say that the negro has been using this defense for ten years, that in this time hundreds of thousands of negroes, born free, have grown to manhood under the experience of a political life as open to them as to the old, white governing race ; and Mr. Blaine himself asserts that education has been more generally diffused among the youth of the colored race

than among the poorer classes of the whites—whether truly or erroneously we will not here discuss—and the result is, that throughout the South the races vote together; that they have learned where their mutual interest lies; and that, whom God has joined, all the politicians have failed to keep asunder.

I have his essay before me. He denies that this is a legitimate result. He insists that the facts prove that the negro vote has been cheated by fraud or defeated by force, and that the present condition of Southern politics is an unnatural result. I am willing to meet this issue on his own principles. I will indulge in neither invective nor denunciation. I will simply take the late government of South Carolina or of Louisiana, or of other States under similar rule, and describe it in language that Mr. Blaine may himself select. When he has told its history I will ask him whether he would willingly, as a patriotic American, desire to see his own State, or any other of the free States, reduced to such a level? I am not afraid of his answer, or that of any man who has been bred under the traditions of a virtuous civilization.

Then I will say to him: This, it is true, is a painful result; but, when you put the ballot in the hands of an ignorant negro majority as a means of education and progress, you must be patient while they learn their lesson. We of the South have borne all this, because we knew that the reaction must come. It has come. The results which you see to be so bad the negro has seen also. He has come back to us with the same blind impulse with which a few years ago he fled from us. He may be as ignorant a Democrat as he was an ignorant Republican, but years must yet pass before the ballot will have educated him fully into self-reliant, temperate citizenship; and what we of the South have borne, our friends of the North must bear with us, until the negro has become what we both want to make him. This is part of his education. By a system, not one whit less a system of force or of fraud than that alleged to exist now, he was taken away from his natural leaders at the South, and held to a compact Republican vote. Granting—which I do not grant—that the present methods are as bad as those then applied, the fault lies in the character of the vote. It is not educated to free action, and we must educate it to what it ought to be. Take the history of the race, as stated by Mr. Blaine himself, and is there not progress, astonishing progress, when the material with which we are dealing is considered? Force and fraud have been freely charged. Suppose it granted. Could any one expect, did any one expect, that

such a tremendous political and social change—the sudden clothing of four million slaves with suffrage and with overruling political power—could be made without violent disturbance and disorder? Had any such change ever been made in any free State without convulsion? Was it to be expected that, when the capital and character of a State were placed at the mercy of a numerical majority of ignorant and poverty-stricken voters, it would present a model of peace and order?

But all this while the ballot has been educating the negro. He has learned that he was a power between Republican and Democrat. He is now learning rapidly that at the South he is a power between Democrat and Democrat, and in the late election he made that power felt in the result. I would have preferred a much less costly tuition; but, such as it is, it has been paid for, and, if Mr. Blaine will patiently trust his own theory, he will find the ballot in the hands of the negro the best defense and the best educator. But, as the South has been patient, so must he be patient. As the South has chafed ineffectually when that vote was all against her white people, so will he chafe ineffectually when it is now largely for them.

In his perplexity over the sudden change in the vote of the negro Mr. Blaine has forgotten that, at this stage of its progress, the negro vote can not intelligently direct itself. It must and will follow some leader. Now, up to 1876 the Republican party, armed with all the authority of the Federal Government, supplied those leaders. They were strangers in the States they governed. The moment that the compact vote upon which their power rested was divided they abandoned their places, and in almost every case left the State in which they had ruled. The great mass of colored voters was left without guides. In many of the largest counties, where their majority was absolute, they were not only not organized, but there was not interest enough to print a Republican ticket. The weapon of defense which had been given to the negro was thrown away by his leaders in their flight, and Mr. Blaine can scarcely complain if it was picked up by the Democrats. In saying this I do not wish to provoke or renew useless and irritating controversies; but Mr. Blaine's position is, that not only the negro ought not to be disfranchised, but that such a question could never have suggested itself but for an illegal control of the negro vote by Southern Democrats. My view is that, while the enfranchisement of the negro was a political necessity, it could not be effected without subjecting the

untry to such dangerous political aberrations as we have experi-
ced; that a wise man would have foreseen them; and that, in
ct, they have been less than could reasonably have been antici-
ted; that the ballot in the hands of the negro has been a protec-
n and an educator; that with it he has been stronger and safer
all his rights than the Chinese have been in California without
; and that the problems it raised are steadily and without danger
lving themselves through the process of local self-government.

When Mr. Blaine admits that disfranchisement is impossible
d that the ballot has been, in spite of all drawbacks, a benefit to
e negro, he really proves that there is no organic question affect-
g great national interests, but simply the subordinate question,
w rapidly is the ballot fitting the negro for the full enjoyment
his citizenship, and what influence does his vote exercise upon
e supremacy of one party or the other in national politics? This
ter may be an interesting question, but not one which should dis-
rb either a sound national sentiment or great national interests.
do not propose to discuss it. I am of opinion that to make the
gro a free citizen it was necessary first to take him from his mas-
. Then it became necessary to take him from the party which
imed his vote as absolutely as his master had claimed his labor.
ie next step will be to take him as a class from either party and
ow him to differ and divide just as white men do. The difficulty
far has been that the Republican party desires to retain the
gro not as a voter, but as a Republican voter. Party politics
ve been directed to keep him at the South in antagonism to the
ite race, with whom all his material interests are identified.
henever—and the time is not distant—whenever political issues
ise which divide the white men of the South, the negro will
vide too. The time will then have come when he can not act
ainst the white race as a body or with the white race as a body.
e will have to choose for himself; and the white race, divided
litically, will want him to divide. The use of his vote will then
the exercise of his individual intelligence, and he will find friends
all sides willing and anxious to enlighten and influence him, and
sustain him in his decisions.

The whole country has passed through a very painful experi-
ce in the solution of this question, and no one can adequately
scribe the bitterness of the trial of the South; but she has borne
and it seems to me that a statesman who loves this great country
which we are all citizens should feel that the time has come when

a kindly judgment of each other's difficulties would bring us neare to that unanimity of action which can alone aid the solution of grave social and political problem. I was born and bred a slav holder, born and bred among slaveholders; I have known slaver in its kindest and most beneficent aspect. My associations wit the past of men and things are full of love and reverence. In a history never has a heavy duty been discharged more faithfull more conscientiously, more successfully, than by the slaveholde of the South. But, if I know myself and those whom I represen we have accepted the change in the same spirit. No citizen of th republic more than the Southerner can or does desire to see th negro improved, elevated, civilized, made a useful and worthy el ment in our political life. None more than they deplore and co demn all violence or other means tending to hinder the enjoymer of his elective franchise. The South took him, as he was sent t her, a wild and godless barbarian, and made him such that the Nort has been able to give him citizenship without the destruction of ou institutions. The progress which he made with us as a slave wi not be arrested now that he is a freeman—unless party passion an personal ambition insist upon using him as an instrument for selfis ends. And I have joined in this discussion because I regard it a honest effort to remove this question from the heated atmosphere c political debate, and to ask the conscientious attention of thinkin men to a problem the wise and peaceful solution of which will b one of the noblest achievements of democratic civilization.

Mr. Blaine assumes that the Southern States as a whole—diffe ing in degree but the same in effect—have through force and frau so suppressed the negro vote as to make negro suffrage as far a possible of none effect. The statistics of election will show th the negro vote throughout the South has not been suppressed. Th there have been instances of fraud and force I admit and deplor but they have been exceptional. Take them all in the recent ele tion and average them among a population of twelve millions c people, and to what do they amount? The President, in reviewin the whole subject after these elections, did allege, and could onl allege, that in all these States but seven Congressional districts e hibited results which were altered by either fraud or force. Whe we consider the fact that since the formation of the Governmer there have been but few Congresses, if any, in which there hav not been elections from all parts of the Union contested on thes very grounds, and then bear in mind that at no time in our histor

ıd in no other part of our country, has there ever been so keen ıd searching a scrutiny into the facts of election as that to which ıe South has been subjected, these exaggerated statements of force ıd fraud must be reduced to their real proportions.

But suppose the allegation which Mr. Blaine puts as the argu- ent of those who advocate disfranchisement be true, viz., that e present political condition of the South is practically the rule, ›t of a numerical majority of the whole people black and white, ıt of the whites as one unanimous class; and let it be conceded lly that such a political condition, if it actually exists, is an evil, hat is the precise nature and extent of that evil? In the first ace, it is not pretended that any of these civil rights of person ıd property that negro suffrage was intended to protect have been vaded or endangered. Indeed, this seems to be impliedly ad- itted, though not explicitly stated in Mr. Blaine's article. The ›ject of the Fifteenth Amendment is fully disclosed by contem- ›raneous debates. It was to protect and establish free labor in e South, in all its new relations of rights and interests, by giving the emancipated laborer the political means of maintaining those ghts and interests. Now, will any one deny that this purpose has ›t achieved its fullest consummation under existing conditions? free labor anywhere on earth more firmly established, more fully veloped, or more absolute in its demands (even for exaggerated muneration), and more secure and unrestricted in the enjoyment its gains, than in the South? In all respects, negro freedom and gro equality before the law, security of person and property, are nple and complete. To protect these, should they be invaded, he ıs the franchise with which a freeman can maintain his rights. e may no longer allow it to be used as a tool for the rapacity of ›litical adventurers; but he is perfectly conscious of the fact hich Mr. Blaine states, that his right to vote is to himself and his ce a shield and sword of defense.

The question, then, recurs—conceding, for the sake of argument, at in the South political rule represents not the will of mere num- rs, but the intellectual culture, the moral strength, the material terests, the skilled labor, the useful capital of that entire sec- ›n, as well as its political experience—is not this result exactly hat the intelligence, character, and property of the country are riving to effect in every Congressional district in the Union, and it not a perfectly legitimate result of placing the ballot in the nds of a population unfamiliar with its use, and who are pecu-

liarly susceptible to the influences which property and brains hav always exerted in popular government?

I anticipate the answer; it is, that the property and intelligenc of the other sections seek to control the votes of the masses b methods that are legitimate and peaceful, while the Southern white have achieved their power by means which are unlawful and unjus So far I have to some extent, for the sake of argument, concede the assumption that the negro vote has been subjected to the forc ble control of the white race, but that I deny. Reference has bee made to the great change which the election returns show in th negro vote throughout the South. The phenomenon is easily ex plained. Let any intelligent Northern man review the history o the State governments of the South for the last ten years unde Republican rule—their gross and shameless dishonesty, their exo bitant taxation, their reckless expenditure, their oppression of a native interests, the social agonies through which they have force all that was good and pure to pass as through a fiery furnace; th character of the men—many of them—they have placed in power and then say if such a state of things in a Northern or Wester State would not have been a sure and natural precursor of a Repub lican defeat, so absolute and complete that the very name of th party would have become in that State a name of scorn and reproach Then why should not that result have occurred in the South? Ar we to assume that the black race have neither instinct nor reason- have no sense, no intelligence, no conscience, no independence; tha in every Southern State the thralldom of the negro vote to part leaders, even when abandoned by them, is so unquestioning an abject that no amount of misrule can cut him loose from them o teach him the advantage of a more natural and wholesome politica alliance? To reason thus is simply to say that the negro is unf for suffrage, and to surrender the argument to those who hold tha he ought to be disfranchised.

But this is not true. There are many honest, intelligent, an independent men among the negroes in every Southern State There are thousands of them who own property, who cultivate thei own lands, who have taxes to pay, and who appreciate their vita interests in good government. This change in his political rela tions which has been the subject of so much incredulous commen is the legitimate result of the experience through which he ha gone.

So far from proving his weak subordination to a hostile influence

demonstrates what Mr. Blaine says, that the ballot-box indeed ducated him to understand his own interest, and that he has learned use it as an instrument to protect his own rights. To interfere ith such a result because it does not square with the necessities or e ambitions of this or that party, seems to me to be in direct con-adiction to what has been suggested by Mr. Blaine himself. He ys, "The one sure mode to remand the States that rebelled ainst the Union to their autonomy was to give suffrage to the gro," leaving (I venture to add) to self-government the evolution the proper remedies for whatever of evil or error may attend the rking out of this grave and critical experiment.

L. Q. C. Lamar.

. HAMPTON.

In discussing the questions upon which my views are asked, the aits prescribed me in the invitation prevent anything more than mere statement of opinion. Even were this otherwise, my pres-t condition forbids me to enter into any extended or elaborate gument. Mine must be, therefore, simply a presentation in crude rm of the views I entertain, and have entertained for some years, on the grave questions submitted for consideration. I shall en-avor to write in a spirit free from all partisanship or sectional-n, with the sole purpose of promoting the cause of truth and the lfare of the whole country.

The first question is, "Should the negro be disfranchised?" here has been much agitation of this subject recently—chiefly at e North—and many who have hitherto been the most earnest ad-cates of negro suffrage begin to think that the bestowal of this ivilege upon him has resulted in failure. Those who thus think ppose that the withdrawal of the right of suffrage would at once store the ancient and normal condition of things in the country; ould reëstablish friendly relations between the races of the South; d in so far as it would diminish representation would lessen the fluence of that section in national affairs. This latter argument, regret to see, has had most weight with a large class, though it inconsistent with a true and catholic patriotism—a patriotism hich looks to the good of the whole republic, and not to that of limited section.

But, whatever may be the motives of those who desire the dis franchisement of the negro, the accomplishment of such a resul has been rendered impossible by the action of the national an State governments. Great and startling as have been the politica mutations of the last few years, the disfranchisement of the negr at this or any subsequent period would be more surprising than an political event in our past history. The question, therefore, doe not belong to practical politics, and is a mere speculative one Considering it in the latter aspect, I do not hesitate to answer in th negative. Whatever may have been the policy of conferring th right of voting upon the negro, ignorant and incompetent as he wa to comprehend the high responsibility thrust upon him, and what ever may have been the reasons which dictated this dangerous ex periment, the deed has been done and it is irrevocable. It is nov the part of true statesmanship to give it as far as possible tha direction which will be most beneficial or least hurtful to the bod politic.

How is this to be accomplished?

My answer would be, by educating the negro until he compre hends the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. By "educa tion" I do not mean the mere acquisition of learning, but I appl the term in its broadest sense. The possession of the rudiments o education—the mere mental training that this implies—so far fron being always beneficial to its possessor, is often harmful. Many o our lately enfranchised citizens make the first use of their newl acquired ability to read and write by committing forgery, and here at least, they have manifested a wonderful aptitude. By educatin them I mean that their moral nature should be cultivated, *par passu*, with their intellect. This moral education is of far greate importance than an intellectual one. A man is not necessarily better citizen because he can read and write, nor does the possessio of these acquirements make him, as a matter of course, more com petent to understand and discharge the duties of citizenship. doubt whether the citizens of that State which makes its boas that more of its people can read and write than in any other gov ernment are equal in art, in culture, and in statesmanship, to th Athenians in their palmiest days, who were without these ac complishments the most intelligent and critical of political con stituencies.

As the stability of our institutions depends on the intelligenc and virtue of our citizens, it is the duty of every patriot to pro

note the cause of true education. Especially is this the case with egard to that unfortunate people who, after centuries of servitude, vere suddenly called to exercise the highest duties of freemen. Chey came to the discharge of these duties utterly ignorant, with he prejudices, the habits, and the evils inculcated by a life of lavery—merely children of a larger growth, and, like all children, ull of credulity. It is not to be wondered at, then, that they were asily misled by the wicked and designing men who flocked to he South when she was prostrate. But, in spite of the evil advice hey have so constantly received, they have on the whole behaved etter than any other people similarly situated would have done, nd the whites of the South have no reason to cherish any ill vill toward the blacks. Nor do they; and the time is rapidly pproaching when the colored people will find their best friends mong the thoughtful and considerate whites of the South—a class y no means small at present, and which is growing larger and tronger every hour. But this digression leads me from the dis-ussion of the question under consideration; and my purpose, as eclared at the outset, was only to state my opinions, not to enter nto argument to establish them.

From the remarks already made, my answer to the first ques-ion submitted is easily anticipated: it would be almost impossible o disfranchise the negro, and, if possible, it would not be carried nto effect. The South does not desire to see this done, and with-ut her aid it can never be accomplished. The negro contributes ot only to the wealth of the South, but to her political power, nd she is indisposed to deprive herself of any of her advantages.

As the negro becomes more intelligent, he naturally allies him-elf with the more conservative of the whites, for his observation nd experience both show him that his interests are identified with hose of the white race here.

This is the inevitable tendency of things as they now stand at he South, and no extraneous pressure can change a result which is s sure and fixed as any other natural law.

The opinions which are announced above have not been hastily ormed or only recently entertained. They are the result of very arnest and long reflection, and as an evidence of this it may not be mproper, even at the risk of appearing to touch too closely on per-onal matters, to state the position that I have occupied in regard o these questions since the close of the war. In 1865, even before had received my parole, I spoke, and was the first man at the

South who did so, to a large audience of negroes upon the changed relations between the two races, and I gave to them the same advice that I have given from that day to this. In 1867, in the city of Columbia, at the earnest invitation of the colored people themselves, I spoke to them again, and upon that occasion advocated qualified suffrage. It must be borne in mind that at the time this was done some of the most prominent leaders of the Republican party had taken decided ground against giving the right of suffrage to the negro. It is unnecessary to give all the reasons that induced me to take this course: it is sufficient to say that I fully realized that when a man had been made a citizen of the United States he could not be debarred the right of voting on account of his color. Such exclusion would be opposed to the entire theory of republican institutions, and I foresaw that, unless the States, while they had the right of regulating the elective franchise, prescribed the qualifications of their voters, the national Government would intervene, and we should have universal suffrage forced upon us. My object, then, was, by fixing an educational qualification as a prerequisite for voting, to allow the most intelligent of the colored people to vote at once, and this would have been an inducement to the rest of the race to endeavor to qualify themselves for the attainment and exercise of this privilege by securing the necessary education. The admission of the limited number who would thus have been allowed to vote at first would have produced no confusion in the machinery of the State governments, and the relations between the two races would have been friendly and harmonious; but the course that I recommended was not adopted, and we of the South have been subjected to all the humiliation and crime brought about by reconstruction. As the negro is now acquiring education and property he is becoming more conservative, and naturally desires to assist in the establishment and maintenance of good government and home rule. I have endeavored—and I think not without success—to teach him here how to use the vote for his own good, and the benefit of the political society in which he lives and with which his future prosperity is identified. The result has been shown in the last two general elections in this State, where thousands of negroes voted with their white friends; and if any doubt is entertained of the sincerity of these voters, and any impartial visitor from the North will take the pains to inquire throughout the State I will venture the assertion that in every locality he will find as earnest, as active, and as consistent Democrats among the colored

people as among the whites, and these colored Democrats are generally among the more intelligent of their race.

Under these circumstances, as the negro is endeavoring very generally to qualify himself for the duties of citizenship, the wrong of disfranchising him would be as great as that inflicted upon us in the first instance, when universal suffrage was given to him while he was yet utterly unprepared to exercise it.

The second question to which my attention has been invited is, "Ought the negro to have been enfranchised?" It may seem inconsistent with the views I have expressed in the first part of this article to say that I do not think he should have been enfranchised at the time and in the manner in which it was done. My first objection is, that the mode that was pursued, if not directly unconstitutional, was certainly extra-constitutional, and I am utterly opposed to any violation, direct or indirect, of that instrument. Whenever a political party thinks it is necessary, in order to secure its supremacy, to act outside of the Constitution, and this is permitted by the people without rebuke, we may be sure that we have entered upon that downward plane which every previous republic has traveled to destruction. The only hope of maintaining our institutions in their integrity is by a strict observance of the Constitution, and no party should be allowed to remain a moment in power which countenances in any manner any violation of its sacred provisions.

My next objection to conferring suffrage on the negro, immediately upon his emancipation, was that he was totally incompetent to exercise or even to understand the rights conferred upon him. The injection of such a mass of ignorant and untrained voters into the body politic was the most perilous strain to which our institutions have ever been subjected, and the danger arising from this experiment has not yet passed. It was a crime against the whites of the South to disfranchise them in large part while enfranchising the negro, and thus practically placing all the rights of the former at the mercy of newly emancipated slaves. All these difficulties might have been avoided had partial suffrage been adopted in the first instance, and the relations between the two races been allowed to adjust themselves by the unimpeded action of natural laws. This course would have been infinitely better for the negro himself, as it would gradually have trained him in the exercise of the rights of freemen, and would have prevented that antagonism between the

two races which has resulted, in so many instances, to the injury of the negro.

Those who assert that the negro should have been enfranchised have not hesitated to declare that the Indian, the native freeman of America, and the Chinese, who have sought our shores in such numbers, should be debarred that right. There seems to be some inconsistency in these views, and the advocates of negro enfranchisement should be called on to show why the privilege should be granted to him, the newly emancipated slave, and yet denied to men who have always been free and who possess more intelligence.

When the negro was made a citizen, it followed as a logical consequence, under the theory of our institutions, that he must become a voter. My objection to his enfranchisement, therefore, is confined to the time when and the mode in which this privilege was conferred upon him.

I have answered these questions with entire frankness, in the hope that such a discussion, free from political acrimony and partisan misconceptions, would encourage the calm and conscientious consideration of the whole subject.

WADE HAMPTON.

MR. GARFIELD.

THE editor of "The Review" has asked my opinion on the two questions discussed by Mr. Blaine. Were these questions proposed to the two Houses of Congress, I have no doubt that it would be declared, with hardly a dissenting vote, that the negro ought not to be disfranchised. On the second question, the formal vote might not be unanimous; but I have no doubt that a large majority would declare that the negro ought to have been enfranchised.

If it shall appear on a new roll-call in 1879 that none are in favor of disfranchising the negro, and few are ready to declare that he ought not to have been enfranchised, we may reasonably conclude that these measures are gaining strength, and that their wisdom will finally be fully vindicated by the popular judgment.

But a vote on these questions at this time, by "ayes and noes," is misleading, for it does not disclose the real differences of opinion which prevail among the people; nor does it reach the marrow of the controversy out of which the questions themselves arise. In fact, both of the great parties are influenced by the strongest political motives to maintain at least a profession of friendship for the

negro. Political interest will therefore prevent a direct assault upon the constitutional amendments. It is practically impossible to rescind them; and I believe it is an historical fact that no government, based on the national will, has ever withdrawn the right of suffrage when once granted.

But below the formal questions which head this article, lies this deeper one: Will enfranchisement finally prove a blessing or a curse to the negro, and an element of weakness or of strength to our institutions?

Not long since a citizen of great ability and national prominence said to me: "Your party has ruined the Government of our fathers. In carrying up the walls of our national temple you have used untempered mortar; and your work will crumble and fall, involving in ruin the whole structure. The negro belongs to an inferior race; is without intellectual stamina and without any strong, enduring qualities of mind. Though he has been on our continent but a few generations, he has wholly forgotten the religion, the language, and even the traditions of his native country. He has no permanent individuality of character. Like the chameleon, he takes the color of his surroundings; and as a voter he will for ever be a source of weakness and danger to our institutions."

This is perhaps the most powerful arraignment of the policy of enfranchisement which has been made. In reply it should be said, in the outset, that those who denounce the enfranchisement of the negro as unwise and dangerous are bound to show a better adjustment of his status. Even the defenders of the old system will hardly deny that the continued existence of chattel slavery was impossible. It was the sum of all injustice to the negro himself and a standing declaration of war against the public peace. Its destruction did not arise from mere meddlesomeness on the part of the North; the feeling against slavery was world-wide, and we were among the last of modern nations to realize its infamy and remove it from our system.

Between slavery and full citizenship, there was no safe middle ground. To strike the shackles from the negro's limbs, to declare by law that he should not be bought or sold, scourged or branded at the will of his master, and then to leave him with no means of defending his rights before the courts and juries of the country—to arm him with no legal or political weapons of defense—would have been an injustice hardly less cruel to him, and a policy even more dangerous to the public peace, than slavery itself. To leave

the defense of all the rights of person and property of the manumitted slave to those who had just voted unanimously against his freedom, would have been alike dishonorable and cruel. Indeed, this experiment was attempted soon after the close of the war. While the seceding States were under military control, the white people of the South were invited to aid in solving the difficulties of the negro problem by electing their own Legislatures and establishing provisional governments. The result was that in 1865, 1866, and a portion of 1867, their Legislatures, notably those of Mississippi and Louisiana, restricted the personal liberty of the negro, prohibited him from owning real estate, and enacted vagrant and peonage laws, whereby negroes were sold at auction for the payment of taxes or fines, and were virtually reduced to a slavery as real as that which existed before the war.

Congress was, therefore, compelled to choose between a policy which would have made the negro the permanent ward of the nation, and by constant interference with the local laws of the States would protect his personal and property rights, or to place in his own hands the legal and political means of self-defense. It was a choice between perpetual interference with the autonomy of the States—a policy at war with the fundamental principles of our Government, and intolerable to the white populaiton of the South—and the risk of admitting to the suffrage four millions of people who were, as yet, in a large measure unfitted for its wise and intelligent exercise. In reviewing the situation as it existed from 1867 to 1869, I can not conceive on what grounds the wisdom of the choice then made can be denied. Possibly a plan of granting suffrage gradually as the negro became more intelligent would have been wiser; but the practical difficulties of such a plan would have been very great, and its discussion at this time can have no practical value.

The ballot was given to the negro not so much to enable him to govern others as to prevent others from misgoverning him. Suffrage is the sword and shield of our law, the best armament that liberty offers to the citizen.

It would be strange indeed if the negro should always use this weapon with wisdom and honesty. That he would sometimes be influenced by corrupt leaders was inevitable; but that, in spite of all drawbacks, the suffrage has done and is doing much for his protection and elevation, is evident from the anxiety shown by all political parties to prove themselves his friend.

His progress under liberty may have disappointed some of his

over-sanguine friends; but, in a still more marked way, it has disappointed the expectations of those who opposed his freedom. Dullness of intellect, a low state of morals, a want of thrift and foresight—all these were the inevitable results of generations of slavery, which afforded no incentive to the development of those qualities that make citizens independent, intelligent, and self-reliant. If the negroes had lost the passion for acquiring property, if they had shown themselves unwilling to work, neither liberty nor suffrage could have saved them. They would finally disappear, as the Indians are disappearing, and for the same reasons. But the evidences are increasing on every hand that they are successfully solving the problem of their own future, by a commendable degree of industry, and by very earnest efforts to educate their children. In these efforts they are outstripping the class known in the days of slavery as "the poor whites." While they and their political friends had the control of legislation in the Southern States, vigorous measures were adopted to establish and maintain public schools; and, though these efforts have been greatly discouraged by recent State legislation, their thirst for knowledge has not been quenched. There is every indication that in the next generation they will show a marked advance in intelligence.

They are acquiring property far more rapidly than their white neighbors expected. In the Freedman's Saving Bank alone, the failure of which was so calamitous, they had deposited surplus earnings to the amount of three millions of dollars. They are gradually becoming owners of real estate and of comfortable homes. In one county of South Carolina they are now paying $300,000 of taxes per annum; and this is neither an isolated nor an exaggerated example. In short, they are gradually gaining those two elements of power, "intelligence and wealth," which Senator Thurman says will in the long run control the politics of a community.

As an example of what the negro can do under more favorable circumstances than those which have existed in the South, I refer to the settlement of the Virginia Military Reserve in Ohio, between the Scioto and Miami Rivers. Late in the last and early in the present century, many Virginia soldiers of the War of Independence removed to their lands in Ohio. Most of them were antislavery men by conviction, and brought their slaves with them for the purpose of manumission. These negroes settled near their late masters, enjoyed their friendship and counsel, and did not encounter the prejudices of race and color which they might have met among men of

Northern birth. Under such conditions they have lived for two or three generations. There has been scarcely any admixture of blood and no serious collision of interests; and to-day, in central and southern Ohio, their descendants, to the number of several thousand families, rank fairly with other intelligent, respectable, and well-to-do citizens of the State; and are, in all respects, greatly superior to their Virginia ancestors.

Much as the negroes of the South have accomplished since emancipation, their most unfriendly critics will hardly venture to assert that they have had a fair chance to test the influences of freedom and citizenship. Our theory of government is based upon the belief that the suffrage carries with it individual responsibility, stimulates the activity and promotes the intelligence and self-respect of the voter. To accomplish these results the voter must be allowed to exercise his rights freely and without restraint.

Doubtless the mere property rights of the Southern negroes are every year being more and more fully recognized by their white neighbors; but in many parts of the South, it is the merest mockery to pretend that the suffrage has been free. The spirit of domination which slavery engendered has led a large portion of the white population to consider the effort of the negro to cast his ballot in his own way as an act of intolerable impertinence. Open violence, concealed fraud, and threatened loss of employment, in many parts of the South, have virtually destroyed the suffrage and deprived the negro of all the benefits which it was intended to confer.

Hitherto, these outrages have been justified or excused on the ground that they were provoked by the interference of the national authorities with local self-government in the South. But during the past two years, there has been no ground even for this poor excuse. And now we have a new ground of justification. A leading politician of Louisiana, testifying before the Teller Committee a few days ago, declared that the murders and other acts of violence which attended the late election in that State were provoked by "incendiary speeches" of Republican leaders. In his cross-examination, this witness favored us with his definition of political incendiarism. When asked to give examples, he cited the fact that a certain campaign orator "had referred to the old days of slavery, saying that old men who had been slaveholders, and whose ideas were fixed in the past, would not be as likely to respect the rights and advance the interests of the blacks as younger men who had grown up under the new condition of affairs." Also, in discussing

the industrial relation of the negroes to their employers, the incendiary orator told the negroes that "they were paying too high rent for land, often as much each year as the land would sell for." Such discussion the witness considered so dangerous as to justify the wrath and violence of the white population against the Republican party.

Until there is one acknowledged law of liberty for white and black men alike, it is idle to claim that the amendments of the Constitution are obeyed either in spirit or letter, or that enfranchisement has had a fair trial.

The plea of "incendiary speeches" will not be accepted by a liberty-loving nation as a justification of murder, violence, or any invasion of the rights of citizens, however humble, however black. The wisdom of enfranchisement cannot be impeached by prophesying in advance that it will prove a disastrous failure, and then endeavoring *per fas aut nefas* to make it a failure.

If the Democratic party does not disclaim and effectively resist such outrages and invasions of constitutional rights, we shall again witness the deplorable spectacle of parties—divided by geographical lines, a solid South and a united North—arrayed in political opposition.

Such a conflict will not only retard the advancement of the negro and delay the restoration of national harmony, but it will inflict immeasurable injury upon the social and business prosperity of the South itself. Emigration follows the path of liberty. Free and independent Americans will not voluntarily become citizens of a State in which full liberty of debate and of the ballot is not assured.

Since the war, it is probable that more emigrants from the North and from Europe have settled in Texas than in all the other Gulf States combined. And this is because the traditions and sentiments of the Texan people have been regarded as more favorable to freedom of personal opinion and political action than those of the people of neighboring Southern States.

If the policy of repression and exclusion, which unhappily prevails in most of the late slaveholding States, shall be maintained, each new census will disclose such a relative loss of population and wealth as will prove every way disastrous to their political influence and commercial prosperity. But parties will not always divide on the color line. I have no doubt that enlightened self-interest will ere long lead the people of the South to seek prosperity by making

the suffrage in fact, as it already is in law, free and safe to all on whom the Constitution has conferred it. When that day comes, we shall enjoy a national unity which slavery would have made for ever impossible; and the wisdom of enfranchisement will be fully vindicated. Beneficent as its results have already been, they are destined to be still more fruitful of good in the future.

In conclusion, I answer these questions by saying that on every ground of private right, of public justice, and national safety, the negro ought to have been enfranchised. For the same reasons, strengthened and confirmed by our experience, he ought not to be disfranchised. Reviewing the elements of the larger problem, I do not doubt that enfranchisement will, in the long run, greatly promote the intellectual, moral, and industrial welfare of the negro race in America; and, instead of imperiling the safety of our institutions, will remove from them the greatest danger which has ever threatened them.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

MR. STEPHENS.

THE questions submitted for inquiry and consideration in the paper now presented involve problems of the gravest and most interesting character that ever engaged the attention of philanthropists or statesmen.

It is not the purpose of the undersigned, in taking part in the discussion or in connecting himself with it, to enter at this time into a consideration of the merits in the abstract of either of these questions.

The great problem involved in the first is now in a state of solution, and it does not seem to be at all practicable or advisable, in the midst of this process, to be mooting or answering the reasons which led originally to the policy on which it was founded, or the propriety of its adoption.

The matter, according to Mr. Blaine's own assumption, has been settled beyond the power of even constitutional remedy. No arguments drawn *ab inconvenienti* are allowable; they are precluded by conclusions drawn *ab impossibili*. This is the announcement. Then why agitate or disturb it? Should it not, rather, be the object of all good citizens, of all parties, and all friends of humanity, whether originally favoring that policy or not, to give it a fair

trial, with an earnest and hopeful effort for its success, leaving the future in this matter, as in other like problems, to take care of itself?

The discussion of these questions now, therefore, seems to be quite as irrelevant as impracticable. The undersigned, however, will avail himself of the occasion thus presented to make a few general observations upon the paper submitted:

1. Mr. Blaine, after thus setting forth the perfect inviolability of the right of suffrage, constitutionally secured to the colored man, uses these very notable words:

> In the mean while, seeing no mode of legally or equitably depriving the negro of his suffrage, except with unwelcome penalties to themselves, the Southern States as a whole—differing in degree, but the same in effect—have striven to achieve, by indirect and unlawful means, what they can not achieve directly and lawfully. They have, so far as possible, made negro suffrage of none effect. They have done this against law and against justice.

These are grave assertions. Where is the evidence to support them? On them issue is directly joined.

The charge in substance is, that the Southern States as a whole, with common design, have striven to deprive the colored man of his right to vote by indirect and unlawful means. Wherein have "the Southern States as a whole," or a single one of them, done, or attempted to do, any such thing? States act by their Legislatures, courts, and executives. Has it been by legislative acts, or executive acts, or judicial decisions? If so, the production of these high-handed usurpations is invoked.

The undersigned speaks mainly of his own State, Georgia. That wrongs, and great wrongs, have been committed by individuals at the polls in that State and in many of the Southern States, or perhaps all of them, he does not question—wrongs to whites as well as blacks; but he does question if greater wrongs have been perpetrated in the Southern States, in this respect, than in the Northern States. "The world is a school of wrong," and skilled proficients "swarm about" everywhere. But, that the Southern States, in whole or in part, in any way in which States can act, have ever arrayed themselves against their own constitutions and laws, to say nothing of Federal obligations, in an effort to deprive the colored man of the right to vote, is utterly denied. It is true, in Georgia, and perhaps in other States, the constitutional requirement of a poll-tax of a dollar for school purposes does practically keep several thousand colored voters from the polls; but it is

a provision wise and just in its objects, and applies equally to white and black. The constitutional provision, also, making conviction of felony a forfeiture of the franchise, is likely in its workings to exclude a much larger number of colored voters from the polls than whites; but no one questions the justice of such exclusion either of whites or blacks.

The Constitution of Georgia, before the Fifteenth Amendment was even proposed, secured the right of suffrage to colored and white alike; and it has been the object of the State government in all its branches to maintain this franchise, in its purity and integrity, from that day to this. It was but yesterday the undersigned saw in the Augusta "Evening News" the charge of Judge Snead, of that judicial circuit, upon this very subject, an extract from which may not be deemed impertinent or irrelevant in this connection. It shows to what full, free, and even abusive extent the right of suffrage is carried in that State by the colored people. Here is the extract:

After treating of general subjects prescribed by law, the Judge gave the following strong points in reference to the freedom of the ballot at the recent elections. He said: Outside of all these, I desire to direct your attention to one section of the penal code, which was intended to guard the freedom of the elective franchise and the purity of the ballot-box. It is section 4,569, and is in these words: "If any person shall hereafter buy or sell, or offer to buy or sell, or be concerned in buying or selling a vote, or shall unlawfully vote at any election which may be held in any county of this State, such person shall be indicted for misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished by imprisonment and labor in the penitentiary for a term of not less than one nor more than four years."

In this connection I read for your consideration extracts from our city papers, which profess to portray certain scenes at the last municipal election in Augusta:

"Money was freely exhibited and offered for votes, and as freely and as openly taken. The price of a vote ranged from ten cents to five dollars, according to the desire of the purchaser to obtain the vote and the estimate put by the seller upon the value of the franchise. Hundreds of votes were thus openly disposed of in plain view of everybody. In some instances the voter held the ballot at arm's-length with one hand and held out the other for the money which was to pay for his vote."—"Chronicle and Constitutionalist."

"The election-day has passed, and with it a day has gone to record that will stand as a foul stain upon the fair name and reputation of a city grown old in honor, and up to yesterday unsullied by the bold hand of bare-faced bribery and open corruption. Votes were openly bought and sold with

money and whisky as a price—one hand holding the vote and the other stretched out for the reward."—"Evening News."

I know not whether this is true, but it has been published as a part of the history of this our day and generation. It could not have escaped the observation, and must have excited the solicitude, of many good citizens. If true, it is a sad commentary upon the corruption of the times, when the purity of the ballot-box is thus violated in the broad light of day; when the elective franchise is made a purchasable commodity, and voters are bought and sold as so many herds of cattle. The whole theory of our Government is in the opposite direction. It rests upon the free consent of the governed. This, at least, should be the practice in every department, from the Federal head at Washington, through the various ramifications in the States, down to the humblest municipality. The liberty of the citizen, the security of property—ay, the whole fabric of society rests for its base upon the free, unbought suffrages of the people. . . . Present all parties implicated, whether high or low. . . . Let your investigation be strictly impartial—not confined to one, but extend to all sides—and if your sword, like that which flamed at Eden's gate, turns a double edge, let the great blow fall.

This record of one of our judges truly exhibits the tone of the judiciary throughout the State of Georgia. It is needless to add, perhaps, that the votes which were so openly sold in the market were chiefly, if not entirely, those of the lowest class of the colored race. The same is true of the elections held near the same time in Atlanta, Macon, and other parts of the State, according to newspaper accounts.

2. Mr. Blaine clearly intimates his own belief, as well as that of other original advocates of the enfanchisement of the colored race, that "negro suffrage has failed to attain the ends hoped for when the franchise was conferred . . . . failed to achieve anything except to increase the political weight and influence of those against whom, and in spite of whom, his enfranchisement was secured."

Pray, what were the ends thus hoped for? Without extended comment on these sentences, as to the character of the motives actuating some, at least, of the original advocates of "negro suffrage," which are very apparent from the entire passage, it may be pardonable to say that perhaps the present *gravamen* with them is that the colored man does not vote as they expected him to vote; perhaps they may also see from the exhibitions referred to in Augusta, Atlanta, Macon, and in other places, that their votes are much more easily controlled by money than they supposed they would be. If this be *intimidation*, and depriving the colored people of the inestimable right of voting, then it must be admitted that it is carried

to a lamentable extent in Georgia, if not in other States, and can only be prevented by such enforcement of our State laws as Judge Snead invokes. It cannot be remedied, as far as the undersigned sees, by any proper action of Congress.

3. Mr. Blaine says :

> The Fourteenth Amendment was designed to prevent this [that is, the increased representation of the Southern States in Congress, on the emancipation of those at the South who previously owed service for life], and, if it does not succeed in preventing it, it is because of evasion and violation of its clear provisions and of its plain intent. Those who erected the Confederate Government may be in exclusive possession of power throughout the South; but they are not so fairly and legally; and they will not be permitted to continue in the enjoyment of political power unjustly seized—and seized in derogation and in defiance of the rights not merely of the negro, but of the whites in all other sections of the country.

What is really meant here by the reference to the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment, and the enjoyment of "political power unjustly seized—seized in derogation and defiance of the rights not merely of the negro but of the whites, in all other sections of the country," by no means clearly appears. Explanation is wanted.

When and where has any Southern State unjustly seized any power or exercised any which is not clearly reserved to it in the Constitution? The real trouble seems to be this :

After all the clamor against the slave power, so called, under the Constitution, before the war, growing out of the three-fifths basis of representation, it was found that, on the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery, thirty-five representatives were thereby added to the South in Congress; and that, so far from the three-fifths feature of the Constitution being an augmentation of the political power of the South, it was actually a diminution of that power to the extent of two fifths of their colored population. It was then that an attempt was made, by the Fourteenth Amendment, to deprive the Southern States of this increase of political power, which they by no means seized or attempted to seize, but which came to them rightfully under the Constitution. This attempt, as has been stated, failed of its object by the Southern States putting suffrage upon an equal footing between the blacks and whites.

Mr. Blaine says that the clear intent and express provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment have been evaded and violated by the Southern States.

Where is the proof to sustain this assertion? Is not the constitutional right of voting secured as amply to the colored people in the Southern States as in the Northern? If not, let proofs to the contrary be adduced. The question is not as to the wisdom of such policy, but as to the existence of the fact.

The public mind seems to be somewhat in a cloud upon this subject of representation, and the grounds upon which the colored population were rated in the Federal basis, as five blacks to three whites, or what is known as the three-fifths basis.

Before the war the idea seemed to be industriously inculcated in certain sections of the country that it was a grant to the South of property representation in their slaves. No greater error ever existed in the popular mind. This three-fifths principle was first agreed on in Congress under the old Articles of Union of the States, known as the first Constitution, in 1783. The history of it is this: There was not any power under the Constitution as it then existed to collect taxes by impost, or by any direct means; and the quota of each of the States was apportioned first upon land valuation in the respective States. This was found to work unjustly; and it was afterward determined that the best basis of taxation was population. But it was insisted that the black population was not so efficient in the production of wealth, which should be the criterion in taxation, as the white; and it would be unjust to make the basis of the quota of each State upon its population, without considering the character of its population. Some maintained that one white man's labor was more productive than that of four blacks; some three; some two. It was eventually agreed, on the motion of Mr. Madison, that three fifths should be the *ratio*, thus cutting off *two fifths* of the black population. This feature, thus originating in the Congress under the old Constitution, was incorporated into the new one, formed in 1787. It was then thought that the revenue would continue to be chiefly derived from direct taxation, as it had been under the old organization. This feature was thus retained at that time upon the principle that taxation and representation should go together. Very soon, however, the revenues were chiefly raised from imposts, and hence the Southern States for all practical purposes lost that power in legislation to which they would have been justly entitled upon the principle of representation in accordance with population.

After emancipation, in 1865, the two-fifths restriction ceased to exist, as a necessary result. The entire population of the Southern

States then entered into the count for apportionment, as well as the entire population of the North. The Southern States, therefore, came into the enjoyment of this increased political power not by seizure, but by constitutional right; and they can not be deprived of it except by a wrong not less atrocious than the most wanton and illegal seizure could be.

4. Mr. Blaine seems to maintain that it was the main object of the Fifteenth Amendment to secure the right of suffrage to the colored race.

To a great extent this may be granted as true; and yet, not to the extent which he would seem to argue. That amendment conferred no right of any kind. It was only intended to restrain the States and the United States from denying or abridging the right of suffrage on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The words are: "The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This is but an additional covenant between the States, imposing restraints and obligations upon themselves, and of course takes its place alongside other similar constitutional provisions, restraining the power of the States. No State, under this provision of the Constitution, can make any discrimination as to the right of suffrage within its limits, "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude"; nor has any State, South or North, within the knowledge of the undersigned, made any such discrimination.

If there have been violations of the right of suffrage on the part of individuals by intimidation, force, violence, or bribery (which is by no means denied), the remedy under the Constitution is a plain one; and the undersigned believes that the remedy through the courts would be as strongly enforced in the South as in the North. In elections to Congress each House is the sole judge of the election and returns of its own members.

If a State were to pass a law making a discrimination, the State courts as well as the Federal courts would of course hold such a law to be unconstitutional. This prohibition against discrimination by any State in the matter of suffrage is analogous to the prohibitions against any State passing *ex post facto* laws or laws impairing the obligation of contracts, etc.

The remedy in all such cases is through the courts. The position of Mr. Blaine, that Congress, under its power of "appropriate legislation" to carry out all the provisions of the Constitution, can

ake jurisdiction of this clause of the Constitution in any way dif-
erent from what is proper in the other prohibitions against the
States, can not be successfully maintained. The true remedy for
ll these evils, wherever they exist, North or South, is in the courts,
nder such laws as Congress may find it necessary to pass for the
rotection of rights, within its limited jurisdiction and specified
owers.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

R. PHILLIPS.

NEGRO suffrage has not been a failure. Only the merest surface
idgment would so consider it. Though his voting has been crippled
nd curtailed throughout a large part of the South during half the
me he has been entitled to vote, the negro has given the best evi-
ence of his fitness for suffrage by valuing it at its full worth.
very investigation of Southern fraud has shown him less purchas-
ble than the white man. He has wielded his vote with as much
onor and honesty—to claim the very least—as any class of South-
n whites; even of those intellectually his superiors. For nine
arful years he has clung to the Republican party (which at least
romised to protect him) as no white class, North or South, would
ave done. Want and starvation he has manfully defied, and as-
rted his rights till shot down in their very exercise. Where to-
ay is the Northern white class that would have clung to a party or
principle in such peril or at such sacrifice? If any man knows of
uch, let him testify. I have known Northern politics reasonably
ell for forty years, and my experience has shown me no such
orthern politicians.

In law-making the negro has nothing to fear when compared
ith the whites. Taking away the laws which white cunning and
ate have foisted into the statute-book, the legislation of the South
nce the rebellion may challenge comparison with that of any pre-
ous period. This is all due to the negro. The educated white
outherner skulked his responsibility. Either the negro himself de-
sed those laws, or he was wise enough to seek and take the good
dvice of his friends. When some one told Sully that Elizabeth
as not able, but only chose able advisers, "Is not that proof of
e greatest wisdom?" said the sagacious minister of Henry IV.
hey say negro Legislatures doubled the taxes. Well, there were

double the number of children to be educated, and double the number of men (one half of them previously *things*) to be governed and cared for.

The South owes to negro labor and to legislation under negro rule all the prosperity she now enjoys—prosperity secured in spite of white ignorance and hate. The negro is to-day less ignorant, superstitious, and helpless than the same class of Southern white men; yes, than a class of whites supposed to be immeasurably his superiors.

The South would not have disfranchised the negro if his suffrage had been a failure. Its success is what she fears and hates. When lawless and violent men attack any element of law and civilization, and can only succeed by destroying it, does not that very assault prove the value and efficiency of that obstacle to their lawless purpose?

Negro suffrage gave the helm to the Republican party when it represented a principle—that was intelligent. It stood firmer against bribery than other Southerners—that was honest. It vindicated the negro's fitness for legislation—that scattered the fogs about negro inferiority. It educated the negro more and more every day, and was fast bringing him to a level with the whites of the best class—that was death to Southern dreams of future rule and treason.

In those States where either circumstances or the nation have secured the negro anything like fair play, his suffrage has been a marked success.

If negro suffrage has been in any particular or respect a failure, it has not been the negro's fault, nor in consequence of any want or lack in him. If it has failed to secure all the good it might have produced, this has been because of cowardice, selfishness, and want of statesmanship on the part of the Government of the United States. While squabbling over the loaves and fishes of office, we have allowed our only friends and allies to face the fearful dangers of their situation—into which we called them in order to save the Union—without the protection of public opinion, or of the arm of the Government itself. We have believed every lie against them; fraternized with unrepentant rebels; and on the Senate floor clasped hands dripping with the negro's blood—blood shed because, without sympathy or support from us, the negro wielded his vote so bravely and intelligently as to make the enemies of the Union tremble. Does any man imagine that Senator

Hamburg Butler shoots negro voters because he fears they will not rule South Carolina intelligently!

Negro suffrage has not, therefore, been a failure, even in any trivial degree, from any lack of courage, intelligence, or honesty on his part. And let it be remembered how early the Ku-klux assaulted him; how incessant have been the attacks upon him all these years; how brave and unquailing has been his resistance. Let it be kept in mind also that, meanwhile, one half of the journals of these forty States have been against him; and seven tenths of the Federal officers and the whole organized power of the white South. All this while the negro has accumulated property, risen in position, advanced marvelously in education, outrunning the white man in this race. He has proved himself equal to any post he has gained. On the floor of Congress the Southern white has more than once quailed before negro logic, sarcasm, and power of retort. Nothing has checked his progress or put him down but a hundred lawless armed men assailing, at midnight, single men unarmed and at disadvantage. And let it be also kept in mind that this same lawlessness has shut up courts, silenced white Republicans, scattered their conventions, suppressed journals, and driven merchants from Southern cities; so that yielding to it argues no cowardice in the negro, since the white of every profession, class, and grade shares in the same humiliation.

Does any man advise the disfranchisement of the white Republican because his voting is (to quote Mr. Blaine's picture) "a challenge to the Democrats in which he is sure to be overmatched, and his disfranchisement would remove all conflict and restore kindly relations between the two political parties"!

These considerations show the negro's fitness for the vote, and therefore that he ought to have been enfranchised.

Every consideration of policy and statesmanship demanded his enfranchisement, the negro being the nation's only ally in an enemy's country. Everything, therefore, that helps him strengthens the Union. Equality of condition breeds self-respect. Responsibility is God's method of educating men, making them sagacious, prudent, calm and brave. Power insures consideration to its possessor. When a vote in the House of Commons added half a million to the number of British voters, Lord John Russell sprang to his feet and exclaimed, "*Now* the first anxiety of every Englishman is to educate the masses!" It was their having the vote, and so endangering the state, which awakened that anxiety.

Then, again, while the negro remained without the suffrage it was a logical inconsistency under our Constitution. The popular mind frets at any such inconsistency. It was such intellectual and moral fretting against a logical inconsistency—slavery—that provoked the antislavery movement and gave it strength. To have prolonged such a state of things after the war ended would have been sure to have stirred angry debate. It was therefore wise and necessary to avoid this danger. Finally, the exercise of suffrage is the only sufficient preparation for it. You might as well postpone going into water until one has learned to swim, as to put off granting suffrage until all the world agrees that a man is fit for it.

When the North, therefore, gave the negro the vote it did all law could do to close the war between two civilizations, the barbarism of the South and the industrial and equal civil polity of the North. Of course this was the highest wisdom as well as simple justice.

After the negro has used his vote as honestly and intelligently as the average Northerner, and more bravely, shall we withdraw it because the caste prejudice, that hates him and dreads it, lives "unharmoniously" in its sight? And surely it would be absurd and a foul disgrace to take it from him for the single reason that this present Administration of our Government can not protect him in its exercise! Would you break up a good locomotive merely because one raw and blundering engineer proved himself incapable of running it?

Every man sees now what very few saw ten years ago (and I am glad I was one of those few, ridiculed as we then were), that to enfranchise the negro, without doing all the nation could to insure his independence, was a wrong to him and disastrous to us.

Treason should have been punished by confiscating its landed property. We all see now that magnanimity went as far as it safely could when it granted the traitor his life. His land should have been taken from him; and, before Andrew Johnson's treachery, every traitor would have been only too glad to have been let off so easily: that land should have been divided among the negroes, forty acres to each family, and tools—poor pay for the unpaid toil of six generations on that very soil. Mere emancipation without any compensation to the victim was pitiful atonement for ages of wrong. Planted on his own land, sure of bread—instead of being merely a wages-slave—the negro's suffrage would have been a very different experiment.

Then, again, those States should have been held as Territories (which United States authority could enter and rule directly, and without troublesome questions), until a different mood of mind among the whites, and the immigration of Northern men, wealth, and ideas, made it safe to trust that section with State governments. In his last years, the late Vice-President, Henry Wilson, confessed to me that this was the great mistake in that national settlement. His only excuse was, that the Republican party did not dare to risk any other course in the face of Democratic opposition—which only means that the nation was not ready for the statesmanship the time demanded. But this surely was not the negro's fault, and he should neither be blamed, nor visited with disfranchisement, because we were unready, cowardly, and incompetent.

But there is no need even now of bating one jot of hope. The United States Government is amply able to protect its own citizens. Put a man into the Executive chair, and there will be peace at the South — not, as now, the despot's peace, when "order reigns in Warsaw"—but quiet homes, streets free from bloodshed, and each man safe and unmolested while he exercises all a citizen's rights.

Mr. Blaine has made it clear that no right in this country is more completely guaranteed than the negro's right to vote. It is hard to imagine any eclipse of public honor so dark as to make his disfranchisement possible. But men who have seen the Dred Scott decision and slave-hunts in Northern cities—defended and welcomed by journals and pulpits—who have seen Webster bow his majestic fame, and Clay try to barter his early good record for infamous success—may well hesitate to say that any baseness or sycophancy, in a matter touching the negro, is impossible. The South will probably never, by law, disfranchise the negro while she remains in the Union. But the South does not (practically) disfranchise him now from petty spite. It is a well-matured plan. She purposes to rule this nation or break it. In her present mood union between her and the North is as impossible as between Germany and France, or Austria and Italy. Until Northern men, capital, and ideas, permeate the South, that mood will perpetuate itself.

But right is stronger than wrong. Barbarism melts and crumbles before civilization. The South can build no wall high enough, she can enact no law bitter enough, to bar out the nineteenth century. Even isolated Cuba has no tariff rigid enough to keep out justice. The Indian, with right on his side, and so alert that he

makes it cost the United States one million of dollars to kill an Indian in war, can not resist the wave of civilization. Equally impotent is the South. Whether under our flag, or outside of it, she will, in time, recognize the laws of industrial civilization, and accept justice as a good bargain, long before she is virtuous enough to see its righteousness.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MR. BLAIR.

THE negro ought to have been given the franchise if capable by nature of exercising it. If not, it ought not to have been conferred, and ought to be withdrawn. Hence the two questions presented are but one in substance. It ought to surprise no one that this question is likely to occupy the public attention again. The subject of the abolition of slavery occupied the public mind during many years, and was thoroughly discussed before it was acted upon; and no one now denies the wisdom of the decision made upon it. But the question of negro suffrage was discussed very little before the people prior to its decision; and neither the Congress which proposed nor the Legislatures which adopted the amendment were elected with reference to the question. And this is equally true of the Congress which passed the reconstruction act, by which negro suffrage was imposed upon the Confederate States, and by which the adoption of both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments was secured.

It is certainly proper for the people to reconsider a measure adopted so precipitately for the purpose of enabling one section of the country to hold the other in subjection, in violation of the Constitution and of the fundamental principle of local self-government, and which has never had the sanction even of the Northern people in any form (for the power to accomplish it was obtained from them by denying that any such action was contemplated).

Having been accomplished according to the forms of law, it is the Constitution, and can only be revoked by observing the same forms; but if negro suffrage is pernicious to the public welfare, degrades suffrage, fosters corruption, defeats responsibility, strengthens the money power, and endangers the liberty of the race which established representative government, and so far alone has shown

capacity to maintain it, that capacity itself gives absolute assurance that it will be revoked.

Nor will it be long before the subject may be properly considered. The escape of the Southern States from the thralldom which negro suffrage was devised to impose upon them has defeated the object for which it was devised, and its authors now find that, instead of being an instrument to perpetuate their power, it serves only to increase that of their adversaries. They still clamor about outrages upon it; but this is only to arouse the jealousy of the North to consolidate it against the power they have strengthened at the South. If defeated in this, the sectional issue will be eliminated from our politics, and the subject of negro suffrage will cease to have any relation to sectional power and national politics, and will probably be allowed to be considered upon its merits by the communities affected by it. In that event, the only advocates of negro suffrage will be the representatives of the planters and other possessors of wealth, who will control their labor and their votes. They alone will have any political interest to promote by maintaining it.

Our fathers, North and South, were all emancipationists, and refused to put the word "slave" in the Constitution, not wishing a trace of it to appear in that instrument; but not a man among them contemplated making the negro a voter. Mr. Jefferson, who predicted that slavery would go out in blood unless provision was made for emancipation, saw also that the races could not live together as equals. "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate," he said, "than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, can not live in the same government. *Nature*, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be filled up, *pari passu*, by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to *force* itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up." Prior to the war, Jefferson was the recognized exponent of the true principles of our Government, in theory and practice. He had extinguished the opposing party, and every succeeding Administration professed to be guided by his principles. And his counsel would have been followed with respect to slavery, as it had been upon other important subjects, but that a new prophet arose in the South, who, by firing the hearts of its politicians with a fatal ambition in

connection with it, so changed the *morale* of Jefferson's party as to make slavery its most powerful element, and his teachings on the subject to be pronounced "folly and delusion"; and slavery, instead of being "a moral and political evil," as he had taught, and as hitherto universally held at the South, became "the most safe and stable basis for free government in the world." We know the result.

Is there any better reason for accepting the new revelation, declaring it to be "folly and delusion" to say that *Nature* has drawn such indelible lines of distinction between the black and white races that they can not live as equals in the same government, *if that government is to be a free government?* It was inspired by the lust of sectional power, and relies for success upon the triumph of military over civil institutions. It was established by the sword, in violation of the Constitution. More than half the white people were disfranchised, and all their leading men, and the blacks, numbering 4,000,000, were given more votes than the whites, numbering about 8,000,000—the official returns of registration in nine of the States giving the blacks 631,746 votes, and the whites 585,769. General Grant, under whose direction the work was done, reported that the combined negro vote was indispensable; that the negroes were incapable of making that combination of themselves; and that the whites sent there from the North to direct that combination could not remain there for that purpose unless supported by the army. The military became the governing power. The part of the negro was that of "dummy" in the game. They were beaten at all points without regard to numbers, except where the military and United States deputy-marshals took charge and voted them. Negro suffrage has, in fact, never existed. It has been only an expensive process of registering and supervision by the military to have pieces of paper put in their hands and deposited as directed by the white men sent down to combine and lead them.

These were, necessarily, persons of the worst class; and the result was the most disgraceful chapter in our history. The votes of the blacks, which made the Republican candidate President, installed these harpies in the government of the States; they loaded the States with $200,000,000 of debt, while exacting the most exorbitant taxes from the impoverished people, and gave entire immunity to crime. The demoralization thus infused into our system infected the Federal Government. The enormous expenditure during Grant's two terms—being, exclusive of all payments growing out of the war,

greater than the expenditure from 1789 to 1861, including that on account of the war of 1812, the Algerine war, the Mexican war, all our Indian wars, and the purchase money of Louisiana and Florida—is traceable to the irresponsible government thus established. And so is the corruption which has pervaded the Government, not yet fully exposed, but which the whisky ring, the Indian ring, and the multitude of similar blotches accidentally brought to the surface show to have permeated all departments.

The British Government learned from the American Revolution what, in their eagerness for power, our Republican politicians lost sight of—that it was "neither possible nor desirable" to govern the English-speaking race against their will. And hence, instead of suppressing representative government in Canada after the rebellion, as our rulers did in the South, Earl Grey, in his instructions to Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, said that "it could not be too distinctly understood that it is neither possible nor desirable to carry on the government of any of the British Provinces in North America in opposition to the opinion of its inhabitants." To shame the great Republic and to foment discord in it, the blacks in Jamaica were also enfranchised to elect a Parliament, while all the workingmen in England were denied that privilege; but the incapacity of the negro for that function was so fully demonstrated that it had to be withdrawn. This fact ought to silence those among us who, for mere party objects, have lately echoed the ruling class in England in attributing the universal repugnance of our people, North and South, before the war, to mere pride of race. Having tried the experiment themselves where there was no race conflict, and found it a lamentable failure, they have themselves vindicated the wisdom of our fathers and the good sense of our people.

Many honest and true men have been persuaded that it was necessary to give the ballot to the negro to secure him his freedom. They assumed that he could acquire the knowledge and *character* which qualified him to use it. Knowledge sufficient he might acquire, but not the independence and the self-reliance. It was for want of these qualities that he was for centuries an hereditary bondman in America, and did not himself strike the blow which made him free. Indeed, all the acts passed to make him a voter, from the reconstruction to the enforcement act, and all the speeches of their advocates, recognize his want of every essential quality of a voter by treating him as not fit to be the master but only to be the ward of the Government. On this theory the Freedman's Bu-

reau was established to remove him from the influence of the white race, General Grant empowered to sustain the men sent to mass them against the white people, and for this reason it is assumed that the Republicans can not be legally beaten where the negroes are in the majority. The Republicans knew that the race which takes so largely the direction of public affairs of this continent would control the negro unless the Government interposed to prevent it. And the recovery of political power in all the Southern States, in spite of this interposition, shows that he is more feeble than he was accounted.

And the fact that Wade Hampton had five thousand blacks, uniformed with red shirts, marching in procession during his canvass for Governor in 1876, received all the votes for that office in 1878, and all but two for Senator in 1879, will satisfy any mind open to the truth that this is not due to intimidation.

Hampton is the type of a class to whom the negro naturally gives fealty; and enfranchisement will, for a time at least, be a grant of vast political power to them when the Northern politicians shall discontinue the attempt to use him as the instrument of their power, and make it possible for the local politicians to avail themselves of his aid. Hampton, the boldest of this class, long ago avowed his pleasure at the grant, and has availed himself of it. Others will soon follow his example.

As it is manifest that, as followers of this class, the negro can be better protected than as the instrument of Northern dominion over the people of the South, it ought to be the policy of all who have any true feeling for him to discountenance the new crusade which the Northern politicians are preparing to preach in 1880. But while under the guidance of a class of leaders who are responsible to public opinion, they could be trained, if it were possible to train them at all, to the exercise of government, no such result can be expected. It would be as reasonable to expect them to develop wings by training. The negro is not a self-governing nature. He is of the tropics, where, as Montesquieu observes, despotism has prevailed in all ages. His *nature*, of which this form of Government is the outgrowth, is not changed by transplanting, more than that of the orange or the banana. Hence to incorporate him in our system is to subvert it. His nominal enfranchisement is but a mode of disfranchising the white man, and makes them equals indeed, but only as the subjects of irresponsible power. For this reason Mr. Jefferson believed it would not be submitted to. We have seen

that he understood the American people better than Mr. Calhoun. It remains to be seen whether he knew them better than Mr. Thaddeus Stevens.

MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

MR. HENDRICKS.

THE editor of "The North American Review" has asked me to express some views upon Mr. Blaine's article on the questions, "Ought the Negro to be disfranchised? Ought he to have been enfranchised?" and also my views upon the questions themselves. It is almost impossible for me to comply with this request. I am in Washington for a few days only, and my engagements will not allow me to attempt a review of Mr. Blaine's article. Upon the two questions I can only express my opinions, without much argument or illustration.

It is not yet ten years since the right to vote was conferred upon the negro by constitutional provision. That period is too short to allow such test of the wisdom of the measure as would justify its abrogation. The constitutional amendment is supposed to have been the deliberate and well-considered act of the people. It must not be regarded as an ordinary legislative measure, to be repealed or modified "for light and transient causes." To make such a change of the Constitution because an election in one section of the country has not resulted as some might have desired or expected, is to treat the most solemn act of the people with contempt, and to weaken the force and impair the authority of the Constitution itself. Opposition to negro enfranchisement ten years ago does not now require an effort to strike the Fifteenth Amendment from the Constitution. Any provision of the Constitution should be regarded as fixed and permanent, and not to be disturbed, except upon the test of such experience as would justify a change of Government itself, because of great and permanent evils. It was not reasonable to suppose that the two races would at once and without discord adjust themselves to the new relations prescribed and fixed by the constitutional amendments. In the establishment of civil and political changes so radical and extended, strife and discord for a time were inevitable.

The experiment by which the negro is now being judged has not been a fair one. When enfranchised, he was made to feel that

he owed servitude to a party; through the agency of United States officials and of the Freedmen's Bureau, and by means of secret leagues, the entire negro vote was consolidated into a party inspired by a distrust of, if not hostility to the white race. The color line was distinctly drawn. They were taught to distrust every suggestion made by their former masters for their political welfare, and to give their utmost confidence and support to a class of men who most unscrupulously used the power so acquired to promote their own selfish ends. The result was the introduction in many Southern States of the most objectionable practices. Bribery and corruption fastened themselves upon the public service. The State governments became the worst possible. The increase of State indebtedness was frightful. Taxation threatened to swallow up not only the earnings but also the accumulations of the people. Men contemplated approaching ruin with horror. Judged by these results, negro enfranchisement was worse than a failure, it was a gigantic evil.

In that condition of the country, excesses and abuses did unquestionably occur. No foresight, no patience, no policy could have averted them. The fierceness of the struggle for better government was necessarily proportioned to the enormities that were practiced upon the people. The efforts of the people to promote their own welfare soon passed from personal conflict, and neighborhood struggle, to the adoption of measures and policies of safety and reform. The colored people were appealed to. They were told that their own welfare, as well as that of the white race, required economy and reform; that the value of the products of their labor depended upon measures that would reduce taxation. These appeals were heard and heeded. In great numbers, by their influence and their votes, they contributed to the changes in men and measures that experience has shown were essential to the welfare of all classes, especially of producers.

Perhaps in this connection it is proper to refer to the State of South Carolina as an illustration. Next to that of Louisiana, her government was the worst, and the condition of her people the most intolerable. Her present able chief Executive, in his canvass for the office, addressed the colored voters in the language of argument and of patriotic appeal. He and his cause proved stronger than party control. They came to his support. They contributed to his election. Without their help, no change could have occurred. The reform that followed was complete. The men who had ruled

and ruined the State, and who had oppressed all her industries, met their just punishment in prison, or sought safety in flight. Honesty took the place of fraud, and economy displaced profligate expenditure. Judged by such results, negro enfranchisement is not altogether a failure. The results in Georgia are equally instructive. The evil influences that controlled the negro vote in other localities were never so strong in that State; and at an earlier day legitimate and good authority prevailed. A beautiful illustration of the harmony that has come to exist between the races occurred in one of the cities of that State but a week since. The negro vote had contributed to the election of an able Representative in Congress. He died, and, when his remains were taken home for interment, they who had helped to elect helped also to bury him. They appeared in the funeral procession in organized companies of the militia, in full uniform, and carrying the arms of the State. At the polls and at the grave the races united in the expression of confidence, and in tributes of respect toward one whose family was connected with the history of the State. It is a pleasing reflection that when thus restored to its proper condition society has become relieved, in a great degree, of the strife and bloodshed that attended the government of the people of the States by outside power.

It is but recently that we have heard the demand for the withdrawal of the right to vote from the negro, and for a reduction of the representation allowed to the Southern States. The demand comes only from those who relied upon their power to control him as a political machine. It can not be said that his late independent action in harmony with that of the white people is wrong. Beyond dispute, it was well for all the people of South Carolina, both white and black, and for the people of the whole country, that Governor Hampton was successful, and that the corrupt power was overthrown. Peace is assured. Labor is secure and encouraged. Calmly, quietly, and intelligently a large body of the negroes have joined the whites to correct intolerable evils. This was fully and well stated by a late colored United States Senator from Mississippi, in a letter written to the President shortly after the bad government had been overthrown in that State. The "Solid South" is the result of the union and harmony of the races, and of their united effort for economy and reform.

I am not able to see why the subject of negro suffrage should be discussed. It must be known to all that the late amendments will not be, can not be, repealed. There is but the duty upon all to

make the political power now held by the enfranchised race the cause of the least evil, and of the greatest possible good, to the country. The negro is now free, and is the equal of the white man in respect to his civil and political rights. He must now make his own contest for position and power. By his own conduct and success he will be judged. It will be unfortunate for him if he shall rely upon political sympathy for position, rather than upon duties well and intelligently discharged. Everywhere the white race should help him, but his reliance must mainly be upon himself.

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

Conclusion.—MR. BLAINE.

AT the instance of the Editor of the "North American Review," and not by request or desire of mine, the brief article which I wrote in regard to negro suffrage was submitted to the gentlemen who have replied to it, and in turn their articles have been submitted to me. I have now the privilege of rejoinder, and the whole series of papers thus assumes the phase of a connected discussion.

With the exception of Mr. Wendell Phillips and General Garfield, the replies are from gentlemen identified with the Democratic party, and distinguished and influential in its councils. General Garfield is a Republican, and has taken prominent and honorable part in all the legislation respecting negro suffrage. His views are so entirely in harmony with my own that nothing is left me but to commend his admirable statement of the case. Mr. Phillips is neither a Republican nor a Democrat, but reserves to himself the right —a right most freely exercised—to criticise and condemn either party with unsparing severity, generally bestowing his most caustic denunciation upon the party to which he most inclines. It is by this sign that we feel occasionally comforted with the reflection that Mr. Phillips still has sympathies with the Republican party, and still indulges aspirations for its ultimate success.

The arraignment of the Republicans at this late day by Mr. Phillips, because they did not reduce the Confederate States to Territories and govern them by direct exercise of Federal power, is causeless and unjust; and it can not certainly influence the judgment of any man whose memory goes back to 1866–'67. For I assume that if anything, not capable of demonstration, is yet an

absolute certainty, it is that such an attempt by the Republican party would have led to its utter overthrow at the initial point of its reconstruction policy. The overthrow of the Republican party at that time would have restored the Confederate States to full power in the Union without the imposition of a single condition, without the exaction of a single guarantee. All the inestimable provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment would have been lost: its broad and comprehensive basis of citizenship; its clause regulating representation in Congress and coercing the States into granting suffrage to the negro; its guarantee of the validity of the war debt of the Union and of pensions to its soldiers and their widows and orphans; its inhibition of any tax by General or State Government for debts incurred in aid of the rebellion or for the emancipation of any slave! These great achievements for liberty, in addition to the Fifteenth Amendment, would have been put to hazard and probably lost, could Mr. Phillips have had his way, in a vain struggle to reduce eleven States—four of them belonging to the original thirteen—to the condition of Territories; thus committing the General Government to a policy as arbitrary and as sure to lead to corruption and tyranny as the proconsular system of Rome.

And as if the territorial policy were not enough to have destroyed the Republican party at that time, Mr. Phillips would have plunged us into the wild, visionary, and unconstitutional scheme of confiscating the land of the rebels and giving it to the freedmen. Confiscation laws were passed by Congress during the hottest period of the war; but even then, when passions were at the highest, no enactment was proposed which did not recognize the express limitation of the Constitution that in punishing treason there should be no "forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted." The Republican party has been flippantly accused by its opponents of disregarding the Constitution, but I venture to say that there is no parallel in the world to so strict an observance of written law during a critical and mighty war as was shown by the Republicans throughout the protracted and bloody struggle that involved the fate of free government on this continent. It is impossible, therefore, that the Republican party could have adopted the policy which Mr. Phillips commends; and impossible that it could have succeeded if the attempt had been made.

Of the replies made by the other gentlemen, identified as they have been and are with the Democratic party, it is noteworthy that, with the exception of Mr. Blair, they agree that the negro ought

not to be disfranchised. As all of these gentlemen were hostile to the enfranchisement of the race, their present position must be taken as a great step forward, and as an attestation of the wisdom and courage of the Republican party at the time they were violently opposing its measures. This general expression leaves Mr. Blair to be treated as an exception, and for many of his averments the best answer is to be found in the suggestions and concessions of his Democratic associates. I need not make an elaborate reply to Mr. Blair, when he is answered with such significance and such point by those of his own political household. It is one of the curious developments of political history that a man who sat in the cabinet of Abraham Lincoln and was present when Emancipation was decreed should live to write a paper against the enfranchisement of the negro, when the Vice-President of the Rebel Confederacy and two of its most distinguished officers, are taking the other side!

Of Governor Hampton's paper it is fair to say that it seems to have been written to cover a case; its theory and application being adapted to the latitude of South Carolina, and to his own political course. Mr. Hampton is a man of strong parts, possessing courage and executive force, but he has been in the thick of the fight, and has had personal ambitions to gratify which may not place him in history as an impartial witness. His personality protrudes at every point, and his conception of what should be done and what should be undone at the South is precisely what is included in his own career. When Mirabeau was describing all the great qualities that should distinguish a popular leader, the keenest of French wits said he "had forgotten to add that he should be pock-marked."

Mr. Lamar offers a contrast to Governor Hampton. He generalizes and philosophizes with great ability, and presents the strange combination of a "refined speculatist," and a trustful optimist—embodying some of the characteristics of Mr. Calhoun whom he devoutly followed, and of Mr. Seward, whom he always opposed. Mr. Lamar is the only man in public life who can be praised in New England for a warm eulogy of Charles Sumner, and immediately afterward elected to the Senate as the representative of the white-line Democrats of Mississippi. And yet, inconsistent as these positions are, it is the dream of Mr. Lamar's life to reconcile them. He is intensely devoted to the South; he has generous aspirations for the Union of the States; he is shackled with the narrowing dogma

of State rights, and yet withal has boundless hopes for an imperial republic whose power shall lead and direct the civilization of the world. Hedged in by opposing theories, embarrassed by forces that seem irreconcilable, Mr. Lamar, probably more than any other man of the Democratic party, gives anxious and inquiring thought to the future.

Of Mr. Stephens and Mr. Hendricks it may be said that in their treatment of the question, one aims to vindicate the course of his native Georgia; the other to gain some advantage for the Democratic party of the nation. Mr. Stephens has the mind of a metaphysician, led astray sometimes in his logic and sometimes in his facts, but aiming always to promote the interest of the State to which he is devoted. Mr. Hendricks is an accomplished political leader, with large experience, possessed of tact and address, and instinctively viewing every public question from its relation to the fate and fortune of his party. Mr. Stephens argues from the standpoint of Georgia; Mr. Hendricks has in view the Democracy of the nation.

These Democratic leaders unite in upholding the suffrage of the negro under existing circumstances, but each with an obvious feeling that some contradiction is to be reconciled, some record to be amended, some consistency to be vindicated. They all unite, however, on the common ground of denouncing the men who controlled the negro vote at the outset in the interest of the Republican party; and the underlying conclusion, not expressed but implied, is that if the military force had been absent and the persuasion of the Freedmen's Bureau had not been applied, the negroes would have flocked, as doves to their windows, to the outstretched and protecting arms of the Democratic party. This seems to me to be sheer recklessness of assumption; the very bravado of argument. Why should the negro have been disposed to vote with the Democratic party? Mr. Hendricks says he was made to feel that "he owed servitude to a party through the agency of United States officials and the Freedmen's Bureau." But can Mr. Hendricks give any possible reason why the negro should have voted with the Democratic party at that time? Does not the record of Mr. Hendricks himself as the leader of the Democratic party in the Senate show the most conclusive reasons why the negro should have voted with the Republicans?

Mr. Hendricks argued and voted in the Senate against emancipating the negro from helpless slavery; when made free, Mr. Hendricks argued and voted against making him a citizen; citizenship

conferred, Mr. Hendricks argued and voted against bestowing suffrage; and he argued and voted against conferring upon the negro the most ordinary civil rights, even inveighing in the Senate against giving to colored men who were eligible to seats in Congress the simple privilege of a seat in the horse-cars of Washington in common with white men. Conceding to the negro the ordinary instincts and prejudices of human nature, it must have required the combined and energetic action of the United States army, the Federal officers, and the Freedmen's Bureau, to hold him back from his impulsive and irrepressible desire to vote with Mr. Hendricks and the Democratic party!

I do not use this *argumentum ad hominem* in any personal or offensive sense toward Mr. Hendricks. His position was not different from his associates and his followers in the Democratic party on all the questions where I have referred to his votes and his speeches. Mr. Lamar occupied the same ground practically, and so did Mr. Stephens and Governor Hampton. Indeed, the entire Democratic party opposed legislation for the amelioration of the negro's condition at every step, and opposed it not with the mere registry of negative votes, but with an energetic hostility that too often assumed the phase of anger and acrimony. Emancipation from slavery, grant of citizenship and civil rights, conferring of suffrage, were all carried for the negro by the Republicans against a protesting and resisting Democracy. Democratic Senators and Representatives in Congress fought all these measures with unflagging zeal. In State Legislatures, on the stump, in the partisan press, through all the agencies that influence and direct public opinion, the Democrats showed implacable hostility to each and every step that was taken toward elevating the negro to a better condition. So that it was inevitable that the negro who had sense enough to feel that he was free, who had perception enough to know that he was a citizen, who had pride enough to realize that he was a voter, felt and knew and realized that these great enfranchisements had been conferred upon him by the persistent energy of the Republican party, and in spite of the efforts of an embittered and united Democracy. Is further statement necessary to explain why the negro should have cast his vote for the Republican party when a free ballot was in his hands? It can be readily understood why he may now cast a vote for the Democratic party when he is no longer allowed freedom of choice, when he is no longer master of his own ballot.

It must be borne in mind that the Republicans were urged and

hastened to measures of amelioration for the negro by very dangerous developments in the Southern States looking to his reënslavement, in fact if not in form. The year that followed the accession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency was full of anxiety and of warning to all the lovers of justice, to all who hoped for "a more perfect Union" of the States. In nearly every one of the Confederate States the white inhabitants assumed that they were to be restored to the Union with their State governments precisely as they were when they seceded in 1861, and that the organic change created by the Thirteenth Amendment might be practically set aside by State legislation. In this belief they exhibited their policy toward the negro. Considering all the circumstances, it would be hard to find in history a more causeless and cruel oppression of a whole race than was embodied in the legislation of those revived and unreconstructed State governments. Their membership was composed wholly of the "ruling class," as they termed it, and in no small degree of Confederate officers below the rank of brigadier-general, who sat in the Legislature in the very uniforms which had distinguished them as enemies of the Union upon the battle-field. Limited space forbids my transcribing the black code wherewith they loaded their statute-books. In Mr. Lamar's State the negroes were forbidden, under very severe penalties, "to keep firearms of any kind"; they were apprenticed, if minors, to labor; preference being given by the statute to their "former owners." Grown men and women were compelled to let their labor by contract, the decision of whose terms was wholly in the hands of the whites; and those who failed to contract were to be seized as "vagrants," heavily fined, and their labor sold by the sheriff at public outcry to the highest bidder. The terms "master" and "mistress" continually recur in the statutes, and the slavery that was thus instituted was a far more degrading, merciless, and mercenary type than that which was blotted out by the Thirteenth Amendment.

South Carolina, whose moderation and justice are so highly praised by Governor Hampton, enacted a code still more cruel than that I have quoted from Mississippi. Firearms were forbidden to the negro, and any violation of the statute was punished by "a fine equal to twice the value of the weapon so unlawfully kept," and, "if that be not immediately paid, by corporeal punishment." It was further provided that "no person of color shall pursue or practice the art, trade, or business of an artisan, mechanic, or shopkeeper, or any other trade or employment (besides that of husbandry or that

of a servant under contract for labor), until he shall have obtained a license from the Judge of the District Court, which license shall be good for one year only." If the license was granted to the negro to be a shopkeeper or peddler, he was compelled to pay one hundred dollars per annum for it, and if he pursued the rudest mechanical calling he could do so only by the payment of a license fee of ten dollars per annum. No such fees were exacted of the whites, and no such fee of free blacks during the era of slavery. The negro was thus hedged in on all sides ; he was down and he was to be kept down, and the chivalric race that denied him a fair and honest competition in the humblest mechanical pursuits were loud in their assertions of his inferiority and his incompetency.

But it was reserved for Louisiana to outdo both South Carolina and Mississippi in this horrible legislation. In that State all agricultural laborers were compelled to make labor contracts during the first ten days of January, for the next year. The contract once made, the laborer was not to be allowed to leave his place of employment during the year except upon conditions not likely to happen and easily prevented. The master was allowed to make deductions of the servants' wages for "injuries done to animals and agricultural implements committed to his care," thus making the negroes responsible for wear and tear. Deductions were to be made for "bad or negligent work," the master being the judge. For every act of "disobedience" a fine of one dollar was imposed on the offender ; disobedience being a technical term made to include, besides "neglect of duty," and "leaving home without permission," such fearful offenses as "impudence," or "swearing," or "indecent language in the presence of the employer, his family, or agent," or "quarreling or fighting with one another." The master or his agent might assail every ear with profaneness aimed at the negro men, and outrage every sentiment of decency in the foul language addressed to the negro women ; but if one of the helpless creatures, goaded to resistance and crazed under tyranny, should answer back with impudence, or should relieve his mind with an oath, or retort indecency upon indecency, he did so at the cost to himself of one dollar for every outburst. The "agent" referred to in the statute is the well-known overseer of the cotton region, and the care with which the law-makers of Louisiana provided that his delicate ears and sensitive nerves should not be offended with an oath or an indecent word from a negro will be appreciated by all who have heard the crack of the whip on a Southern plantation.

It is impossible to quote all the hideous provisions of these statutes, under whose operation the negro would have relapsed gradually and surely into actual and admitted slavery. Kindred legislation was attempted in a large majority of the Confederate States, and it is not uncharitable or illogical to assume that the ultimate reënslavement of the race was the fixed design of those who framed the laws, and of those who attempted to enforce them.

I am not speculating as to what would have been done or might have been done in the Southern States if the National Government had not intervened. I have quoted what actually was done by Legislatures under the control of Southern Democrats, and I am only recalling history when I say that those outrages against human nature were upheld by the Democratic party of the country. All the Democrats whose articles I am reviewing were in various degrees, active or passive, principal or endorser, parties to this legislation; and the fixed determination of the Republican party to thwart it and destroy it called down upon its head all the anathemas of Democratic wrath. But it was just at that point in our history when the Republican party was compelled to decide whether the emancipated slave should be protected by national power or handed over to his late master to be dealt with in the spirit of the enactments I have quoted.

To restore the Union on a safe foundation, to reëstablish law and promote order, to insure justice and equal rights to all, the Republican party was forced to its Reconstruction policy. To hesitate in its adoption was to invite and confirm the statutes of wrong and cruelty to which I have referred. The first step taken was to submit the Fourteenth Amendment, giving citizenship and civil rights to the negro, and forbidding that he be counted in the basis of representation unless he should be reckoned among the voters. The Southern States could have been readily readmitted to all their powers and privileges in the Union by accepting the Fourteenth Amendment, and negro suffrage would not have been forced upon them. The gradual and conservative method of training the negroes for franchise, as suggested and approved by Governor Hampton, had many advocates among Republicans in the North; and, though in my judgment it would have proved delusive and impracticable, it was quite within the power of the South to secure its adoption or at least its trial.

But the States lately in insurrection rejected the Fourteenth Amendment with apparent scorn and defiance. In the Legislatures

of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Florida, it did not receive a single vote; in South Carolina only one vote; in Virginia only one; in Texas five votes; in Arkansas two votes; in Alabama ten; in North Carolina eleven; and in Georgia, where Mr. Stephens boasts that they gave the negro suffrage in advance of the Fifteenth Amendment, only two votes could be found in favor of making the negro even a citizen. It would have been more candid in Mr. Stephens if he had stated that it was the Legislature assembled under the Reconstruction Act that gave suffrage to the negro in Georgia, and that the unreconstructed Legislature, which had his endorsement and sympathies, and which elected him to the United States Senate, not only refused suffrage to the negro, but loaded him with grievous disabilities, and passed a criminal code of barbarous severity for his punishment.

It is necessary to a clear apprehension of the needful facts in this discussion to remember events in the proper order of time. The Fourteenth Amendment was submitted to the States June 13, 1866. In the autumn of that year, or very early in 1867, the Legislatures of all the insurrectionary States except Tennessee had rejected it. Thus and then the question was forced upon us, whether the Congress of the United States, composed wholly of men who had been loyal to the Government, or the Legislatures of the Rebel States, composed wholly of men who had been disloyal to the Government, should determine the basis on which their relations to the Union should be resumed. In such a crisis the Republican party could not hesitate: to halt, indeed, would have been an abandonment of the principles on which the war had been fought; to surrender to the rebel Legislatures would have been cowardly desertion of its loyal friends, and a base betrayal of the Union cause.

And thus, in March, 1867, after and because of the rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment by Southern Legislatures, Congress passed the Reconstruction Act. This was the origin of negro suffrage. The Southern whites knowingly and willfully brought it upon themselves. The Reconstruction Act would never have been demanded had the Southern States accepted the Fourteenth Amendment in good faith. But that amendment contained so many provisions demanded by considerations of great national policy, that its adoption became an absolute necessity. Those who controlled the Federal Government would have been recreant to their plainest duty, had they permitted the power of these States to be wielded by disloyal hands against the measures deemed essential to the security

of the Union. To have destroyed the rebellion on the battle-field, and then permit it to seize the power of eleven States and cry check on all changes in the organic law necessary to prevent future rebellions, would have been a weak and wicked conclusion to the grandest contest ever waged for human rights and for constitutional liberty.

Negro suffrage being thus made a necessity by the obduracy of those who were in control of the South, it became a subsequent necessity to adopt the Fifteenth Amendment. Nothing could have been more despicable than to use the negroes to secure the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, and then leave them exposed to the hazard of losing suffrage whenever those who had attempted to reënslave them should regain political power in their States. Hence the Fifteenth Amendment—which never pretended to guarantee universal suffrage, but simply forbade that any man should lose his vote because he had once been a slave, or because his face might be black, or because his remote ancestors came from Africa.

It is matter of sincere congratulation that, after all the contests of the past thirteen years, four eminent leaders of the Democratic party should unite in approving negro suffrage. It will not, I trust, be considered cynical, certainly not offensive, if I venture to suggest that this Democratic harmony on the Republican side of a long contest has been developed just at the time when many causes have conspired to render negro suffrage in the South powerless against the Democratic party. Even in districts where the negro vote is four to one, compared with the whites, the Democrats readily elect the Representatives to Congress. I do not recall any warm approval of negro suffrage by a Democratic leader so long as the negro was able to elect one of his own race or a white Republican. But when his numbers have been overborne by violence, when his white friends have been driven into exile, when murder has been just frequent enough to intimidate the voting majority, and when negro suffrage as a political power has been destroyed, we find leading minds in the Democratic party applauding and upholding it. So lately as February 19, 1872, years after negro suffrage was adopted and while it was still a power in the Southern States, such influential and prominent Democrats as Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, and Mr. Beck, of Kentucky, united in an official report to Congress, wherein they declared, regarding negro suffrage, that "there can be no permanent partition of power nor any peaceable joint exercise of power among such discordant bodies of men. *One or the other*

must have all or none. . . . Pseudo-philanthropists," continued Mr. Bayard and Mr. Beck, "may talk never so loudly about 'equality before the law,' where equality is not found in the great natural law of race ordained by the Creator." Mr. Beck and Mr. Bayard made this report when fresh from protracted intercourse with Southern Democratic leaders, and it will not be denied that in their expressions they fully represented the opinions of their party at that time. Will it be offensive, if I again ask, what has changed the views of Democrats except the overthrow of free suffrage? So long as the negro can furnish thirty-five Representatives and thirty-five Electors to the South, his suffrage will be upheld in name, and so long as the Democratic party is dominant it will be destroyed in fact.

Mr. Hendricks is a conspicuous convert. The negro is washed and made white in his eyes as soon as he votes the Democratic ticket. He is greatly affected by the fact that negroes "helped to bury a Democratic Congressman whom they had helped to elect." In this simple incident Mr. Hendricks finds great evidence of restored kindliness between the races. Was there ever a time when the colored people refused to show respect to the whites, living or dead? The evidence would have been stronger if an instance had been quoted of white men paying respect to a deceased negro. But, unhappily, if funeral incidents are to be cited, Mr. Hendricks will find more than he cares to quote. Almost at the moment of his writing, testimony was given before a Senate Committee in Louisiana not only of the murder of two negroes for the sin of being Republicans, but of their being left without sepulture, and actually devoured by hogs on the highway! Their remains—the phrase is doubly significant in this case—were finally covered with earth by some negro women, the negro men having all fled from their white persecutors.

Mr. Hendricks's high praise of the governments of South Carolina and Louisiana, since they fell under Democratic control, is not justified by the facts. Where he speaks of Republicans connected with the government of South Carolina "meeting their punishment in prison and seeking their safety in flight," he provokes an easy retort. One of these men, an ex-Congressman, was sent to prison on disgracefully insufficient evidence, the Judge delivering a bitter partisan harangue when he charged the jury to convict. Governor Hampton, to his credit be it said, pardoned him, and it would have been still more to his credit had he pardoned him more promptly. In another case the Executive of a great Commonwealth

refused Governor Hampton's requisition, on the ground that the man was not wanted for the cause and the crime alleged. These criminal charges have in many cases borne the appearance of mere political persecutions, in which the victims are not the persons most dishonored.

On the other hand, when South Carolinians by the hundred were indicted for interfering with the freedom of elections in killing negroes by the score, it was found impossible to convict one of them. Against the clearest and most overwhelming evidence, these murderers were allowed to go free, and the prosecutions were abandoned. South Carolina courts appear to be "organized to convict" when a Republican is on trial, and South Carolina juries impaneled to acquit when Democrats are charged with crime.

In the opinion of Mr. Hendricks, Louisiana under Republican control was the very worst of all the Southern governments. A change was made in April, 1877, and since then the Democratic party has held undisputed power in that State. When the Republicans surrendered the State there was a surplus of $300,000 in its treasury; taxes were collected, credit maintained, and interest on its public securities promptly and faithfully paid. To-day, after twenty-one months of Democratic government, according to public and undenied report, the State is bankrupt; its taxes uncollected; its treasury empty; nearly half a million overdrawn on its fiscal agent; the interest on its public debt unpaid, and its most sacred obligations protested and dishonored. Had such decadence happened in a State under Republican rule—succeeding a prosperous Democratic administration—the denunciations of Mr. Hendricks might have been fittingly applied.

My conclusions on the topic under discussion are:

First. Slavery having been constitutionally abolished by the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment, the question of suffrage was unsettled. But it may be safely affirmed that the Republicans had no original design of interfering with the control which the States had always exercised on that question.

Second. The loyal men who had conducted the war to a victorious end were not willing that those who had rebelled against the Union should come back with political power vastly increased beyond that which they had wielded in the days of pro-slavery domination; and hence they proposed the Fourteenth Amendment, practically basing representation in Congress upon the voting population—the same for North and South.

Third. Instead of accepting the Fourteenth Amendment, the insurrectionary States scornfully rejected it, and claimed the right to settle for themselves the terms on which they would resume relations with the Union. And they forthwith proceeded to nullify the Thirteenth Amendment by adopting a series of black laws which remanded the negro to a worse servitude than that from which he had been emancipated.

Fourth. When the Government, administered by loyal hands, found it impossible to secure the necessary guarantees for future safety from the "ruling" or rebel class of the South, they demanded and enforced a Reconstruction in which loyalty should assert its rights. Hence the negro was admitted to suffrage.

Fifth. The negro having aided by loyal votes in securing the great guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Republicans declared that he should not afterward be deprived of suffrage on account of race or color. Hence the Fifteenth Amendment.

Sixth. So long as the negro vote was effective in the South in defeating the Democracy, the leaders of that party denounced and opposed it. They withdraw their opposition just at the moment when, by fraud, intimidation, violence, and murder, free suffrage on the part of the negro in the South is fatally impaired; by which I mean that the negro is not allowed to vote freely where his vote can defeat and elect. As a minority voter in Democratic districts he is not disturbed.

Seventh. The answer so often made, that, compared with the whole number of Congressional districts in the South, only a small number are disturbed, is not apposite, and does not convey the truth. For it is only in the districts where the negroes make a strong and united effort that violence is needed, and there it is generally found. Thus it is said that only in a comparatively few parishes of Louisiana was there any disturbance at the late election. But the Democrats contrived to have a disturbance at the points where it was necessary to overcome a large Republican vote, and of course had none where there was no resistance. It will generally be found that the violence occurs in the districts where the Republicans have a rightful majority.

Eighth. As the matter stands, all violence in the South inures to the benefit of one political party. And that party is counting upon its accession to power and its rule over the country for a series of years by reason of the great number of electoral votes which it wrongfully gains. Financial credit, commercial enterprises, manu-

facturing industries, may all possibly pass under the control of the Democratic party by reason of its unlawful seizure of political power in the South. Our institutions have been tried by the fiery test of war, and have survived. It remains to be seen whether the attempt to govern the country by the power of a "Solid South," unlawfully consolidated, can be successful.

No thoughtful man can consider these questions without deep concern. The mighty power of a republic of fifty millions of people—with a continent for their possession—can only be wielded permanently by being wielded honestly. In a fair and generous struggle for partisan power let us not forget those issues and those ends which are above party. Organized wrong will ultimately be met by organized resistance. The sensitive and dangerous point is in the casting and the counting of free ballots. Impartial suffrage is our theory. It must become our practice. Any party of American citizens can bear to be defeated. No party of American citizens will bear to be defrauded. The men who are interested in a dishonest count are units. The men who are interested in an honest count are millions. I wish to speak for the millions of all political parties, and in their name to declare that the Republic must be strong enough, and shall be strong enough, to protect the weakest of its citizens in all their rights. To this simple and sublime principle let us, in the lofty language of Burke, "attest the retiring generations, let us attest the advancing generations, between which, as a link in the great chain of eternal order, we stand!"

JAMES G. BLAINE.

II.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF JONATHAN EDWARDS.

It is pretty clearly implied in a remark of Dugald Stewart that up to his time Jonathan Edwards was the only philosopher of note that America had produced. "He," it is added, "in logical acuteness and subtilty, does not yield to any disputant bred in the universities of Europe."* This was said more than a half century ago; but all will agree that Edwards even now is incomparably the foremost among those who have cultivated metaphysical studies on this side of the Atlantic. He was the pioneer in this department, and the same might almost be said of his relation to our literature generally. "The foundation of the literature of independent America," writes F. D. Maurice, speaking of the treatise on the Will, "was laid in a book which was published while it was a subject of the British crown."† Edwards is an example of that rare mingling of intellectual subtilty and spiritual insight, of logical acumen with mystical fervor, which make up together the largest mental endowment, and qualify their possessor for the highest achievements in the field of thought. Augustine is an instance of this remarkable blending of the rational with the mystical, this union of light and heat. In his "Confessions," in the midst of glowing utterances of adoration, transporting visions of a glory unseen, he turns off into a speculation upon the nature of time, or an argument upon the infinitude of the divine attributes. In the typical men of the scholastic age, Anselm and Aquinas, there is found the same combination of intellect and feeling. The understanding follows out its problems, being quickened and illuminated, yet not in the least blinded, from a deeper source of light. The lack of the one element, that of devout sensibility, was the weakness of Abélard; a degree of deficiency in the other,

* Stewart's "Works" (Hamilton's ed.), vol. i., p. 424.

† "Modern Philosophy," p. 469.

hat of dialectic enterprise and keenness, lessened the greatness of Bernard. A like conjunction of diverse qualities appears in the nost subtile, the most powerful, the most interesting of living English theologians, John Henry Newman. Let any competent student ake up Edwards's treatise on the Will, and mark the sharp, unelenting logic with which he pursues his opponents through all the ntricate windings of that perplexed controversy, and then turn to he same author's sermon on the "Nature and Reality of Spiritual ight." It is like passing from the pages of Aristotle to a sermon f John Tauler; only that, unlike most of the mystics, Edwards nows how to analyze the experiences of the heart, and to use them s data for scientific conclusions. He has left a record of meditaions on "the beauty and sweetness" of divine things, when even he whole face of nature was transfigured to his vision. We see his keen dialectician, whose power of subtile argument Sir James Mackintosh pronounces to have been "perhaps unmatched, certainy unsurpassed, among men,"* melted in an ecstasy of emotion. Ve shall have occasion to point out the effect of this characteristic pon his ethical and religious philosophy.

Edwards was only thirteen when he entered Yale College; and ; was while he was a member of college that he committed to writng philosophical remarks that would do credit to the ablest and naturest mind. He is one of the most astonishing examples of recocious mental development of which we have any record. 'ascal is in some respects a parallel instance. He was only twelve ears old when he framed from his own ingenious observations a issertation upon sound, and when he discovered anew, without aid, ne truths of geometry as far as the thirty-second proposition of ne first book of Euclid. It was chiefly as a mathematical prodigy nat Pascal was distinguished in his boyhood. Edwards at the age f twelve wrote a letter, which is really a well-reasoned scientific aper, on the habits of the spider, as ascertained from his own sinularly accurate observations.† His copious "Notes" on physics nd natural science, which afford a striking proof of his intellectual rasp and versatility, were written, at least in great part, before he ft college. But prior to the composition of these, he set down, nder the head of "Mind," a series of metaphysical definitions and iscussions, which, as emanating from a boy of sixteen or seven-

* "Progress of Ethical Philosophy," p. 108 (Philadelphia, 1832).

† In Dwight's "Life of Edwards," chap. ii.

teen, are truly marvelous. In them may be found the germs of much that is developed afterward in his theological writings.

Edwards was a Berkeleian. A large part of these juvenile papers are devoted to the elucidation and defense of the doctrine that the percepts of sense have no existence independently of mind; that, although they are not originated by us, but by a power without, that power is not a material substance or substratum, but the will of God acting in a uniform method. Sensations are the divine ideas, communicated to creaturely minds by the will of Him in whom these ideas inhere, and by whom they all consist. "The world is an ideal one; and the law of creating and the succession of these ideas is constant and regular."* If we suppose that the world is mental in the sense explained, natural philosophy is not in the least affected.† The common questions which are brought forward by way of objection—as, "What becomes of material things when we do not see them?"—he ingeniously answers, and in a tone that renders his own belief in their nullity plain. He quotes from Cudworth Plato's famous passage about the cave, to illustrate his doctrine that material things are shadows and not substances. The substance of all bodies is declared to be "the infinitely exact and precise divine idea, together with an answerable, perfectly exact, precise, and stable will, with respect to corresponding communications to created minds, and effects on their minds."‡ The objection that the ideal theory is contradicted by common sense, he confutes by showing how erroneous, on any theory, is the vulgar impression as to the character of our perception of distant objects, and by exhibiting the Berkeleian discovery, which Professor Bowen calls the one great psychological discovery of later times,§ that our impression of objects of sense from visual perception is totally diverse from that given through the sense of touch. Take away color, take away the secondary qualities of matter which are confessed to be relative—view matter as one who is born blind would regard it—and we have only resistance, with the connected ideas of place and of space. Matter is thus known to be something quite different from what the vulgar imagine it to be. So the way is opened for a more just appreciation of the ideal theory, and for the conclusion, which Edwards considers to be the truth, that there are only spiritual beings or substances in the universe.

* Dwight's "Life," p. 669.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid., p. 674.
§ "Modern Philosophy," p. 141.

It is important to decide whether Edwards adhered to the Berkeleian doctrine in after-life. It is found in the "Notes on Natural Philosophy," as well as in the manuscript entitled "Mind." These, however, were nearly contemporaneous. But in the last-mentioned manuscript there are passages inserted of a somewhat later date; and in these the same doctrine is defended.* Moreover, I find in the treatise on "Original Sin," one of his latest compositions and a posthumous publication, this remark: "The course of nature is demonstrated by late improvements in philosophy to be indeed what our author himself says it is, viz., nothing but the established order of the agency and operation of the Author of nature."† Here it is altogether probable that the reference is to the philosophy of Berkeley. With this passage may be compared incidental statements on perception, in the treatise on the Will, which, however, do not go so far as necessarily to imply the Berkeleian theory.‡

A less important yet interesting question relates to the particular source from which Edwards derived his acquaintance with Berkeley. Professor Fraser, in his very thorough and instructive biography of this philosopher, conjectures that it may have been through the influence of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who was a personal friend of the philosopher, and adopted his system. Johnson was a tutor at Yale from 1716 to 1719, when Edwards was a student. But, from 1717 to 1719, a portion of the students, of whom Edwards was one, were taught at Wethersfield, Johnson remaining in New Haven. The seceding students who went to Wethersfield did not regard Tutor Johnson with favor. Nor is it certain that he had himself espoused the Berkeleian theory at that time. But the "Theory of Vision" was given to the world in 1709, and the "Principles of Human Knowledge" in 1710; so that it is not improbable that copies of these works had come into the hands of Edwards, independently of Johnson. They found in him an eager and congenial disciple.

Locke is the author whose stimulating influence on Edwards is most obvious. He read Locke when he was fourteen years old, with a delight greater, to use his own words, "than the most greedy miser finds when gathering up handfuls of silver and gold from some newly-discovered treasure."§ Deeply affected as Edwards was by this great writer, he read Locke with independence, and not only

* See Dwight's "Life," p. 674.
† Dwight's edition, vol. ii., p. 540.
‡ Vol. ii., pp. 206, 207.
§ Dwight's "Life," p. 30.

pursued a theological direction quite opposite to that of his master, but also criticises not unfrequently his doctrines and arguments. For example, he exposes the fallacy of the illustration by which Locke would support his distinction between preference and choice; and he likewise shows that Locke does not rightly define the difference between desire and will.* In this last point, Locke goes counter to the description which he gives of the will in the context, according to which it can not be at variance with predominant desire. Edwards could easily detect the inconsistency of Locke in postulating a power to suspend the prosecution of a desire; since this act of suspension must itself be a choice, determined, like every other, on Locke's principles, by the strongest motive. It is to Locke's chapter on "Power" that Edwards was most indebted for quickening suggestions. This discussion, as we are explicitly informed, caused him to perceive that an evil man may properly be said to have a natural or physical ability to be good. Locke anticipates Edwards in combating the proposition that choice springs from a previous state of indifferency, an absolute neutrality of feeling, either preceding the act of judgment or interposed between that act and the act of will. Locke's conception of liberty as relating exclusively to the effects of choice, or events consecutive to volition, and not to the origination of choice itself, is precisely coincident with that of Edwards. "Freedom," says Locke, "consists in the dependence of the existence, or not-existence, of any action upon our volition of it." Locke asserts that the question whether the will itself be free or not is unreasonable and unintelligible; and he precedes Edwards in seeking to fasten upon one who asks whether a man is free to choose in a particular way rather than in the opposite, the absurdity of assuming the possibility of an infinite series of choices, or of inquiring whether an identical proposition is true. "To choose as one pleases," if it does not mean "to choose as one chooses to choose"—which involves the absurdity of a series of choices *ad infinitum*—can only mean "to choose as one actually chooses," a futile identical proposition. In the psychology of the act of choice there is no essential difference between Locke and Edwards. Both represent the mind as perpetually moved by the desire of good. Locke's invariable antecedent of choice, "uneasiness of desire," or last dictate of the understanding as to good or happiness, does not differ from Edwards's "view of the mind as to

* Vol. ii., pp. 16, 17.

he greatest apparent good." In one grand peculiarity they coin-ide: will and sensibility are confounded. The twofold division f the powers of the mind still prevailed in philosophy. We are ndued with understanding and will; and mental phenomena which lo not belong to the understanding are relegated to the will. It s impossible to ignore wholly the existence of a third department f our nature; and the principal inconsistency of Edwards in his iscussions of this subject, in his various writings, is the failure ersistently to identify or persistently to distinguish voluntary and nvoluntary inclinations. Inclination and choice are treated as in-istinguishable,* and yet the one is spoken of as the antecedent nd cause of the other. The ambiguity of "inclination" and of s synonyms has been a fruitful source of confusion. It was eserved for the metaphysicians of the present century to establish ne bounds between sensibility, an involuntary function, and will. ; is important, however, not to overlook the distinction between nose choices which are permanent states of the will, and constitute ne abiding principles of character and motives of action, and the ubsidiary purposes and volitions which they dictate. It is right o add that, however Edwards may have owed to Locke pregnant ints on the subject of the will, these fell into the richest soil; and ne doctrine of philosophical necessity was elaborated and fortified y the younger writer with a much more rigid logic and a far wider weep of argument than can be claimed for Locke's discussion. ocke modified his opinions from one edition to another; and his rrespondence with Limborch discloses the fact that he was him-lf not satisfied with the views of the subject which he had pre-nted in his work. The conviction of Edwards, on the other hand, as attended by no misgivings, and staid with him to the end of fe.

The resemblance of Edwards's treatise on the Will to the trea-es of Hobbes and Collins on the same subject is another topic that erits attention. As to Hobbes, Edwards has occasion to ob-rve that he had never read him. There is no probability that he d ever seen a copy of Collins's "Inquiry." Edwards was not the an to conceal a real obligation. His intellectual resources were o large to make it requisite for him to borrow, and no one has er questioned his thorough honesty. Whatever similarity is und to exist between him and the authors referred to is accidental.

* See, e. g., vol. v., pp. 10, 11.

Hobbes, like Edwards, holds that "he is *free* to do a thing, that he may do it if he have the will to do it, and may forbear if he have the will to forbear"*—that is, freedom is concerned not with the genesis, but with the event, of the choice. "The last dictate of the judgment concerning the good or bad that may follow on any action," in agreement with Edwards, "is made the proximate efficient cause of the will's determination on one side or the other."† The objection that counsels, admonitions, commands, and the like, are vain and useless on the necessitarian doctrine, is met by Hobbes with the retort that, on no other doctrine, can they have any effect at all. This is precisely in the manner of Edwards. The argument for necessity from the principle of causation, applied to the determinations of the will, is substantially the same in both writers. Collins brings forward the same definition of liberty as "a power in man to do as he wills, or pleases."‡ He applies, also, the *reductio ad absurdum* to the statement that a man can choose as he pleases: it is an identical proposition.§ He seeks to prove the necessity of volitions by bringing them under the law of cause and effect, and by driving his antagonists into the admission that the mind is determined by causal agency to choose so and not otherwise, the alternative being atheism.‖ This corresponds closely to the reasoning of Edwards. Their arguments from the divine foreknowledge are in substance the same.¶ Things must be certain in order to be foreseen, and they are not certain unless antecedent causes render them certain. Persuasions, appeals, and laws, are addressed to men only on the supposition that they tend to produce effects, or contain within them causal energy. These coincidences between Edwards and the authors above named are really not remarkable. The defenders of the doctrine of necessity naturally take one path. They demand an explanation of the determination of the will, so far as it involves the election of one thing in preference to another. They deny that the mere power of willing accounts for the *specification* of the choice, by which one thing is taken and another rejected. Taking this weapon, the axiom of cause and effect, they chase their opponents out of every place of refuge. Edwards is peculiar only in the surpassing keenness and unsparing persistency with which he carries on the combat, ever

* "Works" (Molesworth's edition), vol. ii., p. 410.
‡ "Inquiry" (London, 1717), p. 2.
‖ Pp. 58, 59.
† P. 247.
§ P. 41.
¶ P. 83 seq.

anticipating defenses against his logic which had not been as yet set up. He was anxious to demolish forts even before they were erected. His habit of taking up all conceivable objections to the proposition which he advocates, in advance of the opponent, is one main source of his strength as a disputant. He not only fires his own gun, but spikes that of the enemy.

It is far from being true that Edwards was the first to assert the impropriety of the term "necessary" as a predicate of acts of will, on the ground that necessity presupposes an opposition of the will, which, of course, is precluded when the occurrence in question is itself a choice. I am constrained to that to which my will is opposed, but which nevertheless occurs. That is necessary "which choice can not prevent."* The same objection is made to the terms "irresistible," "unavoidable," "inevitable," "unable," and their synonyms, as descriptive of the determinations of the will. I do not find in Augustine this criticism of the above-mentioned terms in any explicit form; yet there lurks continually under his statements the feeling that underlies this criticism; as, for instance, when he speaks of "the most blessed necessity" of not sinning, under which the Deity is placed, "if necessity it is to be called"—"si necessitas dicenda est."† But the objection to all terms implying coercion, especially to the word "necessity," is set forth by Thomas Aquinas as clearly as by Edwards. "That which is moved by another," writes Thomas, "is said to be constrained (cogi), if it is moved against its own inclination (contra inclinationem propriam); but if it be moved by another which gives to it its own inclination (quod sibi dat propriam inclinationem), it is not said to be constrained . . . . So God in moving the will does not constrain it, because he gives to it its own inclination. To be moved voluntarily is to be moved of one's self, that is, from an internal principle; but that intrinsic principle can be moved by another principle extrinsic; *and so to be moved of one's self is not inconsistent with being moved by another.*"‡

It is the doctrine of Edwards, then, that the will is determined by "that view of the mind which has the greatest degree of previous tendency to excite volition."§ This antecedent mental state secures the result by a strictly causal efficiency. Moral necessity is distinguished from the natural necessity that prevails in material

* Edwards's "Works," vol. ii., p. 84.
† Op. imp., i., 103.
‡ "Summa," Part I., Question 5, Article 4.
§ "Works," vol. ii., p. 25.

nature, in that the former is concerned with mental phenomena, with motives and the volitions which they produce; but the difference "does not lie so much in the nature of the *connection*, as in the two terms *connected*." * It is cause and effect in both cases. To the objection that morality and responsibility are subverted by this doctrine, Edwards replies that men are responsible for their choices, no matter what the causes of them may be; that moral quality inheres in the choices themselves, and not in their causes. As liberty "does not consider anything of the cause of the choice," † so it is with moral accountableness, with merit and ill-desert. Sufficient that the choice exists in the man as an operation of will. ‡ On no other hypothesis than the necessitarian did Edwards think it possible to hold to the omniscience of God and his universal providence and government. Principles which freethinkers maintained for other ends, he defended as the indispensable foundations of religion.

Edwards came forward as the champion of Calvinism against Whitby and its other English assailants. He scattered to the winds the loosely defined notions of free-will which made it include the choosing of choices, and choice from a previous indifference, or apart from all influence of motives. It is not true that, out of various possible choices, the mind decides upon, i. e., chooses one. Nor is it true that the act of choice starts into being independently of inducements. Although his adversaries must have felt that he took advantage of the infirmities of language, and confuted what they said rather than what they meant, yet it is quite untrue that he was guilty of any conscious unfairness. He was not the man purposely to surround himself with

> . . . . "mist, the common gloss
> Of theologians."

He had no faith in their conception of freedom, however it might be formulated. But, in prosecuting his purpose, Edwards set up a philosophy of the will which is not consonant with the doctrine that had been held by the main body of Augustinian theologians. It is true that the Wittenberg Reformers, at the outset, and Calvin, in his earlier writings, especially the "Institutes," pushed predestination to the supralapsarian extreme. The doctrine of Augustine, however, and the more general doctrine even of Cal-

* Ibid., p. 34. † P. 39, cf., p. 191. ‡ P. 186 seq. (Part IV., § 1).

vinistic theologians, the doctrine of Calvin himself, and of the Westminster Assembly's creeds, is that a certain liberty of will *ad utrumvis*, or the power of contrary choice, had belonged to the first man, but had disappeared in the act of transgression, which brought his will into bondage to evil. It was the common doctrine, too, that in mankind now, while the will is enslaved as regards religious obedience, it remains free outside of this province, in all civil and secular concerns. In this wide domain the power of contrary choice still subsists. But Edwards's conception of the will admits of no such distinction. Freedom is as predicable of men now as of Adam before he sinned ; of religious morality as of the affairs of worldly business ; of man as of God. He asserts most emphatically that he holds men to be possessed now of all the liberty which it is possible to imagine, or which it ever entered into the heart of any man to conceive.* Of course, there can have been no loss of liberty, no forfeiture of a prerogative once possessed. Philosophical necessity belongs to the very nature of the will. Therefore, it binds all spiritual beings alike. This is not the philosophy of Augustine or of the Westminster divines. They held to a mutability of will once belonging to man, but now lost ; to a freedom pertaining at present to men in one sphere of action, but not in another.

Refraining, for the present, from comments on the drift of this philosophical creed, we follow this acute and powerful thinker into another but adjacent field. Not satisfied with the timid, half-hearted way in which Watts, Doddridge, and other English Calvinists of that day, had attenuated the doctrine of original sin, in deference to the attacks of the Arminians, Edwards undertook to reclaim the ground which had been surrendered, and to put to rout the confident assailants. For their "glorying and insults" he believed there was no foundation.† He took up a great theme, belonging alike to philosophy and theology, the dominion of moral evil in the race of mankind. It can not be said that he does not squarely grapple with his adversaries. He fully understood himself, and had the courage which comes from undoubting conviction. He invited for his arguments the closest scrutiny, and only deprecated the objection that they were "metaphysical," as vague and impertinent. "The question is not," he on one occasion remarks, "whether what is said be metaphysics, physics, logic, or mathematics, Latin, English, French, or Mohawk, but whether the reasoning be good

* Vol. ii., p. 293.

† Dwight's "Life," p. 569.

and the arguments truly conclusive."* His ardor is a white heat which never moves him to substitute declamation for reasoning. In this treatise on "Original Sin," he blinks no difficulties; but, having established by cogent reasoning and by Scripture, with appeals to heathen as well as Christian authority, the tremendous fact of sin, as a universal characteristic of mankind, he endeavors to prove that men are truly, and not by any legal fiction, judged to be sinful from the start, and literally guilty of the primal transgression. To this end, he seeks to bring the continuance of sin in the individuals of the race, onward from the beginning of their personal life, under the familiar law of habit. It is analogous to the self-perpetuation of any habit which arises from an initial act. To prove that Adam's act *was* our act, he launches out into a bold speculation on the nature of identity. Personal identity, he asserts, is the effect of the divine will and ordinance. If it consists in the sameness of consciousness, that is kept up by divine acts from moment to moment. If it be thought to consist in the sameness of substance, even this is due to the perpetual divine preservation; and preservation is not to be distinguished from constantly repeated acts of creation. Our identity is a constituted identity, dependent upon the creative will, and in this sense arbitrary, yet conformed to an idea of order. So the individuals of the human race are the continuation of Adam; they truly—that is, by the will and appointment of God—constitute one moral whole. It is strictly true that all participated in the act by which "the species first rebelled against God."† We are not condemned for another's evil choice, but for our own, and the principle of sin within us is only the natural consequence of that original act. Time counts for nothing: the first rising of evil inclination in us is one and the same with the first rising of evil inclination in Adam; it is the members participating in, and consenting to, the act of the head. The habit of sinning follows upon this first rising of evil inclination, in us as in Adam. Such is the constitution of things; and on the divine constitution, the persistence of individuality, of personal consciousness and identity, equally depends. It is to be noticed that, in defense of his realistic theory, Edwards does not lay hold of the traducian hypothesis of the evolution of souls. He admits that souls are created; but so are consciousness and the substance of our individual being at every successive instant of time. Like Anselm, and the

* Vol. ii., p. 474.

† Vol. ii., p. 543.

schoolmen generally, he is a creationist. It is evident that Locke's curious chapter on "Identity and Diversity" * put Edwards on the track on which he advanced to these novel opinions. Locke there attempts to prove that sameness of consciousness is the sole bond of identity, and that identity would remain were consciousness disjoined from one substance and connected with another. Edwards's opinion is peculiar to himself, but there is no reason to doubt that the initial impulse to the reflections that issued in it was imparted by the discussion of Locke.

We turn now to the ethical theory of Edwards. In his masterly treatise on the "Nature of True Virtue," he does not content himself, as philosophers before him had so often done, with the inquiry, What is the abstract quality of virtue, or the foundation of moral obligation? but he sets forth the nature of virtue in the concrete, or the principle of goodness. This he finds to be benevolence, or love to intelligent being. It is love to the entire society of intelligent beings according to their rank, or, to use his phrase, "the amount of being" which belongs to them. It is thus a proportionate love; supreme and absolute as regards God, limited as regards inferior beings. Under this conception, ethics and religion are inseparably connected. True love to man is love to him as being, or as having being in himself, and is indissolubly connected, if it be real and genuine, with a proportionately greater love to God. This benevolence, which embraces in itself all goodness, is the fountain and essence of specific virtues. It is described as a propensity to being, a union of heart to intelligent being, a consent to being, which prompts one to seek the welfare of the objects loved. It is not synonymous with delight in the happiness of others, but is the spring of that delight. Now, he who actually exercises this love delights in the same love when it is seen in others; and this delight induces and involves an additional love to them, the love of complacency. There is a spiritual beauty in benevolence which is perceived only through experience. The relish which this beauty excites and gratifies is possible only to him who is himself benevolent. There is a rectitude in benevolence, a fitness to the nature of the soul and the nature of things; and the perception of this rectitude awakens the sense of obligation, and binds all men to be benevolent. The natural conscience makes a man uneasy "in the consciousness of doing that to others which he should be angry

* Book ii., c. 27.

with them for doing to him, if they were in his case, and he in theirs." This feeling may be resolved into a consciousness of being inconsistent with himself, of a disagreement with his own nature. With the feeling of approbation and disapprobation, there is joined a sense of desert, which consists in a natural agreement, proportion, and harmony between malevolence or injury and resentment and punishment. An essential element in Edwards's whole theory is this double excellence of universal love: first, a rightness recognized by all men, whether they be good or bad; and a peculiar, transcendent beauty revealed only to the good, or on the condition of the exercise of love as a practical principle. Of the natural conscience in its relation to love he says: "Although it sees not, or rather does not *taste* its primary and essential beauty, i. e., it tastes no sweetness in benevolence to being in general, simply considered, for nothing but general benevolence itself can do that; yet this natural conscience, common to mankind, may *approve* it from that uniformity, equality, and justice, which there is in it; and the *demerit* which is seen in the contrary, consisting in the natural agreement between the contrary, and being hated of being-in-general."* The moral sense which is common to all men, and the spiritual sense which belongs to the benevolent, may be called sentiments; but not with the idea that they are merely subjective or arbitrary, and not correspondent to the objective reality. The quality of rightness and the quality of spiritual beauty inhere in love as intrinsic attributes. By means of this distinction between the intrinsic rectitude and the spiritual beauty of the virtuous principle, Edwards built up a foundation for his doctrine of spiritual light, or for that mystical side which has been pointed out in his character and in his conception of religion. The reaction of benevolence against its opposite as being unrighteous and offensive to the sense of spiritual beauty, and as an injury to the beings on whom benevolence fixes its regard, is a form of hatred. This hatred on the part of God and of all benevolent beings toward "the statedly and irreclaimably evil" inspires a feeling of satisfaction in their punishment. Those descriptions in Edwards of the sufferings of incorrigible evil-doers in the future world, and of the contentment of the righteous at beholding them, which grate on the sensibility of most of the present generation, he felt no difficulty in reconciling with the doctrine that impartial and universal love is the essence of virtue.

* Vol. iii., p. 132.

The disinterested love which is identical with virtue is the antipode of self-love. If self-love signifies nothing but a man's loving what is pleasing to him, this is only to say that he loves what he loves; since, with Edwards, loving an object is synonymous with being pleased with it. It is "the same thing as a man's having a faculty of will." * But the proper meaning of self-love is regard to self in distinction from others, or regard to some private interest. Edwards undertakes to resolve all particular affections which do not involve a regard to universal being, and a willingness that the subordinate interest should give way whenever it competes with the rights and the interests of the whole, into self-love. This is true of habits of feeling and actions that are done at the dictate of natural conscience, which may be looked upon "as in some sort arising from self-love, or self-union," or the uneasy consciousness of being inconsistent with one's self. The most questionable feature in Edwards's whole theory is the position to which the natural perception of right and sense of moral obligation are reduced, in order to exalt the sense of spiritual beauty as the one necessary attendant of true virtue. But he is not justly chargeable with displacing the particular affections—love of family, patriotism, and the like—although Robert Hall thinks that Godwin built up his ethical notions on the reasoning of Edwards, as Godwin avowedly leaned upon Edwards in his exposition of liberty and necessity.†

In the dissertation on "God's Chief End in Creation," which, like the essay on the "Nature of True Virtue," was posthumous, Edwards "o'erleaped these earthy bounds," and sought to unveil the motive of the Deity in calling the universe into being. He rejects every notion of an indigence, insufficiency, and mutability in God, or any dependence of the Creator on the creature for any part of his perfection or happiness. Every pantheistic hypothesis of this nature he repels. God must be conceived of as estimating the sum total of his own excellence at its real worth. This regard for his glory, or his glorious perfections, not because they are his, but for their own sake, is not an unworthy feeling or motive to action. The disposition to communicate the infinite fullness of good which inheres eternally in himself, *ad extra*, is an original property of his nature. This incited him to create the world. That his attributes, should be exerted and should be known and esteemed, and become

* Vol. iii., p. 118.

† Compare Hall's "Works" (Bohn's edition), p. 284; Godwin's "Political Justice," vol. i., p. 279 (Dublin, 1793).

a source of joy to other beings, is fit and proper. His delight in his creatures does not militate against his independence, since the creation emanates from himself, and this delight may be resolved into a delight in himself. In God, the love of himself and the love of the public are not to be distinguished as in man, "because God's being, as it were, comprehends all." Nor is it selfish in him to seek for the holiness and happiness of the creature, out of supreme regard to himself, or from the esteem which he has for that excellence, a portion of which he imparts to them, and which he reasonably desires to see an object of honor, and the source of a joy like his own. "For it is the necessary consequence of true esteem and love, that we value others' esteem of the same object, and dislike the contrary. For the same reason, God approves of others' esteem and love of himself." The creature is intended for an eternally increasing nearness and union to God. Under this idea, his "interest must be viewed as one with God's interest," and is therefore not regarded by God as a thing distinct and separate from himself. Thus, all the activities of God return to himself as the final goal.

Edwards was acquainted with Hutcheson. "The calm, stable, universal good-will to all, or the most extensive benevolence," and "the relish and reputation of it," or "the esteem and good-will of a higher kind to all in whom it is found," are phrases of this writer* which remind us of the American philosopher. But the scientific construction of the theory of virtue, especially in the place which love to God finds in it, is original with Edwards. It is gratifying to notice the admiration which the younger Fichte expresses for this Essay, which is only known to him through the brief sketch of Mackintosh. "What he reports of it," says Fichte," appears to me excellent." † He speaks of the bold and profound thought that God, as the source of love in all creatures, on the same ground loves himself infinitely more than any finite being; and therefore in the creation of the world can have no other end than the revelation of his own perfection, which, it is to be observed, consists in love. ‡ "So," concludes Fichte, "has this solitary thinker of North America risen to the deepest and loftiest ground which can underlie the principle of morals: universal benevolence which in us, as it were, is potentially latent, and in morality is to emerge into full conscious-

* "Moral Philosophy," vol. i., p. 69.

† "Was dieser von ihm berichtet finden wir vortrefflich." "System der Ethik," i., 544.

‡ Pp. 544, 545.

ess and activity, is only the effect of the bond of love, which in-loses us all in God." The degree or amount of being is a some-hat obscure idea; nevertheless the German critic considers it a ue and profound thought that the degree of the perfection of a eing is to determine the degree of love to him. Mackintosh, to hom Fichte owed his knowledge of Edwards, apparently fails, in ne passage, to apprehend Edwards's distinction between love and steem, or benevolence and moral complacency.

In the interesting letter which Edwards wrote to the trustees of rinceton College, he gives reasons for his reluctance to assume the ffice of president of that institution, which he afterward accepted. [e explains that he had always been accustomed to study with pen n hand, recording his best thoughts on innumerable subjects for is own benefit. Among the results of this practice there had rown up in his hands an unfinished work, "a body of divinity in n entire new method, being thrown into the form of a history." his was nothing less than a philosophy of the history of mankind, ontemplated with reference to the redemption of the world by hrist, the center toward which the whole current of anterior events onverged, and from which all subsequent events radiate. There ere to be interwoven in the work "all parts of divinity," in such method as to exhibit to the best advantage their "admirable con-exture and harmony." The conception was a grand one, resem-ling that of Augustine in the "De civitate Dei." The treatise, in s unfinished state, was published after the author's death, under the tle, "A History of the Work of Redemption, containing the Out-nes of a Body of Divinity, including a View of Church History in Method entirely new." In its incomplete form, and notwithstand-ng the greater disadvantage of the author's limited leisure and pportunity for the prosecution of historical investigation, it re-ains an impressive monument of the variety of his powers and of ne broad range of his studies and reflections. He proposed to un-old the course of Divine Providence in all its successive stages, rom the decree of creation to the end of the world. The prepara-on of redemption, the accomplishment of it through the life and eath of Christ, and its effects, are the three divisions into which the ook is cast. He compares the work of redemption, which he under-akes to delineate in its orderly progress, to "a temple that is build-ng: first the workmen are sent forth, then the materials are gath-red, the ground is fitted, and the foundation laid; then the super-tructure is erected, one part after another, till at length the top

stone is laid and all is finished."* Of course the acts of the drama, which are still in the future, have to be learned from prophecy.

We have seen that Edwards believed in predestination in the extreme or supralapsarian form. He incloses in the iron network of philosophical necessity all intelligent beings. Verbal objections to the term "necessity," and the ascription of "a natural ability" to voluntary agents, do not subtract an iota from the real significance of the dogma. The sovereignty of God in the realm of choices, as in the realm of matter, and his omnipresent agency are fundamental in his creed. To the charge that their principles are destructive of morality, the theological advocates of predestination have triumphantly appealed to facts. Where have the obligations of morality been felt more than among the Calvinists of Geneva and of Holland, the Huguenots of France, the Scottish Covenanters, and the Puritans of England and of New England? If the doctrine of necessity has borne bad fruits in the lives of free-thinkers who have espoused it, such is not the case as regards the professors of the Calvinistic creed. It must be observed, however, that it is not from their favorite dogma that extreme Calvinists have drawn their ethics. Their moral sense has been invigorated from other sources. The Stoics believed in fate, but were personally upright and conscientious. They borrowed their ethics from earlier philosophers, and their morals stood in no genetic relation to their metaphysics. With Calvinists, predestination stands as the correlate of the sense of absolute dependence, of faith in the control of Divine Providence, and of gratitude for grace as the source of all that is good within them. Predestination is an inference rather than a premise. Macaulay says of William III.: "The tenet of predestination was the keystone of his religion. He ever declared that, if he were to abandon that tenet, he must abandon with it all belief in a superintending Providence, and must become a mere Epicurean."† Calvinists have not piled up tome upon tome of theological controversy, they have not pined in dungeons and faced death on the battle-field, for the sake of a merely speculative notion. It is the moral truth for which it stands in their minds as the logical equivalent that has made them so strenuous in the maintenance of it.

Julius Müller, one of the ablest of recent theologians, has well

* Vol. iii., p. 171.

† "History of England," vol. ii., p. 149 (New York, 1849).

emarked that, while the supralapsarian conception, by which the rill is held to be determined to good or to evil, in the first man as n all others, by exterior causes, might have been held, and was eld, at a former day, in conjunction with a sincere theism ; such a nion of opposites at present would not be possible. Pantheism ould now be connected with such a philosophical tenet. The ower of God, acting in man through the machinery of motives, ould be held to be the sole efficient. Nay, all things would be aced to impersonal agency. Personality would be considered erely phenomenal. The idea of creative action would be supplanted by that of emanation.

The doctrine of Edwards, apart from all theological prejudice, ails to satisfy the generality of mankind, when it is set up as a omplete and exclusive solution of the problem of liberty and neces-ty. He labors hard to prove that common sense is with him, but e labors in vain. It is one thing, however, to utter a moral pro-est, and another to furnish a logical answer or a valid rectification.

Certain eminent theologians of New England in later times have sserted the power of contrary choice as existing ever in connection rith a previous certainty of the determination of the will being hat it actually is. They have maintained that motives, the inter-al antecedents of choice, constitute a special order of causes, which re distinguished from all others by giving the certainty, but not he necessity, of the action which follows them. On this theory hey claim that a foundation is laid for the practical truth relative o God's providence and human dependence, at the same time that reedom and responsibility are left untouched. Dr. Samuel Clarke, n his "Remarks" on Collins's book, presents the leading points of his theory. Clarke asserts that there exists a principle of self-notion in man, a power of initiating motion, or of voluntary self-etermination. This power is not determined as to the mode of its xertion by anything but itself ; that would involve a contradic-ion. It is self-moving. It is absurd to attribute efficiency to the nental states which are called motives. If they had efficiency, man would be like a clock, or a pair of scales, endowed with sensation or erception. He would not be an agent. What we call motives are are antecedents, or occasional causes.* Clarke shows that the oppo-ite supposition involves an infinite regress of effects with no cause at ll. Moreover, uniformity of action does not imply a necessity in

* "Remarks," etc., p. 9 (London, 1717).

the connection of the act with its antecedents. "The experience of a man's ever doing what he judges reasonable to do, is not at all an experience of his being under any necessity so to do. For concomitancy in this case is no evidence at all of physical connection."* The argument for necessity from God's prescience, Clarke seeks to confute by maintaining the previous certainty of acts, even on the supposition that they are free, and by claiming for God "an infallible judgment concerning contingent truths," which is only a power that we ourselves possess, carried to perfection. This power of judging, however, Clarke subjects to no searching analysis; and his reasoning is hardly sufficient to meet the objections to the possibility of foreknowing contingent actions, which are advanced by Edwards.† The later New England philosophy postulates, however, a certainty which is produced by the antecedent causes, taken in the aggregate. Can we conceive of a causal influence which makes an event infallibly certain, and yet not necessary? On this question the validity of the later New England theorem seems to hinge.

The Scottish philosophy of Sir William Hamilton solves the problem by affirming the inconceivability of both freedom and necessity, on the ground that the first implies a beginning of motion, and the other an infinite regress of effects; and it accepts the truth of free-will on the basis of our moral feelings, the feelings of self-approbation and remorse, praise and blame, which presuppose moral liberty.

A middle position is that taken by able philosophers and theologians, of whom the late Dr. Mozley is a leading representative. We have an apprehension of two truths which appear irreconcilable with one another; but on this ground solely, that our idea or apprehension, in either case, is obscure, imperfect, an incipient and not a completed conception. These truths are therefore mysterious. They are not a zero in our apprehension, nor are they fully comprehended. Hence our deductions from them are subject to a corresponding imperfection. They may serve us, up to a certain point, as the groundwork of moral truth; but neither can be used to subvert that moral truth which is related to the other. When moral truth is contradicted by logic, there is a flaw in the logic; and this is traceable to the imperfect character of the notions which enter into the premises. Mozley would probably sanction the dictum of Coleridge that, when logic seems to clash with moral intuitions,

* "Remarks," etc., p. 25 (London, 1717).

† Treatise on the Will, Part II., § 12.

the superior authority belongs to conscience. It need hardly be said that the problem belongs not exclusively to theology—it belongs to philosophy as well. The perplexities that pertain to it are not escaped by those who renounce the Christian faith.

It is a growing conviction of students of Scripture and of philosophy that, on the subject before us, there is more than one hemisphere of truth. That which both the Calvinist and Arminian chiefly prized was truth, not error. What each contended against was the supposed implications of a proposition which was valued by his opponent from its relation to a set of implications of a different sort. Each connected with his antagonist's thesis inferences which that antagonist repudiated. One hemisphere of truth Jonathan Edwards saw with clearness, and upheld with a strength of argument and a subdued but intense fervency which have never been surpassed.

Edwards died at the age of fifty-four, three months after he had entered upon the duties of president at Princeton. He was an indefatigable student, working often for thirteen hours in the day. A biographer says of him that perhaps there never was a man more constantly retired from the world. He was never physically strong. Not at all morose, but courteous and gentle in his ways, he was yet taciturn, and he himself refers to what he calls "the disagreeable dullness and stiffness of his demeanor, unfitting him for conversation and contact with the world." * His countenance is not such as we should expect a polemical theologian to wear, but is more like that of St. John, according thus with the deep mystical vein of which we have spoken. He is the *doctor angelicus* among our theologians, and, had he lived in the thirteenth century instead of the eighteenth, he would have been decorated by admiring pupils with such a title. If it be true that, in the last century, Berkeley, Hume, and Kant, are the three great names in philosophy, there might have been added to the brief catalogue, had he chosen to devote himself exclusively to metaphysics, the name of Jonathan Edwards. On the memorial window in honor of him, in the chapel of Yale College, of which he is the most illustrious graduate, stands the just inscription: "Ionathan Edwards: summi in ecclesia ordinis vates: fuit rerum sacrarum philosophus qui saeculorum admirationem movet: Dei cultor mystice amantissimus: hic studebat, docebat."

GEORGE P. FISHER.

* Dwight's "Life," p. 568.

III.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM.

STRANGE as it may appear, it is nevertheless a fact that, after nearly four hundred years of conflict between the European and American races for supremacy on this continent, a conflict in which war and peace have alternated almost as frequently as the seasons, we still have presented the question, What shall be done with the Indians? If the graves of the thousands of victims who have fallen in the terrible wars of race had been placed in line, the philanthropist might travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf, and be constantly within sight of green mounds. And yet we marvel at the problem as if some new question of politics or morals had been presented. Indeed, wise men differ in opinion, journalists speculate, divines preach, and statesmen pronounce it still a vexed question.

The most amusing part of the quandary, however, is that it should be regarded as something new and original. After every generation has contended on deadly fields with the hope of settling the question, the home governments enacted laws, the colonies framed rules, every Administration of our Government forced to meet the difficulty, and every Congress discussed the "Indian Question," we are still brought face to face with the perplexing problem.

The real issue in the question which is now before the American people is, whether we shall continue the vacillating and expensive policy that has marred our fair name as a nation and a Christian people, or devise some practical and judicious system by which we can govern one quarter of a million of our population, securing and maintaining their loyalty, raising them from the darkness of barbarism to the light of civilization, and put an end to these interminable and expensive Indian wars.

The supposition that we are near the end of our Indian troubles is erroneous, and the fact that a condition of affairs now exists over an enormous area of our country, in which an American citizen

can not travel, unguarded and unarmed, without the danger of being molested, is, to say the least, preposterous and unsatisfactory.

If, by a dispassionate and impartial discussion of the subject, some measure may be devised that will eradicate the evil, and lead to the adoption of a permanent improvement in the management of our Indian matters, one object of this paper will have been accomplished.

In considering the subject, it might be well to first examine the causes which have produced the present condition of affairs, and, in doing so, if the writer shall allude to some of the sins of his own race, it will only be in order that an unbiased judgment may be formed of both sides of the question.

It will be remembered that one class or race is without representation, and has not the advantages of the press or the telegraph to bring it into communication with the intelligence of the world, and is seldom heard except in the cry of alarm and conflict along the Western frontier. If we dismiss from our minds the prejudice we have against the Indian, we shall be enabled to more clearly understand the impulses that govern both races. Sitting Bull, the great war chief of the Dakota nation, uttered one truth when he said that "there was not one white man who loved an Indian, and not a true Indian but who hated a white man."

Could we but perceive the true character of the Indians, and learn their dispositions, not covered by the cloak of necessity, policy, and interest, we should find that they regard us as a body of false and cruel invaders of their country, while we are too apt to consider them as a treacherous and bloodthirsty race, that should be destroyed by any and all means, yet, if we consider the cause of this feeling, we might more readily understand the result.

The more we study the Indian's character, the more we appreciate the marked distinction between the civilized being and the real savage, yet we shall find that the latter is governed by the same impulses and motives that govern all other men. The want of confidence and the bitter hatred now existing between the two races have been engendered by the warfare that has lasted for centuries, and by the stories of bad faith, cruelty, and wrong, handed down by tradition from father to son until they have become second nature in both. It is unfair to suppose that one party has invariably acted rightly, and that the other is responsible for every wrong that has been committed. We might recount the treachery of the red-man, the atrocity of his crimes, the cruelties of his tortures, and the hideousness of many of his savage customs; we might un-

dertake to estimate the number of his victims, and to picture the numberless valleys which he has illumined by the burning homes of hardy frontiersmen, yet at the same time the other side of the picture might appear equally as black with injustice.

One hundred years before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, the Spanish Government issued a decree authorizing the enslavement of American Indians, as in accord with the law of God and man. Later they were transported to France, to San Domingo and other Spanish colonies, sold into slavery in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Louisiana, and hunted with dogs in Connecticut and Florida. Practically disfranchised by our original Constitution, and deprived either by war or treaty of nearly every tract of land which to them was desirable and to the white man valuable, they were the prey to the grasping avarice of both Jew and Gentile. Step by step a powerful and enterprising race has driven them back from the Atlantic to the far West, until now there is scarcely a spot of ground upon which the Indians have any certainty of maintaining a permanent abode.

It may be well in this connection to remember the fact that in the main the Europeans were kindly treated by the natives, when the former first landed on American shores, and when they came to make a permanent settlement were supplied with food, particularly the Plymouth and Portsmouth colonists, which enabled them to endure the severity of long and cheerless winters. For a time during the early settlement of this country, peace and good will prevailed, but only to be followed by violent and relentless warfare.

Our relations with the Indians have been governed chiefly by treaties and trade, or war and subjugation. By the first we have invariably overreached the natives, and we find the record of broken promises all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific, while many of the fortunes of New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco can be traced directly to Indian tradership. By war the natives have been steadily driven toward the setting sun—a subjugated, doomed race. In council the Indians have produced men of character and intellect, and orators and diplomats of decided ability, while in war they have displayed courage and sagacity of a high order. Education, science, and the resources of the world have enabled us to overcome the savages, and they are now at the mercy of their conquerors. In our treaty relations most extravagant and sacred promises have been given by the highest authorities, and yet these have frequently been disregarded. The intrusions of the

vhite race (occurring now more frequently than ever before), the ıon-compliance with treaty obligations, have been followed by trocities that could alone satisfy a savage and revengeful spirit. We need not dwell upon the original causes that have led to the resent condition of affairs. Facts that have been herein referred o make it almost impossible for the two conflicting elements to armonize. No Administration could stop the tidal wave of immiration that is sweeping over our land; no political party could estrain or control the enterprise of our people, and no man could esire to check the march of civilization. Our progress knew no ounds. The thirst for gold and the restless desire to push beyond ıe horizon have carried our people over every obstacle. We have eclaimed the wilderness and made the barren desert glisten with olden harvest; settlements now cover the hunting-ground of the ıvages; their country has been cut and divided in every conceivale form by the innumerable railroad and telegraph lines and routes f communication and commerce; and the Indians standing in the ıthway of American progress and the development of the wonderıl resources of this country have become the common enemy and ıve been driven to the remote quarters of our territory.

During the time that this wonderful change has been wrought, may be asked, Have the Indians as a body made any progress toard civilization? and in the light of past history we would be ompted to reply, Why should they have abandoned the modes f life which Nature had given them to adopt the customs of their ıemies?

In seeking to find the evidence of enlightenment, the results are ot satisfactory. It is presumed that there is not a race of wild en on the face of the globe who worship the Great Spirit more in cordance with that religion taught in the days of the patriarchs an the natives of this country, and yet after many years of conct with the civilized people we find the footprints of evil as plenful and as common as the evidences of Christianity. Again, in rly days the Indian tribes were to a considerable extent tillers of e soil, but by constant warfare, in which their fields were devasted and their crops destroyed, they have become entirely subjuated, the mere remnant of their former strength, or pushed out on e vast plains of the West where they subsist upon wild fruits and e flesh of animals. Could we obtain accurate statistics, we would ıdoubtedly find that there were more acres of ground cultivated the Indians one hundred years ago than at the present time.

The white race has now obtained such complete control of every quarter of the country and the means of communication with every section are now so ample that the problem resolves itself down to one of two modes of solution, viz., to entirely destroy the race by banishment and extermination, or to adopt some humane and practicable method of improving the condition of the Indians, and in the end make them part and parcel of our great population. The first proposition, though it may be found to have thousands of advocates in different sections of the country, is too abhorrent to every sense of humanity to be considered. The other method is regarded as practicable, but its adoption is considered doubtful.

Looking at the purposes of our Government toward the Indians we find that after subjugating them it has been our policy to collect the different tribes on reservations and support them at the expense of our people. The Indians have in the main abandoned the hope of driving back the invaders of their territory, yet there are some who still cherish the thought, and strange as it may seem it is a fact that the most noted leader among the Indians advanced such a proposition to the writer within the last two years. They now stand in the position of unruly children to indulgent parents, for whom they have very little respect, at times wrongly indulged and again unmercifully punished.

Coming down to our direct or immediate relations with them we find that our policy has been to make them wards of the nation, to be held under close military surveillance, or else to make them pensioners under no other restraint than the influence of one or two individuals. Living without any legitimate government, without any law and without any physical power to control them, what better subjects or more propitious fields could be found for vice and crime?

We have committed our Indian matters to the custody of an Indian Bureau, which for many years was a part of the military establishment of the Government; but, for political reasons and to promote party interests, this Bureau was transferred to the Department of the Interior.

Whether or not our system of Indian management has been a success during the past ten, fifty, or one hundred years, is almost answered in the asking. The Indians, the frontiersmen, the army stationed in the West, and the readers of the daily news in all parts of our country, can answer that question. Another question is frequently asked, Why is our management of Indian affairs less successful than that of our neighbors across the northern boundary

ıd it can be answered in a few words. Their system is permanent, ecided, and just. The tide of immigration in Canada has not en as great as along our frontier; they allow the Indians to live Indians, and do not attempt to force upon the natives the customs hich to them are distasteful. In our own management it is the inion of a very large number of our people that a change for the tter would be desirable; such a measure is now under considera- n, and we have the singular and remarkable phenomenon present- of the traders, the contractors, the interested officials of the est, and many of the best people of the East, advocating one heme, while a great majority of frontier settlers, the officers of e army of long experience on the Plains, and many competent dges in the East, advocating another. The question is one of too ave importance to admit interests of a personal or partisan na- re. It is one of credit or discredit to our Government, and of tal importance to our people. A commission of eminent legisla- rs have been for months investigating the subject, and the great- t danger to be feared is that no good will result, or that a mere ıkeshift will be adopted by which neither party will be benefited. ıe writer would deprecate any radical change without a clearly fined plan for the government and gradual elevation of the In- ın race, for such is believed to be both practicable and judicious. ow, in order that peace may be secured, the Indians benefited, d protection given to the extensive settlements scattered over a eater area than the whole of the Atlantic States, it is believed at a plan could be devised which would enlist the hearty ap- oval and support of men of all parties. The object is surely wor- y of the effort. No body of people whose language, religion, d customs are so entirely different from ours can be expected to eerfully and suddenly adopt our own. The change must be adual, continuous, and in accordance with Nature's laws. The story of nearly every race that has advanced from barbarism to ilization has been through the stages of the hunter, the herds- ın, the agriculturist, and finally reaching those of commerce, echanics, and the higher arts.

It is held, first, that we as a generous people and liberal Govern- nt are bound to give to the Indians the same rights that all other n enjoy, and if we deprive them of these privileges we must n give them the best government possible. Without any legiti- ıte government, and in a section of country where the lawless e under very little restraint, it is useless to suppose that thou-

sands of wild savages thoroughly armed and mounted can be controlled by moral suasion. Even if they were in the midst of comfortable and agreeable surroundings, yet when dissatisfaction is increased by partial imprisonment and quickened by the pangs of hunger, a feeling that is not realized by one man in a thousand in civilized life, it requires more patience and forbearance than savage natures are likely to possess to prevent serious outbreaks.

The experiment of making a police force composed entirely of Indians is a dangerous one, unless they are under the shadow and control of a superior body of white troops, and, if carried to any great extent, will result in rearming the Indians and work disastrously to the frontier settlements. There would be a slight incongruity in a government out on the remote frontier, composed of a strictly non-combatant for chief, with a *posse comitatus* of red warriors, undertaking to control several thousand wild savages!

The available land that can be given to the Indians is being rapidly diminished; they can not be moved farther West; and some political party or administration must take the responsibility of protecting the Indians in their rights of person and property.

The advantage of placing the Indians under some government strong enough to control them and just enough to command their respect is too apparent to admit of argument. The results to be obtained would be:

First. They would be beyond the possibility of doing harm, and the frontier settlements would be freed from their terrifying and devastating presence.

Second. They would be under officials having a knowledge of the Indian country and the Indian character.

Third. Their supplies and annuities would be disbursed through an efficient system of regulations.

Fourth. Besides being amenable to the civil laws, these officers would be under strict military law, subject to trial and punishment for any act that would be "unbecoming a gentleman, or prejudicial to good order."

It is therefore suggested and earnestly recommended that a system which has proved to be eminently practicable should receive at least a fair trial. As the Government has in its employ men who by long and faithful service have established reputations for integrity, character, and ability which can not be disputed—men who have commanded armies, reconstructed States, controlled hundreds of millions of public property, and who during years of experience

on the frontier have opened the way for civilization and Christianity—it is believed that the services of these officials, in efforts to prevent war and elevate the Indian race, would be quite as judicious as their employment when inexperience and mismanagement have culminated in hostilities. Allowing the civilized and semi-civilized Indians to remain under the same supervision as at present, the President of the United States should have power to place the wild and nomadic tribes under the control of the War Department. Officers of known character, integrity, and experience, who would govern them and be interested in improving their condition, should be placed in charge of the different tribes. One difficulty has been, that they have been managed by officials too far away, and who knew nothing of the men they were dealing with. The Indians, as far as possible, should be localized on the public domain, in sections of country to which they are by nature adapted.

The forcing of strong, hardy, mountain Indians from the extreme North to the warmer malarial districts of the South is regarded as cruel, and should be discontinued.

Every effort should be made to locate the Indians by families, for the ties of relationship among them are much stronger than is generally supposed. By this means the Indians will become independent of their tribal relations, and will not be found congregated in large and unsightly camps, as are now usually met with about their agencies.

Much of the army transportation now used in scouting for Indians and clearing the country could be utilized in transporting their stores, breaking the ground, and preparing the way for making the Indians self-supporting.

All supplies, annuities, and disbursements of money should be made under the same system of accountability as now regulates army disbursements. The officers in charge should have sufficient force to preserve order, patrol the reservations, prevent intrusions, recover stolen property, arrest the lawless and those who take refuge in Indian camps to shield themselves from punishment for crimes or to enable them to live without labor, and to keep the Indians upon their reservations and within the limits of their treaties. The officer in charge would be enabled to control or prevent the sale of ammunition, as well as to suppress the sale of intoxicating liquors among the Indians. Many thousands of the Indian ponies, useful only for the war or the chase, should be sold and the proceeds used in the purchase of domestic stock. A large percentage of the

annual appropriations should be employed in the purchase of cattle and other domestic animals; the Indians desire them, and the Plains will support hundreds of thousands of them. They will replace the buffalo, the elk, the deer, and the antelope. These cattle and other animals should be branded and given to the Indians by families; the surplus stock to be sold after three years under such restricted rules as would enable the Indians to receive full return for their property. From a pastoral people the Indians should be induced to become agriculturists; taught the seasons to plant and to harvest the variety of valuable products and the use of machinery as a means of obtaining food. The step from the first grade to the second would be easily accomplished provided the Indians were directed by a firm hand. As they accumulate property and learn industry, there would be a threefold incentive to their remaining at peace, namely, occupation, the fear of confiscation of property, and the loss of the comforts of life.

The above is no idle theory, as the writer has advocated such a policy for years, and by actual and successful experience has demonstrated that such was practicable even with the wildest tribes of the Plains, a part of whom, eighteen months before, had never shaken hands with a white man.

Two more important measures of improvements are also needed, and should be authorized by Congress.

In all communities there will be found disturbing elements, and, to meet this difficulty, courts of justice should be instituted. Frequently outbreaks and depredations are prompted by a few mischievous characters, which could easily be checked by a proper government. This is one secret of success with the Canadian system: where disturbances occur, the guilty suffer, and not whole tribes, including innocent women and children.

As a remark from Sitting Bull has been quoted, we will now repeat the words of Joseph, who says that "the greatest want of the Indian is a system of law by which controversies between Indians, and between Indians and white men, can be settled without appealing to physical force." He says also that "the want of law is the great source of disorder among Indians. They understand the operation of laws, and, if there were any statutes, the Indians would be perfectly content to place themselves in the hands of a proper tribunal, and would not take the righting of their wrongs into their own hands, or retaliate, as they now do, without the law."

Do we need a savage to inform us of the necessity that has

existed for a century? As these people become a part of our population, they should have some tribunal where they could obtain protection in their rights of person and property. A dispute as to the rights of property between an Indian and a white man before a white juror might not be decided in exact accordance with justice *in some localities.* Fortunately, our Constitution provides that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish"; and it is believed that Congress has power, at least in the Territories, to give such jurisdiction either to the military courts, or the Territorial courts, or both, as will secure justice to the Indians in disputes arising between the Indians and the white men.

The warriors may be made to care for their flocks and herds, and the industry of the Indians that is now wasted may be diverted to peaceful and useful pursuits; yet the great work of reformation must be mainly through the youth of the different tribes. The hope of every race is in the rising generation. This important work might well enlist the sympathy and support of all philanthropic and Christian people. As we are under obligation to support the tribes until they become self-sustaining, it might be advisable to support as many as possible of the children of the Indians at places where they would be the least expensive to the Government, and where they would be under the best influence. As the Government has expended hundreds of thousands of dollars in building military posts that are no longer occupied or required, and as there are at these places excellent buildings and large reservations, it would be well to utilize them for educational and industrial purposes. The present school system is regarded as too expensive, and productive of little good. The children are exposed to the degrading influence of camp-life, and the constant moving of the tribes destroys the best efforts of instructors. Several years ago the writer recommended the use of several of our unoccupied military posts, and that as many of the youth of the different tribes as could be gathered voluntarily be placed at these establishments, particularly the sons of chiefs, who will in a few years govern the different tribes. These could soon be taught the English language, habits of industry, the benefits of civilization, the power of the white race, and, after a few years, return to their people with some education, with more intelligence, and with their ideas of life entirely changed for the better. They would in turn become the educators of their own

people, and their influence for good could not be estimated, while the expense of educating them would be less than at present, and thousands would be benefited thereby. The Indians, as they become civilized and educated, as they acquire property and pay taxes toward the support of the Government, should have the same rights of citizenship as all other men enjoy.

The President of the United States should have power to transfer from the War Department to the Interior Department any tribe that shall become so far civilized and peaceable in its disposition as to render it unnecessary to keep its members longer under the control of the military power.

Whenever an emergency arises which has not been foreseen and provided for by Congress, such as failure or destruction of their crops, the President should have power, on the recommendation of the officer in charge or the Governors of the different Territories in which they are living, to order the necessary supplies, as has been done in several instances to white people, in order to prevent great suffering or a serious disturbance of the peace; such supplies to be limited to the smallest necessity, and only until such time as Congress could take action on the matter.

A continuation of the system which has prevailed for the past twenty years will, it is believed, simply perpetuate a condition of affairs the result of which is a chronic state of insecurity and hostilities. The question may as well be met and decided. A race of savages can not by any human ingenuity be civilized and Christianized within a few years of time, neither will 250,000 people with their descendants be destroyed in the next fifty years. The white man and the Indian should be taught to live side by side, each respecting the rights of the other, and both living under wholesome laws, enforced with ample authority and exact justice. Such a government would be most gratifying and beneficial to the Indians, while those men who have invested their capital, and with wonderful enterprise are developing the unparalleled and inexhaustible wealth that for ages has lain dormant in the Western mountains, those people who have left the overcrowded centers of the East, and whose humble homes are now dotting the plains and valleys of the far West, as well as those men who are annually called upon to endure greater exposure and suffering than is required by the troops of any other nation on the globe, would hail with great satisfaction any system that would secure a substantial and lasting peace.

NELSON A. MILES.

IV.

CRYPTOGRAPHY IN POLITICS.

Old as the art of cryptography is, it may be doubted whether it has made great advances in modern times. The need of it is not so pressing as it used to be. "How often," says Mr. Philip Thicknesse, an English writer on the art of deciphering, "do we not hear of a courier being murdered and his dispatches carried off, and for what other purpose but information? and, without the key to decipher letters so written, to what purpose should they be intercepted by such a deed?" Mr. Thicknesse wrote only a hundred years ago; but already there has been so great an improvement in the morals of governments that the custom of killing foreign-office messengers for the sake of their dispatch-bags is practically obsolete in diplomacy, and statesmen have ceased to pillage post-offices or rifle portmanteaus. If they wish for secret papers now, they serve a writ. The telegraph, moreover, has made many of the most difficult of the old codes of cipher unavailable. In this category must be placed all those composed of arbitrary marks, or of words or letters arranged in peculiar positions—in squares, parallelograms, columns, etc. Dr. William Blair, the author of an interesting though now antiquated treatise on "Cipher" in Rees's "Cyclopædia," gives many curious specimens of alphabets constructed of arbitrary signs. Charles I. used a code consisting of short strokes in various positions on a line. The Marquis of Worcester invented a cipher composed of dots and lines variously ordered within a geometrical figure. Dr. Blair made one of three dots, placed over, under, or on the line, by which he could represent no fewer than eighty-one letters, figures, or words. Mr. Thicknesse explained with much particularity, and also with a highly successful if not strictly necessary demonstration of the usefulness of secret writing in affairs of state, a plan of conveying information in the disguise of music, the notes, rests, expression-marks, etc., standing for letters.

As cryptography is now used chiefly for telegraphing, modern ciphers must belong to one of three classes: 1. Words or letters having an arbitrary signification. 2. Numbers representing words or letters. 3. Words or letters having their usual signification but standing in a false order.

After all, the art of cryptography loses nothing by being restricted to the ordinary letters and numerals. The ingenuity expended in devising new alphabets of dots, lines, mathematical and astronomical symbols, and fantastic forms was wasted. One code of this kind is as good or as bad as another, all such "plain ciphers," as they are called, in which the meaning of an arbitrary alphabetic sign is invariable, being easily read by the exercise of a little patience. If *a* is always represented in the cipher by the same symbol, it makes no difference to the translator whether that symbol is an arrangement of dots, or the sign +, or the note ♪, or the figure 4, or the letter *x*. The method of solving a common alphabetic cipher depends upon a knowledge of the relative frequency of certain letters and combinations of letters in ordinary writing. Count how many times each cipher is repeated in the dispatch. The commonest is probably *e*, that being the letter most used in our language. Next in order are likely to be *t*, *a*, *o*, *u*, *i*; afterward *r* and *s*; the rarest letters are *x*, *q*, *j*, *z*. The double letters *ss*, *tt*, *ll*, *dd*, *mm*, *nn*, *oo*, *ee* are frequent; *ee*, *ll*, and *ss* are common terminations, so are *s*, *ed*, *ty*, *ly*, *ing*, *tion*; *a* and *u* are found as terminals of a very few words—for instance, "sea" and "you"; *on* and *no*, *to* and [*n*]*ot*, *of* and *fo* [*r*] often come together in reversed positions; *and* is very common, not only as a word in itself, but as a part of a word; *that*, *this*, *there* are also common; the definite and indefinite articles, *the*, *a*, *an*, are generally suppressed in telegrams. If the words are properly divided in the cipher the interpretation will be child's play; but in most cases all the words are run together, or else the divisions are purposely misplaced. At the beginning of a word *h*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *v*, and *y* must always be followed by a vowel; *b* by *l*, *r*, or a vowel; *q* in any position requires after it a vowel followed by one of the other vowels. Starting with these principles, write opposite the cipher characters all the equivalents which you think you can fix; if you have guessed right, you will soon recognize fragments of words; if you have guessed wrong, some of the letters will be found in impossible combinations, and you must try again. It should be observed that the rule as to the relative frequency of the letters is only a statement of the average

computed from a long passage, say of several pages, and it is often at fault in short messages.

A transparent cipher is formed by shifting the alphabet one or more steps forward or back, using *g*, for example, instead of *a*, *h* for *b*, *i* for *c*, and so on. The only tolerably safe alphabetic cipher is one in which the value of every character is constantly changing. A convenient code of this kind is known as the key-word system. It depends upon a table constructed as follows :

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z
b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a
c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b
d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c
e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d
f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e
g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f
h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i
k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j
l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k
m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l
n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n
p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o
q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p
r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q
s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r
t	u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s
u	v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t
v	w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u
w	x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v
x	y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w
y	z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x
z	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y

A key-word is chosen, and written over the message which is to be turned into cipher. For example, the message is, "Send me money," and the key-word is "Fox"; the words will then be prepared in this manner :

F o x f o x f o x f o
S e n d m e m o n e y

Now find the first letter of the key-word (*f*) in the horizontal row at the top of the table, and the first letter of the message (*s*) in the

first vertical column at the left. Follow the *s* line till it intersects the *f* column, and take the letter which is found at the point of junction (*x*) as the first letter of the cipher. Get the other letters in the same way. The cipher will read : *xski ab rckjm.* To translate it, the key-word must be written over the cipher—

F o x f o x f o x f o
X s k i a b r c k j m

and the previous process reversed ; that is to say, find the first letter of the key (*f*) at the top of the table, run down the column until you come to the first letter of the cipher (*x*), and take for the translation the letter which stands in a line with that *x* in the first column at the left of the table, i. e., *s.* This cipher has one weak point : If you guess any word in any part of the message, you can readily discover the key-word from that, and then the whole secret is out. Now, if you know the subject of the correspondence, an inference as to certain words likely to occur in it will not be difficult, and in any case there are some common words which are rarely missing from dispatches of moderate length. Suppose you have the cipher *xski ab rckjm,* and you suspect that it contains the word "money" ; write that word over the first five letters, and see if the table will yield a satisfactory result by the same process last described. It will not. Try the word in connection with other letters ; when it is placed at the end, you solve the enigma, the letters *rckjm* being converted into *foxfo.* This method of interpretation, however, demands so much time and patience, to say nothing of a measure of good luck, that for ordinary purposes the cipher is quite safe. The key-word system is a very old one, but it has recently been improved and published with modifications for military and commercial purposes.

A more convenient and secure cipher was devised by Mr. Robert Slater, Secretary of the French Atlantic Telegraph Company. This is much used by business men, and specimens of it were recently published in the reports of a famous lawsuit. Mr. Slater's code consists of a vocabulary of 25,000 words, numbered consecutively from 1, and any number that may be agreed upon by the confederates is taken as a key. Suppose the message to be, "Send me money," and the key to be 2,500. "Send" in the vocabulary is numbered 20,364 ; add 2,500, and you have 22,864, opposite which stands the word *unbounded.* By the same process of addition,

"me" is converted into *pianist*, and "money" into *precipitation*. If the key remains invariable, it may be discovered by the system of trial-guessing already described; but the danger of this could be avoided by changing the key at every step—adding 2,500, for example, to the first number, 2,600 to the second, etc. The system admits of countless variations.

In all important political campaigns the use of a telegraphic cipher seems to be necessary. It would hasten the Reform millennium, however, if such messages—being in no right sense of the word private telegrams, but a part of the apparatus of popular elections—could always be collected by Congress after the close of the contest, and exposed to public view, on the ground that the people ought to know exactly how their business has been conducted. A few of the secret messages of the Republican agents and managers during the exciting days of November and December, 1876, have been examined by various committees of Congress, but they are of little importance, and their simple devices for concealment hardly deserve to be called a cipher. The following is a part of one of Mr. William E. Chandler's dispatches from Florida; the rest of it being in plain English:

> Noyes and Kasson will be here on Monday, and Robinson must go immediately to Philadelphia, and then come here. Can we also have Jones again? Rainy for not more than one tenth of Smith's warm apples. You can imagine what the cold fellows are doing.

Mr. Chandler explained that *Robinson* meant $3,000 to be deposited in Philadelphia. *Jones* was $2,000. *Rainy* indicated favorable prospects. *Smith's warm apples* represented two hundred and fifty majority, and the *cold fellows* were the Democrats. With a few dispatches for comparison, anybody acquainted with the history of the Florida canvass could have read such a cipher.

The search for cipher dispatches on the other side yielded no fewer than thirteen different codes, including in elaborate and ingenious forms and combinations all the classes of ciphers mentioned on a preceding page as being adapted to telegraphic correspondence —letters standing for other letters, and used both with fixed and shifting keys, two letters standing for one, numbers representing letters, numbers representing words and phrases, two numbers representing a single letter, words taken in an arbitrary sense, and words transposed so that the message was unintelligible without a key. In the most important dispatches two or more of these sys-

tems were combined to make a cipher within a cipher. A few messages in Oregon were disguised by merely substituting *b* for *a*, and so on through the alphabet; thus, *cfnpsf fyqmjdju* meant "Be more explicit." This solution would occur to almost any intelligent person at first sight; but the cipher was difficult to translate on account of the many blunders which occurred in transmitting it. An alphabet in which every letter was represented by two other letters arbitrarily selected, looked harder. Here is a specimen of it:

Yeeiemnsppaissitpinsititaashshyypiimimnssspeenaaimaennsyisnpinsimimpeaaityyen.

The character of this cipher, however, was easily determined. The abundance of double letters showed that it was not a common alphabetic cipher in which each letter is represented by a single and invariable symbol; and the fact that it contained only ten of the letters of the alphabet proved that it was not read by a shifting key. It must therefore be based upon combinations of letters. This being assumed, a translation was instantly made with the help of a dispatch which was partly in plain English, proper names only being written in cipher. It began: "Gave *ppaishsh* charge of *ityyitns;* he sent to *mapinsimyypiit* but not to the other. Brevard returns sent you to-day." The first cipher word was evidently the name of a person; the second and third appeared to be names of counties. If we suppose each cipher letter to be composed of two characters, we should have for *ityyitns* a word of four letters, the first and third of which are the same. The dispatch belongs to the Florida correspondence, and the only Florida county which meets these conditions is "Dade." The letters of Dade are repeated in the next word, where they fit the interpretation "Brevard"; and all the conjectures so far made accord with the rules respecting the average frequency of letters. Applying the alphabet thus begun to the dispatch quoted above, we obtain the following fragment: "*. . ve . . . dred d . . . ar.*," which is readily converted into "five hundred dollars"; and the rest follows rapidly.

An alphabetic cipher composed entirely of double numbers gave more trouble. There were not many specimens of it, and it happened that the general rule of the relative frequency of letters was here at fault. The fact that the cipher was double having been determined by the same circumstances observed in the double-letter code, the interpretation was finally obtained by a series of trial-guesses on the following dispatch:

845589319327668927204266345 5
339320348955553993425533934844
555227663320205531316642278296 96
932082664893522793449334823131 27
939382483966822034428248934482 96
396642488284523166422766755552
483966823393209339552782486 6
52484455428248898455969652 33
828466489320823399327489342 2066
892731934848934296552082688293206627 66
77558793823399523384488255336677 66
82332748775587934233554284663387662727
823377933193844855426631875548936633209666 33
20669652274855966625939684318233663320845534
77823366844882969693208266489331893482313 1
75932755527744484855965542425534

The date, signature, and address led to the supposition that the message might refer to a dispute about the powers of the Governor in canvassing the Presidential returns. The word "canvass" was accordingly searched for, and at the end of the twelfth line the following arrangement of numbers was found: 84, 66, 33, 87, 66, 27, 27. This proved to be a fortunate guess, and, having six letters to begin with, the alphabet was completed without further difficulty.

Three or four codes were studied in which words were used in an arbitrary sense, or numbers substituted for certain "tell-tale" words. These were read, with more or less assurance of correctness, by collating several dispatches and considering the context; but where the number of specimens is small the interpretation of most of the words is no better than guess-work, and it can not be depended upon. These ciphers, however, always excite suspicion, and they were not employed for communications of much importance, except in combination with another system, to be examined later. The "Dictionary Cipher" is a system in which a substitute is found for every word in the message by turning a certain number of pages in a vocabulary previously chosen. The greater part of the Oregon correspondence was conducted by this cipher, the book used being a small "Household English Dictionary," published in London. The secret was betrayed by somebody who had employed the same code in business transactions, and the process of deciphering after that was little more

than a mechanical operation. A number of dispatches in a dic tionary cipher, however, were found in the Florida and Soutl Carolina bundles, without any clew to the book by which they were made. It was assumed that the volume was a small one, handy to carry in traveling, and that as a matter of convenience the numbe of pages to be turned would not be more than six or seven. Al the small dictionaries accessible were accordingly tried with one o the dispatches, and an easy translation was at last made with "Webster's Pocket Dictionary." The key varied, being applied by turning back sometimes one page, sometimes two, three, four, o five pages. In Oregon the translation went forward instead o back, and the number of pages was always four. The dictionary cipher is clumsy to use, easy to detect, and liable to blunders whicl are not readily corrected.

By far the largest as well as the most momentous part of th recently disclosed correspondence was conducted by means of a elaborate system of substitution and transposition cipher combined Arbitrary equivalents were first written in place of the importan or "tell-tale" words, and then the whole dispatch was transposed The substituted equivalents were sometimes proper nouns (gene ally geographical names, as *America, France, Russia, Copenhagen* and sometimes numbers. The transposition of the words was made ac cording to fixed rules or sequences of numbers, and the sentences wer rearranged for translation by the use of a duplicate key in the hand of the person to whom the dispatch was addressed. Here is a spec men of a message from Columbia to New York; it is only the begi ning of a long telegram, but the sense is complete as far as it goes:

Now bring safe river thing stuff river Warsaw man would as all Cope hagen to have on Warsaw for Schuylkill through Rochester Schuylk receiving river the looks at Danube work received.

It is the combination of the transposition and substitution sy tems which makes this cipher difficult to interpret. Dislocated se tences can be rearranged with a little patience when the meaning the words is known; and a substitution cipher, if enough specime of it are at hand, can be readily interpreted by the context. B here the significance of the most important words and the conte are both unknown. The problem, accordingly, is to rearrange transposed sentence without understanding all the words. The fe would have been almost impossible if the translators had not be supplied with a very large number of dispatches. The first st was a fortunate guess at the meaning of one of the commonest

he substitution ciphers, *Warsaw*. This, after a few trials, was ssumed to be "telegram," and the following message of ten words vas then easily deciphered :

[Cipher.]

Warsaw they read all unchanged last are idiots cant situation.

[Translation.]

Can't read last telegram. Situation unchanged. They are all idiots.

The same order of words was tried on other telegrams. It would t messages of just ten words, but no others. Hence the key evi- ently varied with the length of the dispatch. It was now observed hat the number of words in a message was invariably a multiple of ve. There were a few telegrams of ten words, a few of fifteen, iany of twenty, twenty-five, and so on, and they ran up to two undred, always proceeding by fives. This showed that the con- ederates had taken an assortment of sequences, or blocks of num- ers, arranged them in some arbitrary order, and adopted them as ie keys for transposing and rearranging the dispatches, the num- er of words in the message being the clew by which the receiver new what key or combination of keys he must use in the transla- on. To reconstruct these sequences by collating dispatches of ual length was a work that demanded only time and patience. ive thirty-word telegrams were first written in parallel columns, id every word numbered, thus :

o. of word.	First dispatch.	Second dispatch.	Third dispatch.	Fourth dispatch.	Fifth dispatch.
.....	Me	Very	Figure	To	Rochester
.....	you	news	France	situation	of
.....	do	say	capture	prospects	answer
.....	to	Copenhagen	and	and	America
.....	did	to	over	Africa	yesterday
.....	to	from	what	desperate	to-day
.....	question	can	see	intend	understands
.....	when	Florida	answer	Thames	Thomas
.....	you	you	Europe	soon	my
.....	you	count	Moselle	Europe	Africa
.....	to	much	Russia	report	about
.....	morning	in	shall	every	but
.....	asked	be	little	mischief	it
.....	want	give	and	the	first
.....	where	what	appearances	Warsaw	avail
.....	go	Louisiana	about	in	at
.....	supposed	am	best	dispatch	my
.....	this	placed	hope	in	nothing
.....	until	if	Glasgow	acting	Bavaria
.....	come	mixed	will	this	as
.....	to-night	insure	up	will	will
.....	important	London	keep	state	Copenhagen
.....	and	Oregon	Oregon	all	once
.....	answer	few	America	concert	fear
.....	here	intend	be	morning	reported
.....	Warsawed	things	can	parties	small
.....	adjourned	out	Potomac	France	by
.....	to-morrow	a	behind	in	and
.....	London	us	Edinburgh	and	satisfied
.....	you.	here.	I.	received.	hope.

The task now was to find an order of the numbers which would make sense in all five columns. To do this, little groups of words were tried together, and tested by comparison with the parallel columns. There were a few phrases which seemed to adjust themselves naturally; in the first dispatch, for example, we have the words "adjourned until to-morrow," and if we look for a nominative to adjourned we discover that there is no word in the column that will do except *London*. This order of numbers, 29, 27, 19, 28 gives in the second column "us out if a," and the words that precede "us out" are evidently "intend (25) to (5) count" (10). The sequences thus begun are easily continued; when the path is lost in one column it is found in another; and so the difficulty about disposing of the "blind words" is avoided.

The proper key for a message of 30 words being ascertained, sequences of 15, 20, and 25 were next constructed in the same manner. Keys of 35 and 40 were also made, but they proved to be merely repetitions of shorter ones, and the work was therefore supposed to be complete with the key of 30. But as the process of translating went on, unexpected difficulties presented themselves. The keys fitted so perfectly in many instances that there could be no doubt of their correctness, but there were some dispatches which they did not fit at all. It was soon discovered that for every one of the five blocks of numbers there were *two* keys, or sequences, either of which the confederates used at pleasure, and still later it appeared that the second set of keys was a mathematical correlative of the first set, so that any dispatch could be translated by either one of two keys. For example, key III. consists of the following sequence of 15 numbers, 8, 4, 1, 7, 13, 5, 2, 6, 11, 14, 9, 3, 15, 12, 10, and the correlative key IV. is 3, 7, 12, 2, 6, 8, 4, 1, 11, 15, 9, 14, 5, 10, 13. The beginning of a certain message is translated according to key III. by numbering the words consecutively from 1 to 15, and then picking them out in the order given above, thus:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Too	last	do	received	answer	night	late	Warsaw	under

10	11	12	13	14	15	
stand	me	don't	want	to	quite	you, etc.

But precisely the same translation is obtained by writing over the words the figures of the correlative key IV., and then picking out the words in their natural numerical order, thus:

3	7	12	2	6	8	4	1	11
Too	last	do	received	answer	night	late	Warsaw	under-

15	9	14	5	10	13
tand	me	don't	want	to	quite	you.

The messages having been transposed, the next step was the ranslation of the substitution ciphers, or "blind words." In most ases this was easily done by the context. Words like *London* Returning Board), *Rochester* (votes), *Syracuse* (majority), *Ithaca* Democrats), *Havana* (Republicans), *Copenhagen* (money), were o plain that there could not be a doubt as to their meaning.)thers (*Anna*, *Charles*, *Jane*, *Thomas*, *William*, etc.) proved to ave no meaning at all; they were "nulls," thrown in to fill out he dispatch to the number of words required for the key, and, hen the transposition was effected, they always fell together at he end. Numerals were represented by the names of rivers, and ero by the word *river*. The precise equivalents of several of these iphers were clearly fixed by the telegrams in which the figures of otes and majorities were reported; for example, a South Carolina orrespondent, after telegraphing the majority for the Hayes elec- ors on the face of the returns, adds, "*Rhine* of Tilden's within *Moselle Thames river* of their lowest." Now, it is known that one f the Democratic electors was only 230 votes behind the lowest tepublican elector. That settles the meaning of *Rhine*, *Moselle*, *Thames*, and *river*. The interpretation thus reached is confirmed y numerous other instances. All the other numbers are equally ell ascertained; and, in fact, there is hardly a "blind word" in ie whole vocabulary—there is certainly none of any importance— f which the meaning is not capable of demonstration.

JOHN R. G. HASSARD.

V.

RUSSIAN NOVELS AND NOVELISTS OF THE DAY.

The Diary of a Sportsman, and other Novels.
Smoke: A Novel.
Virgin Soil: A Novel.
Childhood and Youth.
War and Peace.
Anna Karenina: A Novel.

Since the time that Russia and Russian literature have ceased to be an "unknown land," and the past development and possible future of the Russian people have become an object of study and interest for European and American observers, but two Russian authors have succeeded in acquiring a world-wide fame. These are Ivan Turgenieff and Count Leo Tolstoy. In selecting them as representatives of the Russian national literature, the critical judgment of the public has been guided by a true sense of their talent, their poetic force, and national importance.

Turgenieff and Tolstoy stand undisputedly at the head of the Russian literature of fiction, and as fiction has for a long time been the only and is still the most important form of Russian literature in general, as well as one of the most powerful instruments of social progress in Russia, both novelists may be considered the chief representatives of the Russian national intellect, of its past and present aspirations and developments. As to their creative poetical genius both stand on a nearly equal level. Both are endowed with that keenness of observation, that deep instinctive knowledge of the human heart, that peculiar magnetic affinity between the poet and the nation he belongs to, which the sacred flame of genius alone confers on its elect. But they differ widely as to the character and tendency of their works—so widely indeed, that a comparison between them becomes scarcely possible. Turgenieff is above and before all the poet of Russian peasant-life, with all its pleasures and woes. The plain, monotonous existence of daily toil led by

the Russian laborer in the midst of the boundless steppe inspires our great novelist with the highest poetry, with the most touching and pathetic feeling. Even nature, which he loves so passionately and describes with such masterly art, assumes under his pen the peculiar coloring which the simple imagination of the people sheds on it. For the pictures of Russian peasant-life he has reserved his brightest colors. To the healing of the sorrows and wrongs of the peasant he has devoted all the power of his genius.

On the other hand, Count Leo Tolstoy may be called the literary representative of the higher classes of Russian society. In his works we find a true and vivid picture of the Russian *barstvo* (nobility), with all its peculiar characteristics, its poetry, its social and moral philosophy. Violently severed from the rest of the people by a premature and artificial civilization imposed on them "by order of the Czar," corrupted by the double influence of the power they exercised over their serfs and of the Czar's despotism under which they were themselves compelled to bow their heads, naturally endowed with a passionate but inconsistent and somewhat indolent disposition, the Russian nobles, or at least the most intelligent and best educated among them, had at all times a marked tendency toward a contemplative, brooding, melancholy mode of life, devoid of action and full of a barren, self-consuming skepticism, which gradually destroyed all passion and individuality of character, and, to use the language of that Danish prince who might well have passed for the forefather of the Russian *barin*, "o'ershadowed their resolutions with the pale cast of thought." Count Tolstoy is the historian, the physiologist, the poet of this peculiar type. All his works, taken as a whole, present a complete natural history of that type, but a natural history written by one who himself belongs to those whom he describes, who has felt in his own heart all the pangs of their melancholy, who himself labors under their faults and possesses their virtues. Social problems have little or no interest for him. He touches them in his novels only so far as their existence reflects in some manner on the development of his fond type. He dwells with preference on such subjects as arise out of the complicated relations of civilized life, and which require from the author the finest and most delicate psychological analysis. In this sphere of fiction he is a thorough master, an artist of astonishing creative power; but to the life of the people he is a stranger, his sympathy for its simple forms seems affected, and when he does happen to draw a picture of peasant-life it gives us the impres-

sion as if a well-educated and benevolent nobleman told us what he had seen of country-life in passing through a village in his traveling-carriage and four.

The same contrast existing in the character of their works marks also the personal appearance of each of the great Russian novelists. Turgenieff's tall, somewhat stooping figure, his long, white hair and flowing beard, his mild blue eyes and broad features, to which a good-natured smile gives a peculiarly benevolent and dreamy expression—all suggest in him one of those village patriarchs whom one occasionally meets in Russia, who have seen and thought and suffered a good deal during their long, eventful life, and who on their decline have acquired the practice, if not the theory, of that great truth, that "to understand means to forgive." Leo Tolstoy is a good deal younger than his great literary contemporary; he is now some forty-five years of age. His features are not handsome, but carry the marks of deep thought, of serious study, and of tormenting inner conflicts of the heart and mind. He is a perfect type of what the Germans call a "Grübler." In his appearance, his demeanor, his way of speaking, he betrays a man accustomed to subject each feeling, each step in life, to a subtile, searching analysis. He *is* himself what he *describes* in his novels, the "Russian Hamlet."

Of all the numerous novels Turgenieff has published, and every one of which was looked upon as an event in the literary circles of all civilized nations, it is his first works, "The Sportsman's Diary" and a few other small novels which appeared about the same period (1846–'54), for which he is especially entitled to an immortal fame. Those early works are all positive creations of his genius. Their subjects are taken from that Russian peasant-life for which Turgenieff has always shown such heartfelt sympathy, and the beauties and poetic interest of which he was the first to reveal to the European public. "The Sportsman's Diary" consists of a series of disconnected sketches, the result of observations made by a sportsman during his rambles through the woods and steppes of central Russia. This "sportsman" is in most cases undoubtedly Turgenieff himself, who spent nearly all his early youth on his family estates in the province of Orel. Each of these sketches is a perfect gem of poetry and simple dramatic force. One idea pervades them all: the desire to show to Russian society all the baseness and injustice of serfdom, all the evil influences it exercised on the naturally mild, tolerant, and eminently gifted nature of the

Russian peasant. Turgenieff, in his "Sportsman's Diary," was one of the foremost pioneers of emancipation in Russia, and this title to immortality shall never fail him as long as a human heart still beats for liberty and truth!

In one of these sketches the artist shows us an old peasant living in the midst of pathless woods all alone. He is never seen in the neighboring villages. Some hold him for a sorcerer, others for a highwayman, but nobody knows whence he came, nor what his past life has been. Lost in the woods during a terrible storm, the "sportsman" meets with that mysterious figure. While the wind is howling around and flashes of lightning illumine the dark forest, the old man tells him his dreary story—how in his youth he had had a beautiful wife, and how his master, the *barin*, fell in love with her and took her away from him. Once on a hot summer day the sportsman sees a peasant stretched nearly senseless on the roadside. He approaches him and hears that he is ill and poor and unable to do the work for his master; everything he possesses has been sold to pay the taxes and he himself has been whipped nearly to death. "Now," he exclaims, "all is indifferent to me! There is nothing to rob me of any more; they can not make me more miserable than I am!"

And so in each of these sketches a vivid picture, awful in its natural simplicity, of all the horrors of slavery arises before us, adorned with the magic beauties of nature with which the miserable, down-trodden serf lives in constant communion. By far the most remarkable of these antislavery sketches is, however, the one entitled "Mumu," which, though not forming a part of the "Sportsman's Diary," belongs to the same period of Turgenieff's literary career. It is the story of a deaf and dumb peasant and his dog, to which the former is passionately attached and which he calls by the only sounds he is able to pronounce, *mu-mu!* The bark of this dog once happens to disturb the slumbers of the mistress, the *barynia*, a nervous old maid, who gives the order to drown the beast. The poor deaf and dumb man obeys, and drowns his only friend with his own hand. This plain story, the subject of which might appear almost trivial in its simplicity, is told by Turgenieff with such a pathetic feeling and in a language so full of poetic force, that it produces on the reader a powerful and lasting impression.

There can be no doubt as to the fact that the "Sportsman's Diary," and especially "Mumu," contributed in a great measure toward

gaining the hearts of Russian society for the holy cause of emancipation. With the accomplishment of this work Turgenieff seems to have spent all he had of love and kindly feeling for his people. He ceased to draw his subjects exclusively from Russian peasant-life. The frame of his works became wider, and embraced the whole Russian society. But at the same time the faculty of creating positive types seemed to forsake him. Emerging from the sphere of the plain workingman's life, the poet perceived in all the rest of society nothing but a dark crowd of unprincipled men or of weak skeptics, incapable of any true feeling, devoid of a set purpose and guiding rule in life. For them he has nothing but gall and contempt in his heart, satire and mockery on his lips. The only being whom he exempts from this sweeping verdict is the Russian woman. She stands aloof from all the baseness of practical life—of that sham which is officially called "civilization" in Russia. Her heart is whole and sincere in its passions as in its faults, and is exalted far above the petty "Hamlets" who play the first parts among the male portion of society. For this reason woman is always the suffering party in Turgenieff's novels. She suffers or perishes by the love of a man unworthy of her, standing far below her in point of energy, honor, and courage.

This negative view of Russian society pervades all the larger and smaller novels of Turgenieff, from "Rudin" to "Fathers and Sons," and reaches its climax in "Smoke," where not one single redeeming figure is to be found. Here the novelist seems utterly to despair of his own country and of its future. "Smoke" is the literary death-knell of the aristocratic, intelligent class of Russians, such as the double influence of serfage and autocracy had shaped it. Even the women of that class find no more pity at the poet's hands: Irène, the heroine of "Smoke," is a designing adventuress who, after having once had the "honor" to attract the attention of "a very high personage" (by whom the Emperor himself is evidently meant), avails herself of the prominent position thus afforded to her for getting on in the world and forwarding her husband's administrative career. The whole upper class of Russian society is represented by Turgenieff as a set of hollow, conceited fools, or of designing, corrupted, and unprincipled *intrigants*. As a biting and merited satire on "liberal" Russia of modern days, "Smoke" has a great social importance. Appearing as it did during the decay of the aristocratic period of modern Russian history, it sums up the results of the latter, and marks at the same time the beginning of a

new national epoch, the awakening of the people itself to an independent political and social life.

Turgenieff is, however, unable to understand rightly this new feature in the intellectual development of modern Russia, as his "Bazaroff" in "Fathers and Sons," and especially his last novel, "Virgin Soil," undoubtedly prove. The uncouth, energetic representatives of "Young Russia" are utter strangers to the veteran poet. In representing them as children of that same aristocracy whom he sneers at in "Smoke," Turgenieff commits a grave error. As it often happens with the great men of literature or history, Turgenieff fails to recognize a social event which he himself has helped in bringing about; he does not perceive that the men whom he now treats as a set of turbulent, half-crazy children are but the sons of that same people whose cause he formerly espoused with so much ardor. The social importance of Turgenieff's writings in the intellectual development of Russian society has ended with "Smoke." But his fame as a poet, as a profound judge of the human heart and its passions, will never die, for it belongs to all nations, to all ages.

Count Leo Tolstoy is in this respect Turgenieff's equal, indeed, in the subtileness of his psychological analysis, perhaps even his superior. But in everything else both authors are, as we have already mentioned, the very antipodes of each other. The first of Tolstoy's works, which appeared shortly before the Crimean war, "Childhood and Youth," marked the place its author was to occupy in Russian fiction. This strange book, which can scarcely be termed "a novel," contains a full and eminently poetic account of the education, moral and intellectual development of a young Russian nobleman. The first part of it, "Childhood," is a poem of Russian domestic life, of wonderful beauty and purity. The author dwells with fond tenderness on every petty incident in the early life of his hero, Prince Nechludoff. With a masterly art and a profound knowledge of those mysterious laws by which from a series of early impressions the nature and character of man are gradually shaped, the author shows us how the idle and monotonous country life in Russia, devoid of intellectual interests, works on the mind and imagination of a naturally clever, impressible boy. Nechludoff becomes a dreamer, utterly detached from the realities of every-day life, thirsting for higher, metaphysical science. The studies in abstract philosophy which he pursues at the university with indefatigable ardor give a new direction to his morbid mind;

he becomes a skeptic, an infidel, and thence rushes headlong into the coarsest form of sensualism, into a life of dissipation and debauchery of every kind, which ultimately leads him through a series of the bitterest deceptions to—suicide.

This type of the Russian nobleman, created by Tolstoy, a type we meet with in almost every one of his novels, and his method of treating it, might lead to the conclusion that Tolstoy, as a portrayer of Russian society, is still more negative, still more disconsolate than Turgenieff. Yet it is not so. While the latter finds in the Russian aristocracy nothing but an artificial graft on the nation's body, rotten to the core, and past any attempt at regeneration, the former, on the contrary, though perfectly aware of the vices and foibles of the class he describes, seeks to revive it by an ideal born out of its own life, by a philosophy corresponding to all its peculiar characteristics.

This ideal is the family with all the feelings, duties, and pleasures it engenders, and severed, in order to preserve its entire purity, from all interests and passions of public life. This philosophy is a peculiar sort of fatalistic creed, somewhat similar to Schopenhauer's pessimism, or Hartmann's "Philosophy of the Unconscious." According to this creed, the individual is utterly powerless in the making of a nation's history. The progress of the human race is the result of elementary forces working in and by the masses, unconsciously for the latter, and the greatest wisdom on the part of the individual consists in submitting passively to these mysterious forces. To the expounding of this curious philosophy Tolstoy has devoted his most important work, "War and Peace." For its subject he has selected one of the most eventful epochs of modern Russian history—the great national struggle with Napoleon in 1812. In a series of masterly-drawn pictures he attempts to prove that all the so-called great men of the time, from Napoleon himself down to the last of the Russian generals, were nullities in themselves, and acquired their importance only from the fact of being blind instruments of a mysterious Something which pushed them forward. It must be confessed that this somewhat childish philosophy often produces on the reader an almost ludicrous impression, reminding him of the well-known French adage, "Il n'y a pas de grand homme pour son valet de chambre!"

An illustration of Tolstoy's ideal of family life, which he but slightly touches in "War and Peace," we find in his last novel,

finished a year ago, "Anna Karenina." As a true and artistic picture of "high life" this novel is a masterpiece without an equal, perhaps, in any literature. In one frame the author has combined two love-stories—the one pure and quiet, the other passionate and criminal. The latter, the love between the heroine, Anna, and the brilliant aide-de-camp, Prince Vronsky, is conducted by Tolstoy step by step to its tragical end with a pitiless logic, and a profound knowledge of all the subtile instincts of the human heart, of all the innumerable prejudices and peculiarities of Russian aristocratic life. The scene of the heroine's suicide, which she commits by throwing herself under the wheels of a railway-train, is in its tragical grandeur one of the most remarkable dramatic effects in modern literature. Beside these two rebel hearts, who seek their own way to love and happiness in open defiance of the decrees of society, the author has placed another pair—the plain, unsophisticated country gentleman Levin and the young girl who ultimately becomes his wife. Their romance, disturbed for a moment by the interference of the disorderly element in the person of Vronsky, flows on quietly and peacefully. The young Mrs. Levin becomes an utterly prosaic and even somewhat slovenly *materfamilias;* her husband remains what he always had been, a quiet country gentleman, ignoring entirely all manner of social "problems" or political "questions," raising his corn and potatoes with the persistency, if not with the civic courage, of a Cincinnatus. And at the close of the book we seem to hear the author exclaiming, "Go and do likewise!"

Such is the moral and social creed of this great poet of Russian aristocracy. The reader will not be slow in detecting all its shallowness. An author who says to the class he represents: "You are estranged from the rest of the people—you are by nature lazy and indolent, that is true, but no matter; be still more indolent, retire once for all from public life, bury yourselves in your families, on your estates, and you shall be saved!"—such an author is unconsciously writing a bitterer satire on that class than any of its most implacable enemies could have done.

Thus the two greatest novelists of modern Russia, both born and bred in that class of Russian society which has until now held undisputed the scepter of intellectual and political power—both, the one with a set purpose, the other unconsciously, pass a death-warrant against the present social organization of their country.

In their works, as in a mirror, the actual condition of Russian society is reflected with a merciless accuracy. They are not only the poets, they are the physiologists, the historians, of their people, and, by the powerful influence they exert on the public mind, they may yet prove to be, in defiance of the proverb, "prophets in their own land!"

S. E. Shevitch.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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I.

RETRIBUTION IN POLITICS.

Nearly ten years ago the right of the colored man to vote was made as firm and secure as a constitutional provision could establish it. As a question of public policy and justice it was settled. The people passed upon and decided that. There remained but the tests and ordeal of experience. It was not to be disturbed or questioned except for great and permanent evils. This was the condition of the right of colored suffrage when two important facts attracted attention. The first was, that the Congressional representation of the Southern States had been greatly strengthened ; and the second was, that the colored vote could no longer be relied upon by the Republican party, but that it was rapidly passing into the Democratic party, resulting in a Congressional delegation from the South almost entirely Democratic, and in a solid South. Confident possession and control of that vote were followed by such disappointment at its loss as attends the loss of property deemed most secure.

The disappointment was intensified by the reflection that the entire colored population is now to be counted in apportioning representation among the several States, and that the political influence of the South is thereby increased. Dissatisfaction and a spirit of resistance appeared among those who had looked upon the colored vote as permanently secure to their party. They spoke

freely, sometimes harshly, about striking down the increased Southern representation, and seemed willing to abandon colored suffrage, if necessary to that end. It was because of this sentiment and feeling that the discussion of negro enfranchisement in the last number of the "Review" was possible. Two or three years ago it would have been welcomed neither by editor nor reader. And from this it appears how little the sentiment of humanity, and how much the consideration of party advantage, influenced and controlled the action of many who at one time were most clamorous for negro suffrage. Negro suffrage rests upon the natural right of the citizen, or upon constitutional provision, or upon both. I was opposed to its recognition and establishment in the Constitution of the United States; but, when declared to be so established, I recognized it as fixed and permanent. And, in the article which I contributed to the series, I thought it quite sufficient to maintain that it was thus fixed and permanent; and I endeavored to show that, under favorable opportunities, its exercise need not be hurtful to society.

In his article, Governor Hampton treats the question as settled, and says that, whatever may have been the policy or the motives of men, the right conferred by the Constitution is irrevocable, and that it is now the part of statesmanship to give its exercise that direction which will be most beneficial and least hurtful to the body politic. Speaking for the people of Mississippi, Mr. Lamar, with great force and directness, maintains that, being made a free man, a property-holder, and a tax-payer, the negro could not be excluded from the "privilege and duty," the "right and obligation" of the citizen to vote. He mentions the striking fact that, in 1869, "the white people of Mississippi unanimously voted at the polls in favor of ratifying the enfranchising amendment. Mr. Stephens treats the question of negro suffrage as settled, and not to be disturbed; and declares it the duty of all friends of humanity to give it a fair trial, "with an earnest and hopeful effort for its success." I have grouped the arguments of these three distinguished men of the South that the justice and liberality of their views may distinctly and together appear.

The most striking quality of General Garfield's argument is that, while in set phrase he is for free suffrage, in tone and spirit he makes an apology for failure. Conceding that the property rights of the colored people are every year being more and more respected, he yet asserts that it is a mockery to say that suffrage

has been free. With marked emphasis he declares that in many parts of the South the benefits of suffrage have been defeated by fraud, violence, and threats of loss of employment. Are we compelled to take a view so discouraging? Or is it but the language of the partisan? In respect to political rights, the races are equal. Together they are now to conduct public affairs. Is there such incompatibility that the races can not harmonize in maintaining good government? Will the stronger race domineer over the weaker? This has been the prediction of many. The hopes of the people rejected the prediction. Now, however, a strong man, one who has observed much, and whose hopes have all been for the success of what Mr. Blaine speaks of as an experiment, declares it in a large degree a failure. If the experiment has failed during these last ten years, why has it failed? During much of that time the army of the United States was distributed throughout the South. It was used to maintain the supremacy of the Republican party, through the instrumentality of the colored vote. For like purpose the Federal judiciary was used in many localities. It may not be claimed that there was then good government in the South. It was bad—bad for the colored man, as it was for the white man It was the substitution of force and fear for the constitutional government by the people. That was the period of corruption, and strife, and bloodshed. In such a period we can not judge of any attribute of free government, or of the capability of any part of the people to maintain free government. That period passed away, and with it the corrupting influence of the Freedman's Bureau. The political adventurers who exercised power without right or merit, and enjoyed wealth without labor, "sought safety in flight." Thus the malign influences were removed that had sowed distrust and discord, and excited hostility between the races. If General Garfield will only consider the colored man's improved condition since this change took place, his greater freedom in the exercise of his political rights, his conceded security in the enjoyment of his civil rights, and his more harmonious relations with the white race, he will surely review and reconsider the opinion which he expressed, that, in many parts of the South, the negro has been deprived of all the benefits intended to be conferred upon and secured to him by the suffrage.

Mr. Blaine thinks the negro is controlled, whatever way he may vote. He attributes his conduct to some influence stronger than that of his own conviction and will. What does he mean by "the

persuasion of the Freedman's Bureau," at the period when the vote was all one way? To whom does he refer as "the men who controlled the negro vote at the outset, in the interest of the Republican party"? They were the same "adventurers who exercised power without right or merit, and amassed wealth without labor." They were the coadjutors of the Freedman's Bureau. The combined influence was pernicious. The officers and agents of the Bureau were its emissaries. They were found everywhere. They obtained and abused the confidence of the colored people. They provoked and organized the strife of the races.

The control of the vote by these influences could not last. It soon came to an end. The colored people could not be kept in ignorance of their real and true interests. They learned that the increase of public indebtedness and the profligate expenditure of public money would place burdens upon their own shoulders, and impair the value of the products of their labor. Influenced by these and other proper considerations, they united in large numbers with the Democrats. The result was, as I have said, the restoration to the Southern States of the right of local self-government, and a purer and better administration of public affairs. Mr. Blaine is not willing to concede to the colored voter a change of party relations upon intelligent conviction. He attributes such a change to fraud and violence; for he says that, by "fraud, intimidation, violence, and murder, free suffrage on the part of the negro in the South is fatally impaired." For a statement so broad Mr. Blaine must rely upon evidence "of the baser sort," much of which has long since been rejected.

How is it that Mr. Blaine may claim much credit for his early and continued support of negro suffrage, and yet deny to the negro the capacity of free and uncontrolled action? It may not be questioned that, in the days of his political vassalage, the negro was under the control of what Mr. Blaine describes as the "persuasion of the Freedman's Bureau," and of the men who controlled his vote "in the interest of the Republican party"; but his capacity of intelligent election is not to be questioned merely because he may become a Democrat. Mr. Blaine makes the argument (or rather the claim) that for emancipation, for citizenship, for civil rights, and for political privileges, the negro is indebted to the Republican party, and that therefore his allegiance is to that party; and that so long as he is allowed the freedom of choice he can and will vote with no other party. He declares it the "recklessness of assumption," "the

very bravado of argument," to claim that, upon his own choice, he would vote with the Democrats. That is the strongest statement ever made against negro suffrage. The vote is nearly one million. The claim is that it is not free—is never to be free, but belongs to a party; that, because of past obligations, it can not change. In its membership and in its aggregate it can not change. It can not consider questions of principle or questions of policy. It may not listen to the demands of patriotism, nor the appeals of self-interest, as opposed to the requirements of the party. Its obligation to party can never be discharged. Whether questions relate to the honor of the country or the welfare of the people, it can exercise no free and independent judgment. It would be a matter of serious concern, could a party claim a vassalage so numerous and so abject. But that claim is being repudiated by the colored vote itself. In the demonstrations preceding the elections, and at the polls, its independent action in many of the States has stamped the claim of ownership as false and arrogant.

But Mr. Blaine asks the question, "Why should the negro have been disposed to vote with the Democratic party?" Is that question asked by one who sincerely believes in the capacity of the negro to vote intelligently upon questions affecting the public welfare, and that his action will be governed by an enlightened judgment and a patriotic purpose? Then I answer that the same considerations should govern the negro that ought to govern any other voter. He should vote upon his convictions of right and duty. If Democratic policy is more likely to promote the public good, then it should be supported by the white and colored voter alike. He who tells me how the white man should vote tells me as well how the colored man should vote. When once in the box the ballot has no color. Its only quality depends upon the fitness of the candidate it may help to elect, and upon the views he may carry into legislation, or the measures he may adopt in the administrative service. A full answer to the question would require a statement of the reasons why any citizen should give that party his support. Such reasons might be found in its devotion to constitutional obligations; in its adherence to the "supremacy of the civil over the military"; in its maintenance of the separation and mutual independence of church and state, "for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom"; in its hostility to a "corrupt centralism," which threatens the destruction of the right of local self-government; and in its devotion to economy in public expenditures.

It may be said by many, both white and black, We do not adopt all the dogmas of the Democratic party, nor approve its entire record, but we will declare our condemnation of the centralism, the extravagance, and the corruption of its powerful opponent. Our record shall not be in approval of the frightful crimes that characterized a late Administration. The taxes were not reduced, but the revenues were impaired. Remorseless severity was the rule of collection; official favoritism the standard of accountability. We will not help to establish such precedents. Is this not language which the citizen ought to use? Please tell me why it is not as becoming and proper for the colored as for the white voter? What obligation does he owe to party that takes from him the right to use this, the language of patriotism?

Is the question repeated? Then I say that the colored voter, if intelligent to understand his duty, and honest to discharge it, could not remain with the party that corrupted and destroyed the State governments of the South. I will be pardoned for appropriating and reproducing what Mr. Lamar has so well said on this subject: "Reference has been made to the great change which the election returns show in the negro vote throughout the South. The phenomenon is easily explained. Let any intelligent Northern man review the history of the State governments of the South for the last ten years under Republican rule—their gross and shameless dishonesty, their exorbitant taxation, their reckless expenditure, their oppression of all native interests, the social agonies through which they have forced all that was good and pure to pass as through a fiery furnace; the character of the men—many of them—they have placed in power; and then say if such a state of things in a Northern or Western State would not have been a sure and natural precursor of a Republican defeat, so absolute and complete that the very name of the party would have become in that State a name of scorn and reproach. Then why should not that result have occurred in the South? Are we to assume that the black race have neither instinct nor reason—have no sense, no intelligence, no conscience, no independence; that in every Southern State the thralldom of the negro vote to party leaders, even when abandoned by them, is so unquestioning and abject that no amount of misrule can cut him loose from them or teach him the advantage of a more natural and wholesome political alliance? To reason thus is simply to say that the negro is unfit for suffrage, and to surrender the argument to those who hold that he ought to be disfranchised."

The influences that governed many of the colored people in aiding the whites to place the Southern States under Democratic control were truly stated by one of themselves, the most prominent man of the race. For the first time after reconstruction, the Democrats carried Mississippi in 1875. Because the colored race had the majority in that State, the fairness of the election was disputed. In Congress and in the Northern press, with great bitterness and positiveness, the result was attributed to fraud and violence. There was then, as now, no difficulty in obtaining the testimony of willing witnesses to establish violence.

The Rev. H. W. Revels, a colored man, had recently, before that time, been a United States Senator from that State. He was an observer of public events. On the 7th of November, 1875, a few days after the election, and before the result was fully known, he addressed the following letter to President Grant:

MY DEAR SIR: In view of the results of the recent election in our State, I have determined to write you a letter canvassing the situation, and giving my views thereon. I will premise by saying that I am no politician. Though having been honored by a seat in the United States Senate, I never have sought political preferment, nor do I ask it now, but am engaged in my calling—a minister—and, feeling an earnest desire for the welfare of all the people, irrespective of race or color, I have deemed it advisable to submit to you for consideration a few thoughts in regard to the political situation in this State.

Since reconstruction, the masses of my people have been, as it were, enslaved in mind by unprincipled adventurers, who, caring nothing for the country, were willing to stoop to anything, no matter how infamous, to secure power to themselves and perpetuate it. My people are naturally Republicans, but, as they grow older in freedom, so do they grow in wisdom. A great portion of them have learned that they were being used as mere tools, and, as in the late elections, not being able to correct the existing evil among themselves, they determined by casting their ballots against these unprincipled adventurers to overthrow them.

My people have been told by these schemers, when men were placed upon the ticket who were notoriously corrupt and dishonest, that they must vote for them; that the salvation of the party depended upon it; that the man who scratched the ticket was not a Republican. This is only one of the many means these malignant demagogues have devised to perpetuate the intellectual bondage of my people. To defeat this policy at the late election men irrespective of race or party affiliations united and voted together against men known to be incompetent and dishonest.

The bitterness and hate created by the late civil strife have, in my opinion, been obliterated in this State, except perhaps in some localities, and would

have been long since entirely effaced were it not for some unprincipled men who would keep alive the bitterness of the past and inculcate hatred between the races in order that they may aggrandize themselves by office and the emoluments to control my people, the effect of which is to degrade them. I give you my opinion that, had our State administration adhered to Republican principles, and stood by the platform upon which I was elected, the State would have been on the high-road to prosperity. If the State administration had advanced only to patriotic measures, appointed only honest men to office, and sought to restore confidence between the races, bloodshed would have been unknown. Peace would have prevailed; Federal interference would have been unthought of, and harmony, friendship, and mutual confidence would have taken the place of the bayonet.

In conclusion, let me say to you, and to the Republican party of the North, that I deem it my duty, in behalf of my people, that I present these facts in order that they and the white people, their former owners, should not suffer misrepresentation, which certain demagogues seem desirous to encourage.

Respectfully,

H. W. REVELS.

A stronger document can not be produced in favor of colored suffrage. It is a plain statement of the cruel bondage that had been maintained by "corrupt rings" over both races, and of the means used to "inculcate" hatred between them. Having a majority in the State, the colored people were able to continue the strife of the races, and to perpetuate their own political power. But intelligently and patriotically they united with the whites to overthrow the power of the "unprincipled adventurers," to drive them from the State, and to restore good government. The help came like food and water to a starving and famished people. And for it honorable and grateful return was made, at the next session of the Legislature, in the enactment of laws providing extraordinary security for the rights of labor in Mississippi.

Why confuse and cheapen a discussion like the present by thrusting into it questions of personal consistency? Why turn aside to consider one another's motives? Who of the readers of the "Review" cares for either? But Mr. Blaine thinks it useful to his argument to suggest that in my eyes the complexion of the colored man depends upon his voting the Democratic ticket. Devotion to truth compels me to say that my confidence in his judgment as an independent voter is strengthened by the circumstance that I do find him voting that ticket. Really, I could not respect him very much if Mr. Blaine's opinion of him were correct, that he is a political fixture, immovable under influences that control other and

patriotic minds. Prior to the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, but as late as September, 1865, Governor Morton, in a carefully prepared speech, used the following language: "Look at their condition. As I said before, only one in five hundred that can read —many of them, until within the last few months, never off the plantation—most of them never out of the county in which they live and were born, except as they were driven by the slave-drivers. *Can you conceive that a body of men, white or black, who have been in this condition, and their ancestors before them, are qualified to be immediately lifted from their present state into the full exercise of political power, not only to govern themselves and their neighbors, but to take part in the Government of the United States? Can they be regarded as intelligent or independent voters? The mere statement of the fact furnishes the answer to the question.*"

Because of a subsequent zeal, so extreme as to be questionable, for the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, would Mr. Blaine describe him as "a conspicuous convert," and attribute his zeal to a desire to add to the voting strength of his party? Since the adoption of the amendment was declared, it has received that true support from the Democratic party which each citizen owes to every provision of the Constitution.

In the month of February, 1870, I visited the city of New Orleans for the first time. Quite unexpectedly I was called upon to speak at a Democratic meeting. Without note or preparation whatever, I stepped upon the platform, decided upon one thing only, and that was to say just what was becoming on my part to speak, and proper for the men of Louisiana to hear. For no purpose of self-vindication, but as expressing my present views, I will quote from what I then said:

"It is a question for you to consider very carefully what attitude you men of the South shall occupy toward the colored population. There is a deliberate purpose on the part of adventurers from the North—a class of men who are described as carpet-baggers—to appropriate the entire colored vote of the South to their cause. And what is their cause? It is not your cause; it is not the colored man's cause; it is the cause of plunder. And the question presents itself in this form: Are you men of the South willing that these adventurers shall appropriate that large vote—in some of the Southern States a majority of the entire vote? . . . . New relations have come to exist between you and the colored people of the South. How will you place yourselves in regard to

these new relations? They have not been of your seeking, and they may, perhaps, not have been sought by the negro, but he is a voter in Louisiana, as he will be in Indiana, if the Fifteenth Amendment is declared adopted, and it is not worth your while, nor is it worth my while, to go back on the fixed fact. These new relations are upon you. How are you to conduct yourselves toward the colored people? Is it possible that the stranger can now come in and make these ancient servants of yours his servants and your enemy? . . . . In my judgment, the colored people will be satisfied if you assure them that you will give them just laws, fairly administered. Do this, and then the outside adventurer can not turn their votes against you. Let the colored man understand that the legislation of your State is not being carried on to make a few men rich at the expense of the great body of the people. . . . Appeal to the colored man to stand by you in your fight for honesty, for justice, for integrity, and for equal laws, and that appeal will reach his heart as readily as it reaches the heart of the great body of the white people."

Why does Mr. Blaine depart from the subject of his argument, to arraign many of the States for their policy toward the colored people? He recites in much detail the provisions of statutes which he attributes to the intention of reënslaving the race; and he charges the responsibility upon the Democratic party. A better understanding of the responsibility that attaches to either party, in that regard, requires a more exact statement of the steps by which the States passed from the condition of war into practical relations with the Union. The first period was that of the provisional governments. The policy of establishing such governments had its origin in Mr. Lincoln's amnesty proclamation of December 8, 1863. Under its provisions the authority of the United States was declared restored over portions of the State of Louisiana, and "a loyal State government was reinaugurated."

Mr. Blaine says, "It was reserved for Louisiana to outdo both South Carolina and Mississippi in this horrible legislation," and he specifies that, the contract once made, the negro laborer was not allowed to leave his place of employment during the year, except upon prescribed conditions; deductions might be made from wages for injuries done to animals and implements committed to his care; and for bad or negligent work; and impudence, swearing, and indecent language, and quarreling and fighting with one another, were prohibited and punished. What think you of this charge

gainst the States, that it is an abridgment of the freedom of the egro that he is forbidden to indulge in impudence, swearing, and ndecent language in the presence of the family where he is em-loyed?

Why were such regulations required or permitted? At that ime the agricultural laborers of that State were exclusively col-red. They constituted a majority of the entire population. At nce, and without preparation, they were transferred from a condi-ion of servitude to one of freedom. No one could predict what would follow. It was soon apparent that their tendency was to bandon the country, and crowd the cities, and follow the camps. Men of both sections contemplated the possible results with anxiety. Was freedom to mean exemption from labor only? Congregating n large numbers, and unemployed, were they to sink into vice, and o degenerate into vagrancy? The benevolent and the humane were anxious about the result, for the sake of the colored people hemselves. Men in responsible and public positions had also to onsider the possible effect upon the material welfare of the coun-ry. Was an entire section to remain without labor? Were the ands to lie without cultivation? Should we become the purchasers rom other lands, and not the producers of the great staples of the South? Mr. Lincoln seems to have considered all these questions; or in his amnesty proclamation, to which I have referred, there is his remarkable paragraph: "I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that any provision which may be adopted by such State government in relation to the freed people of such State, which shall recognize and declare their permanent freedom, provide for their education, and which may yet be consistent, as a tempo-rary arrangement, with their present condition, as a laboring, land-less, and homeless class, will not be objected to by the national Executive."

A State Constitution was soon thereafter adopted. It estab-lished the permanent freedom and provided for the education of the "freed people." To carry out Mr. Lincoln's suggestion in the par-agraph which I have quoted, it only remained to adopt such regula-ions as were necessary and proper for the "freed people," as a "laboring, landless, and homeless class."

General Banks was then in command in Louisiana. He gave construction to the paragraph in the orders he issued and in the regulations he adopted. In his General Order No. 23, February 3, 1864, he based his regulations of labor upon the assumption "that

labor is a public duty, and idleness and vagrancy a crime," and tha this law of labor should be enforced. He fixed the prices to be pai at from three to eight dollars per month. He provided that wage should be deducted in case of the sickness of the laborer, and that if the laborer feigned sickness, food also might be withheld. I was also provided that "indolence, insolence, disobedience of or ders, and crime should be suppressed by forfeiture of pay, and such punishments as are provided for similar offenses by army regula tions." Under that order the colored laborer of Louisiana wa placed under military rule; and, if insolent or disobedient to hi employer, would suffer loss of pay, and other punishment such a would be inflicted upon a soldier guilty of disobeying the orders o his commanding officer. By other regulations, "no hand coul leave the place without written license," and "each hand will b responsible for the loss or careless damage of tools, stock, or an other property."

Mr. Blaine denounces these provisions as horrible, and as a "cause less and cruel oppression of a whole race." They are the produc of a provisional government, which rested for its authority upo Mr. Lincoln's proclamation. And neither in their origin, their spirit nor their purpose can they truthfully be laid to the charge of th Democrats. The fact that they may have passed into the subse quent legislation of the State can not change any responsibilit that did attach to their origin or purpose. And if any one were t repeat that the enactment of such regulations of labor looks to it reënslavement, I would find the complete vindication from such charge of the provisional government and its administration in th fact that the adoption of the State Constitution was concurrent and that it provided for the immediate and unconditional emanci pation of the slaves. In the year 1865 provisional government were established over most of the other Southern States. The pro clamations issued by Mr. Johnson rested upon and were very simila in their provisions to the proclamation issued by Mr. Lincoln. Th latter proposed "to reinaugurate loyal State governments withi and for their respective States," while the former proposed to re store the States to their "constitutional relations to the Federa Government." At that time Mr. Johnson was in harmony with th party that had elected him. It can not be truthfully said that fo his conduct in 1865, or for the action of the governments which h established, the Democratic party is in any way responsible. I many respects the Democrats opposed the policy of 1865.

In 1867 the Republican party became so powerful in Congress to be able to defy the Presidential veto. It overthrew the provisional State governments, and substituted its iron policy of reconruction. That policy was embodied in the act of March, 1867, and e two acts supplementary thereto. The rebel States were declared be without legal governments. They were divided into military stricts, and placed under the absolute authority of military comanders. The commanders were authorized to take steps for the storation of civil authority and the establishment of State governents. The work was supervised by the military. The negroes ere admitted to a full participation, while many of the whites were cluded. The military and the negroes controlled the government. he effect was, to excite strife and create bad blood between the ces. This was the beginning of the period of reconstruction. The il influences already mentioned promoted and intensified the angonism of the races. In such a strife the colored people became easy prey to the unscrupulous adventurers who assumed to be eir special friends. Bloodshed was frequent, and bad government as universal. Under such control the States continued for periods arying from six to nine years. I need not describe the condition f the people during that time. They endured all the evils and isfortunes that attend discordant society and bad government. t was the period of evil influences. Its legislation and its administrative service have left no record that can gratify the patriot. Neither race was as secure of any right of person or property as efore it came, or after it passed away. It is barren of all fruits f good government. It is a plain over which the lava has flowed.

Then came this, the third period in the progress of restoration. t is yet short ; in some of the States but two years, and in others ut three, four, and five years. But the work of restoration is comlete. The right of local self-government is now enjoyed in all the tates. The beneficent results of this period have been secured hrough the coöperation of the colored voters. What advantages ave come to them, as a class, from the change from military rule o local self-government! In the periods of provisional government nd reconstruction Mr. Blaine has described the colored laborer as lmost a slave. How is it now? He is better protected in his vages by the laws of many Southern States than is the laborer in ny Northern State. By the act of April 14, 1876, the laborer in Mississippi is given a lien for his wages upon the crop he helps to aise, and for his portion of the crop when it is upon shares. The

lien is prior to all others, and exists without record, and without any written contract. Upon judgments for wages no property is exempt from execution. These provisions were adopted at the first session after the Democrats obtained the control in Mississippi. By the act of February 24, 1873, the laborer in Georgia is given a lien for his wages upon the property of the employer, first above any other lien except for taxes, judgments, and decrees, and a special lien upon the products of his labor, above every other lien, except for taxes. In North Carolina the farm laborer is given a first lien upon the crop he helps to produce. In 1865, under the provisional government, South Carolina established and so regulated the domestic relations among the colored people as to promote their morality, virtue, and personal welfare. In the regulations of labor it was provided that "wages due to servants shall be preferred to all other debts or demands except funeral expenses, in case of the insufficiency of the master's property to pay all debts and demands against him."

I know of no Northern State that gives to the laborer such extraordinary protection and security for his wages. It has been sought, demanded, prayed for by the employees of great corporations, but it has been denied in many Northern States. The engineer, whose life is every hour at hazard, and the miner whose labor produces the wealth which others enjoy, have sought security for their wages, but have been denied. It was a free-will and cheerful offering by the people of the South, to place the wages of the negro next in payment to taxes and funeral expenses. Am I asked again why the colored man should vote with the Democrats? I answer, that it is a surer guarantee of his individual welfare, and that the political association is better than with the men who seek his confidence that they may use him for selfish ends.

Doubtless many acts of violence and wrong were done to colored people during the years immediately succeeding the close of the war. The contest had been long and bitter. The institution of slavery was associated in the minds of the people as one of the causes of the war. As a result of the war, the white man, impoverished in the struggle, was obliged to recognize the colored man who had been his hereditary bondsman, as his political equal. Who could expect that tranquillity would at once settle down upon the scenes of such violent disturbance? The wildest optimist could not hope for that. All history teaches that the spirit of violence exists in more or less activity after the cessation of civil war. To look

'or anything else would be as vain as to expect the ocean, vexed to ts profoundest depths, to subside into instant tranquillity when the 'oar of the tempest is hushed. The difficulties necessarily incident o the condition of the country were aggravated by the unnatural olicy which sought to place the emancipated race, in political rule, ver the white race. Harmony could not at once follow. Indeed, t is hardly possible, so long as the colored men, in large masses, ssume a position of distrust and hostility toward the white voters. The antagonism of race will disappear from our political contests when the colored people shall declare their freedom from the partian ownership that is asserted over them, throw off the influence of he selfish adventurers who claim to control them, and assert their ights as free and independent voters.

Now, that thirteen years have passed since the close of the war, nd the two races, during much of that period, have been living together as citizens equal before the law, while every year their political relations are becoming more harmonious, can the statesman find o better argument to show that the colored man holds his political ights by precarious tenure, than that founded upon social disturbnces?

If I may accuse Mr. Blaine, in any instance, of employing an argunent not quite up to the highest plane of statesmanship, and of leading this discussion into the arena of mere party politics, yet I must hank him for the closing paragraph of his last article. For patriotic sentiment, beauty of language, and grandeur of eloquence, it nerits a high place among the noblest productions of the English anguage.

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

II.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND.

"Well, but will you tell me, after all, what is a public school?" The propounder of this was an American gentleman, of high culture himself and deeply interested in the subject of education. He was not satisfied with the state of things in his own country, and was persuaded that the time had come when an effort must be made to meet the demand for some other stepping-stone for their boys than the common school or the private boarding-school, between the home of the American gentry and the universities. He had read such documents as he could lay hands on as to the English public-schools system, and had convinced himself that there might be something in it which would be of use to him in his search. At any rate, he would run over and study it for himself. Accordingly, having obtained such letters as he thought might be of use to him, he sailed for England, and, after consultation with and under the advice of some of those to whom they were addressed, made a tour of inspection which comprised most of the English public schools. He had been much pleased with his adventures: had seen a number of fine buildings, some of them of rare historical interest; had got much information as to the methods of study and discipline; had looked on at any number of cricket matches and other games, and been much impressed by the skill and activity of the boys, and the beauty of their raiment; had talked with masters, and prefects, and other boys, big and little, and had come back full of all manner of facts and figures. But in one thing he had failed, and in a matter, too, which he not unreasonably held to lie at the very root of his inquiry; and so, after his six weeks' wanderings, returned to his original mentor in London, before starting on his return voyage, with the above question, "What *is* a public school?" Many replies, indeed, he had heard, but none which had at all satisfied him. Thus he had been told by a sixth-form boy in the Eton eleven, that the

only public schools in England were those which played against each other in a yearly match at Lord's cricket-ground; according to the captain of Westminster, a royal foundation was the true test; other authorities of equal weight had limited public schools to those entitled to contend for the Elcho shield and Spencer cup at the Wimbledon gatherings of the National Rifle Association. A Liberal under-master at Rugby had defined public schools as those which possessed a foundation controlled by persons in no way interested in the profits of the institution; while at Shrewsbury he had been assured that a charter of some Plantagenet or Tudor sovereign was of the essence of a true public school. From his own observations and inquiries, however, he remained quite dissatisfied with all and each of these definitions, and came back with steady persistence to his starting-point, "What is a public school—in your country?"

The question is one of considerable difficulty. To some extent, however, the answer has been furnished by the Royal Commission appointed in 1861 to inquire into the nature and application of the endowments and revenues, and into the administration and management of certain specified colleges and schools commonly known as the Public Schools Commission. Nine are named in the Queen's letter of appointment, viz., Eton, Winchester, Westminster, the Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury. The reasons probably which suggested this selection were, that the nine named foundations had in the course of centuries emerged from the mass of endowed grammar-schools, and had made for themselves a position which justified their being placed in a distinct category, and classed as "public schools." It will be seen as we proceed that all these nine have certain features in common, distinguishing them from the ordinary grammar-schools which exist in almost every country town in England. Many of these latter are now waking up to the requirements of the new time and following the example of their more illustrious sisters. The most notable examples of this revival are such schools as those at Sherborne, Giggleswick, and Tunbridge Wells, which, while remodeling themselves on the lines laid down by the Public Schools Commissioners, are to some extent providing a training more adapted to the means and requirements of our middle classes in the nineteenth century than can be found at any of the nine public schools. But twenty years ago the movement which has since made such astonishing progress was scarcely felt in quiet country places like these, and the old en-

dowments were allowed to run to waste in a fashion which is now scarcely credible.

The same impulse which has put new life into the endowed grammar-schools throughout England has worked even more remarkably in another direction. The Victorian age bids fair to rival the Elizabethan in the number and importance of the new schools which it has founded and will hand on to the coming generation. Marlborough, Haileybury, Uppingham, Rossall, Clifton, Cheltenham, Radley, Malvern, and Wellington College, are nine schools which have taken their place in the first rank, and, while following reverently the best traditions of the older foundations, are in some respects setting them an example of what the public-school system may become at its best, and how it may be adapted to meet new conditions of national life.

In order, then, to get clear ideas on the general question, we must keep these three classes of school in mind—the nine old foundations recognized in the first instance by the Royal Commission of 1861; the old foundations which have remained local grammar-schools until within the last few years, but are now enlarging their bounds, conforming more or less to the public-school system, and becoming national institutions; and, lastly, the modern foundations which started from the first as public schools, professing to adapt themselves to the new circumstances and requirements of modern English life. The public schools of England fall under one or other of these categories. No one who understands the subject would question the claim of the modern foundations named above to the title of public schools, in the same sense in which it is applied to the nine. Of the schools in the second category only a certain number can be classed as public, as distinguished from local grammar-schools, and perhaps the best rough method for ascertaining which these are is furnished by the conferences of head masters, now held yearly, at the end of the summer term. Where the governing bodies of grammar-schools desire to conform to the public-school system, it may be assumed that they will be represented by their head masters on these occasions. Tried by this test there are in all some forty foundations, which may fairly be called the public schools of England, and which would have to be studied by any American educational reformer, desirous of satisfying himself what, if any, portion of the system can be carried across the Atlantic to any useful purpose.

We may now turn to the historic side of the question, dealing

first, as is due to their importance, with the nine schools of our first category. The oldest, and in some respects most famous of these, is Winchester School, or, as it was named by its founder, William of Wykeham, the College of St. Mary of Winchester, founded in 1382. Its constitution still retains much of the impress left on it by the great Bishop of the greatest Plantagenet King, five centuries ago. Toward the end of the fourteenth century Oxford was already the center of English education, but from the want of grammar-schools boys went up by hundreds untaught in the simplest rudiments of learning, and when there lived in private hostels or lodging-houses, in a vast throng, under no discipline, and exposed to many hardships and temptations. In view of this state of things, William of Wykeham founded his grammar-school at Winchester and his college at Oxford, binding the two together, so that the school might send up properly trained scholars to the university, where they would be received at New College, in a suitable academical home, which should in its turn furnish governors and masters for the school. As might have been expected, the school itself took a collegiate shape, and under the original statutes consisted of a warden, ten fellows, seventy scholars, a head and second master, three chaplains, three clerks, and sixteen choristers. All these were amply provided for by the original endowments, but in addition the statutes provided for the admission of ten "filii nobilium ac valentium personarum dicti collegii specialium amicorum," who were to be educated in college at their own charges. How gently England deals with old institutions may be seen by comparing the Winchester of to-day with that of William of Wykeham. As time went on the college property increased enormously in value, and long periods occurred in which a very different estimate from that of the Bishop came to be put on the higher education. And so, while the school never altogether failed in its work, great abuses crept in. College and school were kept as a close borough; the fellowships, pleasant sinecures of some five hundred pounds a year, and a good house, were monopolized by founders' kin and old Wykehamists of quiet tastes and popular manners; the splendid scholarships, which carried their fortunate possessors to New College, franked them through the university, and often provided for them for life, were given without competition of any kind. All this is changed. The old connection between school and college has been preserved, but both have been thrown open, with the result that England does not contain two more satisfactory places

of education. The governing body has been thoroughly reformed, but it still consists of a warden and eleven fellows, of whom four only, instead of ten, are stipendiary and seven honorary. The stipendiary fellows are elected by the whole governing body, and must be persons distinguished in literature or science, or who have done long and eminent service to the school as masters. The honorary fellows, except the Warden of New College, who is one *ex officio*, have no payment from the college funds, and must be persons qualified by position or attainments to be of use to the school. The collegers, or foundation scholars (who get a first-class education almost free) have increased to one hundred, selected by open competition, the cleverest boys being attracted from all parts of the country by the value of these prizes. The ten "filii valentium personarum" have increased, under the name of commoners, to upward of two hundred, who are boarded in the masters' houses.

The salary of the warden is now fixed at £1,700 a year and a house, and that of each of the four paid fellows at £700 (instead of ten at the lower rate named above). The head master gets from all sources about £3,000 a year, the second master £1,400, and the under-masters according to the length and value of their service, from £250 to £800, besides the profits of boarders in the case of those who have houses. The college endowments consist of real estate situate mainly in Hants and Wilts, producing an average income of upward of £17,000, and of stock producing another £2,000 or thereabouts in dividends. There are also thirteen church livings in the patronage of the warden and fellows ranging between £100 and £600 a year.

We must now turn to the monitorial system, which is common in principle to all public schools, though differing largely in detail. Its origin may be traced to William of Wykeham's statutes, by which it is provided that "in each of the chambers three scholars of good character, and more advanced than their fellows in age, discretion, and knowledge, shall be chosen to superintend their chamber-fellows in their studies, to oversee them diligently, and to certify and inform the warden and head master from time to time respecting their behavior, conversation, and progress." There are six chambers in college, and therefore eighteen prefects, to which number twelve have since been added for commoners—of these, eight have power only in chambers, while the remainder are full prefects (*plenâ potestate præfecti*), with power everywhere. Of these, again, five "officers" have charge of the hall, schools, library,

and chapel, of whom the prefect of hall is the chief, being "the governor of the school among the boys," and their organ of communication with the head master. The five officers are chosen by the warden, in consultation with the head master, and all are invested by him with their authority in a traditional form of words, of which the operative ones are "præficio te sociis concameralibus, præficio te aulæ." The system of fagging is connected with this government by prefects. They and they only have power to fag, and the only boys exempted from fagging are those in the fifth form. It is unnecessary for our purpose to consider the somewhat elaborate details of the traditional system, which at one time pressed heavily on the liberty and studies of the lower boys. At present fagging is reduced to running on errands, attending at breakfast and tea, and fielding for a certain time at cricket. The prefects' powers include that of "tunding," or punishing corporally. We must defer any remark on the general system for the present, but may just note here that, in the milder form which it has taken of late years, fagging is undoubtedly popular among the boys at Winchester who are subject to it, and, strange as it may seem to transatlantic readers, would not be abolished to-morrow were it put to the vote of the forms below the fifth.

Winchester School, though under the shadow of the founder-Bishop's own cathedral, has a fine chapel of its own, in which there are daily morning prayers, conducted by a master, consisting of a portion of the Liturgy with chanting. The hours of work in school are on two days of the week between six and seven and on the other days between four and five hours, besides which the boys in the higher forms have composition and examination work to do out of school-hours. A hard-working sixth-form boy will generally study seven hours a day, and perhaps from nine to ten before examinations, and will give probably on an average three more hours a day to cricket and other games. The boys are allowed to go where they please during play-hours, except in the city, which is out of bounds.

Our notice of the remaining schools must be even more meager than the skeleton sketch we have given of the oldest of them. Next in date comes the royal foundation of Eton, or "The College of the Blessed Mary of Eton, near Windsor." It was founded by Henry VI., A. D. 1446, upon the model of Winchester, with a collegiate establishment of a provost, ten fellows (reduced to seven in the reign of Edward IV.), seventy scholars, and ten chaplains (now

reduced to two, who are called "conducts"), and a head and lower master, ten lay clerks, and twelve choristers. The provost and fellows are the governing body, who appoint the head master, and claim the right to name the provost also, though this has always in practice been done by the Crown. Around this center the great school, numbering now a thousand boys, has gathered, the college, however, still retaining its own separate organization and traditions. Besides the splendid buildings and playing-fields at Eton, the college holds real property of the yearly value of upward of £20,000, and forty livings ranging from £100 to £1,200 of yearly value. The income of the provost is about £2,000 a year, and of the paid fellows £850. The offices of vice-provost, bursar, precentor, sacrist, and librarian have until recently been also held by fellows. King's College, Cambridge, stands in much the same relation to Eton as New College, Oxford, to Winchester, being fed by the King's scholars year by year, and having had until recently the practical monopoly of the masterships at the school. King's has been now thrown open to all Eton boys, oppidans as well as scholars. Besides the King's scholarships, there are sixteen other scholarships at the universities yearly competed for at Eton. The system of private tuition prevails there more than at any other of the public schools, and the school-work is consequently lighter. There is daily chapel with choral service on saints' days, at which the conducts, one of whom acts also as curator to the parish of Eton, officiate. The monitorial system scarcely exists at Eton, except in college, the sixth-form boys being, however, expected to preserve order, and having the right to fag, which is shared also by the fifth form. The river competes with the playing-fields at Eton, where rowing is at least as popular as cricket, and the captain of the boats even a greater personage than the captain of the eleven. The boys are free to go where they please in play-hours, including the town of Windsor; but are expected to "shirk," or, in other words, to run away, when they meet a master outside the playing-fields. The prestige of Eton, arising from its royal foundation and proximity to Windsor Castle, and its convenient distance from London, has made it the fashionable school for many generations, and has attracted to it large numbers of boys, the sons of rich parents, who look more to pleasant surroundings than high intellectual culture, and desire to provide them at an early age for their sons.

The school next in date stands out in sharp contrast to Winchester and Eton. It is St. Paul's School, founded by Dean Colet, the

friend of Erasmus, A. D. 1512, for the teaching of a hundred and fifty-three boys "of all nations and countries." The number is that of the miraculous draught of fishes, which is supposed to have been the Dean's guide in fixing it. There is no distinction among the boys, as at Winchester and Eton, between scholars and commoners or oppidans, every boy having his education free, subject only to the payment at his admission of 4*d.*, "once and for ever, for writing of his name." Dean Colet was before all things a citizen (son of a famous Lord Mayor) and a radical reformer, and his notions of school management stand out in sharp contrast to those of Bishop and King. He will have no machinery of warden, fellows, and the rest, or allied college at the university, and has little confidence in clerical management. So he constituted the Mercers' Guild, of which he was an hereditary member, the governing body of his school, to whom he conveyed certain estates in Buckinghamshire for its maintenance. By his statute the masters, wardens, and assistants of the Mercers' Company are to choose annually two honest and substantial men of their fellowship as surveyors of the school, who shall take the charge and management for the year. The two surveyors, however, in practice only look after the accounts and pay the masters' salaries, referring all questions of management to the court of assistants of the company. The Dean's plan in its working contrasts in some respects favorably, in others unfavorably, with those of Bishop and King: favorably as regards the management of the estates. These in Colet's time produced an income of less than £200, which, under the management of the Mercers' Company, has now risen to £10,000. And while the warden, provost, and fellows have absorbed the lion's share of the endowments at Eton and Winchester, the Mercers' Company have never raised the salaries fixed for the surveyors in 1602 at £4 a year apiece, while the expenses of the court of assistants in connection with the school have been kept under £250 a year. On the other hand, the nomination of the scholars has become a matter of patronage, each member of the court of assistants taking them in rotation. They have also jealously guarded their powers, so that the head master has less control than in any other school, not being allowed even the selection and appointment of his staff. This under Colet's ordinances consisted of a head master, a sur-master, and a chaplain, but has been enlarged to seven masters, with adequate salaries, the head master's being £900, with the rents of two houses at Stepney and a residence adjoining the school. There is no chapel

attached to St. Paul's School, the original one having been burned in the great fire and never rebuilt; but Latin prayers, two of which were written by Erasmus, are read by the captain of the school twice a day. The whole of the head form (the eighth) act as monitors; but, as the school is practically a day-school, their powers and duties are limited. The school buildings still stand at the east end of St. Paul's Churchyard, fronting on one of the noisiest thoroughfares in the city. The suggestion of the Public Schools Commissioners for their removal to some more retired part of the metropolis, where a small playground or at least fives courts and a gymnasium might be provided, is still under the consideration of the Mercers' Company. The exhibitions to the universities belonging to the school are (in the opinion of the late head master) too numerous and too easily obtained. No English school has a higher scholastic tradition than St. Paul's. William Lely, the grammarian and first teacher of Greek in London, was the first high master, and Camden and Leland among the earliest scholars, who have been followed by an illustrious succession from Milton to the present Bishop of Manchester. But of late there has been (the Commissioners remark) a growing tendency in the court of assistants to narrow the sphere of its operations, and convert it from a public school into a mere charitable foundation, useful to individuals, but of little public importance.

Shrewsbury School, which follows next in order of seniority, claims a royal foundation, but is in reality the true child of the town's folk. The dissolution of the monasteries destroyed also the seminaries attached to many of them, to the great injury of popular education. This was specially the case in Shropshire, so in 1551 the bailiffs, burgesses, and inhabitants of Shrewsbury and the neighborhood petitioned Edward VI. for a grant of some portion of the estates of the dissolved collegiate churches for the purpose of founding a free school. The King consented, and granted to the petitioners the appropriated tithes of several livings and a charter, but died before the school was organized. It was in abeyance during Mary's reign, but opened in the fourth year of Elizabeth, 1562, by Thomas Aston, who soon drew to it not only the sons of citizens of Shrewsbury, but those of the gentry of Shropshire and the neighboring counties. Sir Philip Sidney, Fulke Greville, and Robert Devereux, afterward Earl of Essex, were among his pupils. Discussions which at once arose as to the government of the school between the corporation of Shrewsbury and Mr. Aston, represent-

ing the Crown, were settled in 1577, temporarily, when the school ordinances were passed by which the Bishop of Litchfield was named visitor, the appointment of head master was vested in the master and fellows of St. John's, and the practical control and management in the town bailiffs and head master. There has been a long struggle over the foundation, the town contending for a practical monopoly of its emoluments and benefits, which, if successful, would have degraded Shrewsbury from the rank of a public school. It has ended by the adoption of the scheme of the Public Schools Commissioners, and the governing body now consists of thirteen members—three named by the corporation of Shrewsbury, three by the Crown, one by each of the colleges of Christ Church, Oxford, and St. John's and Magdalen, Cambridge, the remaining four being elected by the governing body itself. The right of gratuitous education is limited to forty free scholars. The thirty-four scholarships and exhibitions to the universities have been thrown open. The monitorial system is carried out by twelve præpostors, who, upon entering office, engage in writing on the part of the school with the head master to do and prevent certain things. They read the lessons in chapel, call over the names, and represent the school before the head master. They have the power of setting impositions within certain limits, but none of caning. Four fags are allotted to the præpostors' room, who serve by weekly rotation, laying breakfast and tea and running messages ; but there is no individual fagging, or fagging at games. The revenues of the school amount to £3,100 a year, arising almost entirely from tithe-rent charges. The head master's emoluments, including profits of his boarding-house, are about £2,000 a year. The school attends Sunday-morning service at the church of St. Mary's, but otherwise the services are held in the school-chapel.

We have now reached the great group of Elizabethan schools, to which indeed Shrewsbury may also be said to belong, as it was not opened until the Queen had been three years on the throne. The two metropolitan schools of Westminster and Merchant Taylors' were in fact founded in 1560, two years before the opening of Shrewsbury. Westminster as a royal foundation must take precedence. It is a grammar-school attached by the Queen to the collegiate church of St. Peter, commonly called Westminster Abbey, and founded for the free education of forty scholars in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The Queen, with characteristic thriftiness, provided no endowment for her school, leaving the costs of maintenance as

a charge on the general revenues of the dean and chapter, which indeed were, then as now, fully competent to sustain the burden. Other boys have always been taught with the foundation scholars, the number being fixed by statute at eighty ; but this limit has not been observed. The scholars are elected by a system of competition called the challenge, of the nature of the old academical disputations. The candidates, generally about thirty in number competing for ten vacancies, come up by twos before the head master, beginning from the lowest. The junior proceeds to challenge the other to translate some portion of Greek epigram or Ovid's Metamorphoses prepared for the occasion. If he can correct any fault he takes the other boy's place, who becomes challenger, and attacks in his turn. Their "helps," senior boys who have prepared them, stand by and counsel their "men," and the head master moderates, deciding the point in issue when there is any doubt as to the correctness of an answer. The boy who remains successful now challenges the candidate next in seniority, and so the struggle goes on for some six or eight weeks, the boys who are highest at its close getting the vacant Queen's scholarships. These carry them either to Christ Church, Oxford, or Trinity, Cambridge, the heads of which colleges are on the governing body of the school, with the dean and chapter, and six laymen, four named by the Crown and two by the governing body. The monitorial system is in force in college. The four head boys, as captain and monitors, are formally intrusted with the maintenance of discipline by the head master before the whole school. The system of fagging was onerous until quite recently, so much so that its severity was noticed by the Commissioners in their report in 1864. It has since been lightened by the appointment of servants to do part of the work (such as calling in the early mornings, providing hot water, and making up fires. There is no school chapel, the boys attending the Abbey services. The hall is the room in which Henry IV. is lying sick in Shakespeare's play, and the dormitories and schools form the southern side of Dean's Yard. The playground is in Vincent Square, half a mile from the school, and the neighborhood is not a healthy one in any sense for boys to frequent. Moreover, the headquarters of rowing, for which the school was justly celebrated, have migrated of late years to quieter and safer waters at Putney, six miles up the river. Having regard to which facts, and the constant closing in of the city, efforts have been made to remove the school out of town. These, however, have failed through the opposition of old

Westminsters, fearful of breaking the school traditions and the connection with the abbey, and of abandoning the privilege which the upper boys possess of entrance to the galleries of the Houses of Parliament to hear the debates. Up to the last generation Westminster was the school of several of the great political families. Two premiers, Lords Aberdeen and Russell, were educated there, and many other statesmen ; and, though this is no longer the case, the old tradition gives way so slowly that it will probably take at least another generation to transplant the school to a healthier and more eligible site.

Merchant Taylors', the other metropolitan school founded in 1560, owes its origin to Sir Thomas White, a member of the Court of Assistants of the company, and founder of St. John's College, Oxford. It was probably his promise to connect the school with his college which induced the Company to undertake the task, and to declare by the statutes, taken in great part from Dean Colet, that their school should "have continuance by God's grace for ever." Sir Thomas White redeemed his promise by endowing the school with thirty-seven fellowships at St. John's College. The fellowships have been thrown open by an ordinance of the Privy Council founded on an act of Parliament, but the school still retains twenty-one scholarships at St. John's, of £100 each, and tenable for seven years. The school is a day-school of 250 boys, the vacancies being filled by the nominees of the Merchant Taylors' Company. The boys now pay £10 a year for their education, all the surplus cost, amounting to about £2,000 a year, being borne by the company, in whose hands the management and government of the school exclusively rest. The only trace of the monitorial system is that some of the elder boys assist in the school-work. There is no fagging, the boys never being together out of school-hours. Merchant Taylors', it will thus be seen, is a grand foundation, of the highest value as a place of education to the sons of professional men and clerks living in London ; but as a pure day-school, without the monitorial system, and belonging to (or at any rate claimed as belonging to) a city company, would scarcely have been classed as a public school but for the fact that it is so included in the Public Schools Commission of 1861. Its inclusion tends to show how broad the authoritative interpretation of the term is with the Privy Council and the legal advisers of the Crown.

Rugby, or the free school of Lawrence Sheriff, follows next in order, having been founded in 1567 by Lawrence Sheriff, grocer,

and citizen of London. His "intent" (as the document expressing his wishes is called) declares that his lands in Rugby and Brownsover, and his "third of a pasture-ground in Gray's Inn Fields, called Conduit Close," shall be applied to maintain a free grammar school for the children of Rugby and Brownsover, and the places adjoining, and four poor almsmen of the same parishes. These estates, after providing a fair schoolhouse and residences for the master and almsmen, at first produced a rental of only £24 13*s.* 4*d.* In due time, however, Conduit Close became a part of central London, and Rugby School the owner of eight acres of houses in and about the present Lamb's Conduit Street. The income of the whole trust property amounts now to about £6,000, of which £255 is expended on the maintenance of the twelve almsmen. There is no visitor, and the foundation consists simply of a board of trustees, a schoolmaster, assistant masters, a chaplain, and the boys. The trustees have from the first been country gentlemen of Warwickshire and the neighboring counties, who have used the school for many generations for their own children. They were until lately self-electing, and the same names, those of the Warwickshire landed gentry, appear again and again ever since the creation of the board in 1614. The trustees possess legally almost unlimited powers over the management of the school, but in practice have left very large discretion to the head master, who in internal administration, appointing assistant masters, regulating studies, and the like, has practically done what he thought best, always, however, with the knowledge that the power of review and correction rests with those to whom he is responsible for the discipline and instruction of the school. This responsibility has, however, been shared by the assistant masters for the last fifty years, since Arnold on his appointment introduced the practice of holding a "levy of masters," as it is called, monthly, for consultation on school business. The practice has been attributed to his love of equality and well-known opinions on government; but, whatever the origin, the custom has worked well, and is not likely to be disturbed. The tutorial system of Eton was introduced at Rugby toward the end of the last century by Dr. James and Dr. Ingles, Eton men who were successively head masters. As modified by Arnold it still prevails. Rugby has no special connection with either university, but provides five exhibitions annually, ranging from fifty to eighty pounds, which are open to free competition. At Rugby the school close is thirteen acres in extent, and the games played in it are regulated by an assembly

alled "big side levy," consisting of all boys in the upper school, nother democratic arrangement not in use in any other of the nine chools. The monitorial system exists in a carefully guarded form. The sixth form, or præpostors, exercise it over the whole school, or the purpose of enforcing rules and preserving order. They ave the power of fagging all boys below the fifth form. The duies of the fags are limited to dusting the sixth-form studies, making toast at breakfast and tea, running messages, and attendance t games. Attendance at football, hare and hounds, and brookleaping is compulsory, except for those who are excused by a medial certificate; in fact, as the Commissioners report, fagging at games has been reduced almost "to a system of making physical ducation compulsory in all cases in which there is no reason to pprehend evil effects upon the health from compulsion." The hapel is only used on Sundays, Good Friday, Ash Wednesday, Ascension and All-Saints', and on Founders' Day, October 19th. On ther days there are short morning prayers in the big school and vening prayers in the boarding-houses. There are sixty-one foundationers, or boys living in or within ten miles of Rugby, who get free education, except in tutorial work, for which they pay like he other boys. The head master's emoluments, including profits n boarders in the schoolhouse, amount to between £3,000 and £4,000 a year; those of the thirteen classical assistant masters ange from £340 to £1,620; those of the three mathematical from £580 to £1,410, while the two modern language masters get £1,284 nd £286 respectively. Of all the nine schools, it is the one which as made the greatest advance toward grafting a new curriculum f modern studies upon the old classical system, though it has topped short in this respect of the best schools of the Victorian ra.

Harrow school was founded in 1571, four years later than Rugby, by John Lyon, a yeoman of the parish. He was owner of certain small estates in and about Harrow and Barnet, and of others t Paddington and Kilburn. All these he devoted to public purposes, but unfortunately gave the former for the perpetual education of the children and youth of the parish, and the latter for the maintenance and repair of the highways from Harrow and Edgware o London. The present yearly revenue of the school estates is arely over £1,000, while that of the highway trust is nearly £4,000. But, though the poorest in endowments, Harrow, from its nearness o London, and consequent attractions for the classes who spend a

large portion of their year in the metropolis either in attendance in Parliament, or for pleasure, has become the rival of Eton as a fashionable school. The governors are a corporation under charter, and were six in number until increased to twelve, on the recommendation of the Public Schools Commissioners. They are accustomed to interfere even less than the Rugby trustees with the administration of the head master, who himself appoints all assistant masters, gives leave to open boarding-houses, and is responsible for the financial arrangements of the school.

The custom, however, of masters' levies exists at Harrow as at Rugby, having been introduced by Dr. Vaughan, the late head master and a distinguished pupil of Arnold. Harrow, like Rugby, has no special connection with either university, but, unlike Rugby, has few exhibitions open to yearly competition. Two "John Lyon" scholarships are given yearly, of the value of £30, and tenable for four years, and there is also a scholarship of £100 a year tenable for three years, becoming vacant every fourth year. On the other hand, in prizes of medals and books for the best examinations in special subjects, the school is unusually rich. The monitorial and fagging systems are similar to those of Rugby, the chief difference being that the monitors are only ten in number; each monitor may exempt four fags from football if he is playing himself, while the head of the school may exempt any number, and that cricket fagging is more completely organized, the whole number of fags being taken in rotation, so that each boy's turn comes only once a week. After three years boys are exempt from fagging, though they may not have reached the fifth form. Private tuition on the Eton system is universal. The chapel services are confined to Sundays and a few great festivals. The choir is composed of boys who meet for practice twice a week. The masters in orders preach by turns on Sunday, a custom found to be of great value both to themselves and to the boys. The foundations are boys resident in Harrow, and are exempt from all charges except fifteen guineas for private tuition and £2 10*s.* for school charges. The head master and several of the senior assistant masters have large boarding-houses, while others are allowed to keep smaller boarding-houses in which higher rates are paid, amounting on an average to an extra cost of £50 a year. These are intended for boys whose health is such as to render them unfit for the rougher discipline and more bracing atmosphere of large houses. The emoluments of the head master, after making deductions for exceptional expenses falling on him in

respect of repairs of the buildings and otherwise, the result of the want of endowments, considerably exceed £4,000 a year, those of the assistant masters range between £500 and £1,500.

Last on the list of the nine schools comes the Charterhouse (the Whitefriars of Thackeray's novels). It may be fairly classed with the Elizabethan schools, though actually founded in 1609, after the accession of James I. In that year a substantial yeoman, Thomas Sutton by name, purchased from Lord Suffolk the lately dissolved Charterhouse, by Smithfield, and obtained letters patent empowering him to found a hospital and school on the old site. In the patent sixteen persons are named and incorporated as governors, which number, consisting always of persons eminent in church and state, remained unaltered until increased by four under the advice of the Public Schools Commissioners. The governors meet twice a year to view the state of the hospital, make election of poor men and poor scholars, and do other business. The old Charterhouse, though situated in one of the most crowded and unsuitable quarters of London, had this great advantage over the other metropolitan schools, that it had a playground of five acres adjoining the buildings. The whole premises, including school buildings and hospital, residences for the masters of each, cloisters and playground, were surrounded by a high wall pierced by only one gateway. In this inclosure the boys lived, side by side, with the "poor, aged, maimed, needy, and impotent people," the poor brothers of the hospital, and worshiping in the same chapel, a pathetic juxtaposition brought out with exquisite delicacy and humor in Thackeray's sketch of the last days of Colonel Newcome. The property of the corporation, apart from the Smithfield site, produced an income of about £23,000, of which about £8,000 was spent on the school. The boys were of three classes, sixty foundationers, named by the governors in rotation, and entitled to free maintenance and education, clothes, and a gown and trencher-cap, with an exhibition of £80 a year at either university upon passing a satisfactory examination at the age of eighteen; boarders, who lived in the masters' houses, and day boys paying £18 18*s.* for their education. The monitorial and fagging systems were much the same as at Westminster, except that all boys in and above the fourth form were exempt. But the old school in Smithfield is a thing of the past. Since the visit of the Public Schools Commissioners in 1862, the governors, acting in the spirit of their recommendations, have transplanted the school to one of the most beautiful parts of

England, in the neighborhood of Guildford. The great value of the site of the old school has enabled them to proceed in the most liberal manner, and the new school buildings, boarding-houses, and arrangements of all kinds are equal, if not superior, to those of any other school in the kingdom. This experiment, the first of the kind, has been eminently successful, and its results have by this time reconciled most old Carthusians to the partial break in the school traditions and the severance of their school from the hospital and the poor brethren.

The above sketch, though necessarily meager, will, it is hoped, help to put our readers on the right road toward an understanding of the English public-school system, which undoubtedly furnishes one more example of the curious anomalies which are found in every department of the many-sided life of the country, and also of the strong practical sagacity which underlies the national character, and enables the nation, with all its strange wastefulness and indifference to logical methods, to achieve its ends and get what it needs, practically if not scientifically. We have only to look at the names of the founders to see how the need for such institutions as these schools must have been felt in all parts of the nation before and at the time of the revival of learning. The Crown, great churchmen, municipalities, commercial guilds, city tradesmen, yeomen of the counties, are all there; in fact, the only class conspicuous by its absence is that of the great nobles and landed gentry—the very class which has in the long run made most use of the schools. The main object of the founders seems in all cases to have been the promotion of the best learning then obtainable; the next, the benefit of certain specified localities and of the poor. The two objects proved in the end incompatible, and one or other had to give way; time would show which it was to be. It soon appeared that there was no demand for the best learning among the poor, and so scores of Tudor grammar-schools gave up offering it at all, and fell gradually into decay and paralysis, from which they are only now awakening. On the other hand, there was and continued to be a fair demand for "the best learning" among the landed gentry and the professional and mercantile classes, and this demand the nine schools which remained comparatively faithful to their highest trust were there to meet with more or less success. And so (as the Commissioners declare in their report) "public-school education as it exists in England, and in England only, has grown up chiefly within their walls, and has been propagated from

them ; and, though now surrounded by younger institutions of a like character, and of great and increasing importance, they are still in common estimation its acknowledged types, as they have for several generations been its principal centers."

We are quite conscious, however, that, after having gone with us so far, the American inquirer in whose company we started will still be entitled to repeat his question in a slightly modified form, and to say : "You have only told me that certain specified institutions, differing widely in their constitutions and methods of teaching and discipline, are public schools in your sense, and that they are so because they give a public-school education. Now, then, what is this public-school education which they give ?" The same question confronted the Public Schools Commissioners whom we have so often cited, and is adverted to by them in the introduction to their report. They, speaking to an English audience, were able to a certain extent to give it the go-by, and, in their report, to treat public-school education as "a phrase which is popular and sufficiently intelligible," without attempting to define its precise meaning. But this, at any rate, is not so in America, and their example can not be followed in these pages. What gives the subject such interest as it possesses for Americans is the almost entire absence, even in the Eastern States, of educational constitutions answering the purposes which the nine schools, and their modern rivals, serve in the United Kingdom. However democratic a nation may be in spirit and character, and in its political and social constitution and organization, the time must come when it will breed a gentry, leisure class, aristocracy, call it by what name you will, as certainly (as Mr. Emerson has said) as it will breed women. The more vigorous and prosperous the nation, the sooner will the class arise ; and the more healthy the class, the more certain will it be to insist on the highest culture attainable for its boys and girls.

But the highest culture can not be brought to every man's door. However good your common-school system may be, you can not have a thoroughly satisfactory school, so far as instruction is concerned, except in great centers of population ; and, in those great centers, though the school-work and teaching may be as good as you require, the conditions of life are not the best for boys (leaving girls out of the question) from twelve to eighteen, the years between the home schoolroom and the university. Besides, a large portion of the class in question live too far from the great centers to make use of the best common schools, without sending their

boys for long periods from under their own roofs. Some system of boarding-schools, therefore, must be established; and the problem is how it can be best done, what conditions of government, discipline, and instruction, will suit the national character and habits best, and turn out the kind of men whom the commonwealth needs most.

That the English public-school system, with all its faults and shortcomings, has done this work for the old country in a fairly satisfactory manner is an unquestioned fact, and might perhaps be safely assumed here. We prefer, however, to cite the highest testimony on the point. The Public Schools Commissioners in their report, after a very searching criticism on many parts of the system, confess the obligations which England owes to the schools, "which, were their defects far greater than they are, would entitle them to be treated with the utmost tenderness and respect"; and, after speaking of the service they have rendered in the maintenance of classical literature as the staple of English education, "a service which far outweighs the error of having clung to these studies too exclusively," continues: "A second and greater service still is the creation of a system of government and discipline for boys, the excellence of which has been universally recognized, and which is admitted to have been most important in its influence on national character and social life. It is not easy to estimate the degree in which the English people are indebted to these schools for the qualities on which they pique themselves most—for their capacity to govern others and control themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigor and manliness of character, their strong but not slavish respect for public opinion, their love of healthy sport and exercise. These schools have been the chief nurseries of our statesmen; in them, and in schools modeled after them, men of all the various classes that make up English society, destined for every profession and career, have been brought up on the footing of social equality, and have contracted the most enduring friendships and some of the ruling habits of their lives; and they have had perhaps the largest share in molding the character of an English gentleman. The system, like other systems, has had its blots and imperfections; there have been times when it was at once too lax and too severe—severe in its punishments, but lax in superintendence and prevention; it has permitted if not encouraged some roughness, tyranny, and license, but these defects have not seriously marred its wholesome operation;

and it appears to have gradually purged itself of them in a remarkable degree. Its growth, no doubt, is due to those very qualities in our national character which it has itself contributed to form, but justice bids us add that it is due likewise to the wise munificence which founded the institutions under whose shelter it has been enabled to take root, and to the good sense, temper, and ability of the men by whom, for successive generations, they have been governed."

In the case of nations of the same race, and so nearly identical in character and habits as the people of the United States and the English, it may reasonably be assumed that a system which has borne such fruits in the one is at least worth the careful examination of the other. We propose, therefore, in a future number to recur to the subject, and consider what is of the essence and what are the mere accidents of the English public-school system, in the assurance that, whether it may or may not approve itself to the American people, an intelligent understanding and appreciation of it will greatly help them in determining how to deal best with their own boys at the age when the mind is "wax to receive and marble to retain," and the characters of most men take the bent and impress which they never lose in after-life.

THOMAS HUGHES.

III.

GERMAN SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.

> "No one who watches events which are now happening can doubt that, if Socialism should continue to advance with so much rapidity as it has lately shown in Germany and the United States, the day is not far distant when the Socialists will be able to control the legislations of these countries."

Such were the warning words recently uttered at the English University of Cambridge by the eminent economist and member of Parliament, Mr. Henry Fawcett. There is little doubt that most Americans who have chanced to notice this prophecy have summarily dismissed it with the consoling reflection that there is no danger, because there is no truth in Mr. Fawcett's fears. Yet the mere partial fulfillment of these forebodings would mark a change more momentous than any that is recorded in the history of our race. To examine in detail, however, the origin and progress of modern Socialism, or the certain consequences which the triumph of its principles would involve, is no purpose of the present paper. But, in order to fulfill the object in view, it will be necessary to cast a cursory glance at the growth and doctrines of the new creed, before approaching a subject which is but a branch of the parent tree that has fastened its roots in the countries of the Old World.

In studying the operations of surrounding society the conclusions of the modern mind are ordinarily determined by certain antecedent conditions. Results are predicted by certain rules or laws, fixed and formulated by the light of repeated and recorded experience. While science has become a history, history has become a science. Given to the modern historian certain premises, his conclusions are at hand, and his inferences are ordinarily derived with the same certainty with which the chemist forecasts the com-

bination of atoms. So it became possible for Edmund Burke to predict the effects of the French Revolution, and thus the powerful mind of Pitt foresaw the inevitable fall of Napoleon. Men so short-sighted as Jefferson may have seen in the outburst of the French Revolution the dawn of an era of universal happiness. But, by the calmer and more observing exponents of history, the salient and inevitable results of the people's reign could be predicted with the same precision with which Leverrier foretold the existence of a new planet. And why? For the simple reason that in various guises "all this had been before." From time immemorial modern society had formed two great camps. The men who had all to gain had striven with the men who had all to lose. The one side formed the defensive, the other the offensive party. The one became the party of conservatism, the other the party of reaction. No sooner had the democrats reached the coveted goal of wealth than, like Juno, a goddess in pursuit but a cloud in possession, the principles of the pursuer vanished with the attainment of his end. The ardent democrat of yesterday became the stanch conservative of to-day. The democracy of one era became the conservatism of the succeeding one. The dream of one age was the science of the next. Again and again the mass of the people had watched this evolution with alarm and apprehension. Repeatedly society was declared not sufficiently elastic to meet the strain. Each fresh generation had asked itself the question, How far can radicalism advance without bursting the bonds of society? And each time the question was solved by repeating it.

But the cause of strife—the *summum bonum*—had been wealth alone. And there could be no radical displacement of the fundamental fabric of society, so long as all parties stood on the one ground of the supreme value of property. The aim and the object of all classes were identical. They all bowed down to Mammon.

Suddenly, within the memory of men still living, there sprang into existence, in full panoply, a counter party—a counter revolution, nominally endowed with public and universal aims, and destined to redeem the great mass of human sufferers by organized and orderly confederation. Hitherto our civilization had been one of property. It was now proposed to make it one of competency. Universal cooperation was to take the place of universal competition. The capitalist and the poor man alike were to vanish from the face of society. State effort was to supplant individual effort, and the central Government to be controlled and governed by universal and united

coöperation. It was for the first time proposed to Swedenborgianize society by investing every man with a dynamic value in the mechanism of state. Never before had this doctrine been advanced. Never had it been known to cast before it even the faintest shadow. Neither the republican society of Plato, of Fourier, or of Babeuf; nor the hierarchical and aristocratic of Saint Simon; nor the theocratic of the Essenes; nor the despotic of the Peruvians or Jesuits; nor the polygamous of the the Mormons; nor the materialistic of Robert Owen; nor the terrorism of Robespierre, had ever contemplated universal and equal distribution of property, coupled with a general and coercive recruiting of its members.

In Germany, the classic land of modern Socialism, the new creed was first proclaimed. Hardly twenty-five years have elapsed since it first found expression in the person of its great tribune, Ferdinand Lassalle, a leader at once endowed with the fanaticism of Robespierre, the philosophic mind of Kant, and the personal magnetism of O'Connell. His numerous apostles, stronger than the great prophet himself in their denunciation of the "cruel, brazen law of wages," soon built up the party now known as the party of German Socialism. If we are to believe the words of the great German Chancellor, this man, despite his professions, detested the burgher because he was not sufficiently imbued with admiration for his leader, while he despised the workman because he bargained too closely for submission; and, "in revenge," says Prince Bismarck, "he worshiped Lassalle." But however this may be, Lassalle, "thinker and man of war," as his epitaph reads, will remain the first high priest of the new social creed, and the prophet of a social system which has made all Europe quake and brought the most powerful minister of modern times to declare that "in all the great German Empire his dog alone remains unshaken in his allegiance." It is indeed due to such leaders as Lassalle and Karl Marx, and the great learning which they brought to the cause, that the intellectual classes of Germany were permeated with the new principles of Socialism, and it is to them that it owes its growth and success in the fatherland. How different from France, where the remnants of feudalism had provoked the anarchic attack of the great Revolution, and finally spent its untutored forces in the after-birth of the July Revolution and the Commune! For neither the Commune nor communism could endure so long as the first Napoleon went down to posterity with the Code in his hand, and so long as discontent was confined to the lowest orders. Indeed, most traces of Socialism have now

vanished from French soil, and the fact would seem partly due to the slow and silent operation of the Code Napoléon, which imposes upon all testators an equal distribution of property, and partly to the distribution of a great debt among the masses of the people.

If, on the other hand, we turn to the eastern neighbor of the German confederation, we find quite another picture. It is not from the working classes that the ranks of nihilism are recruited in the great empire of the Czars. The Russian *moujik* is content with the poverty and obscurity that fall to his lot. It is only when roused by agitators like Serge Netchaieff, an ex-professor of Moscow University, that he is moved from the lethargy of his passive condition. In Russia, Socialism, as the recent and alarming students' riots attest, is confined almost wholly to the intellectual classes which struggle in sympathy with the movement in Germany. Within the last eight years the Russian nihilists have quadrupled their numbers, and the existence of Socialism may well be considered ominous and dangerous to an autocracy where the intellectual classes wield the powers of state, and number in their own ranks secret members of the new persuasion. Indeed, the wave of liberalism and nihilism which has lately passed over the dominions of the Czar is not viewed without concern by the German Chancellor himself, whose powerful and forecasting intellect has even crossed the sea to watch and promote the progress now making by his enemies in the greatest republic of modern times.

It is the present purpose to consider the advance of Socialism in America, and especially the importation to this country of German Socialism with its measures and its men. We have reason to believe that few Americans perceive the danger that is daily growing in their presence under the shrewd and fostering protection of Prince Bismarck. Not many months ago, when Europe was panic-stricken by four successive attempts in one year upon the lives of three monarchs, Prince Bismarck, by the famous bill passed in the Reichstag, laid low the Socialist propaganda in Germany. By the repressive measures of this bill two million Germans were deprived of their constitutional rights. Of these two millions, the German Government, supremely conscious of its own best interests, is now making attempts, direct and indirect, to drive a large portion to this country. It is here proposed to show how far this element of German Socialism has already fixed its fangs in the most susceptible portion of our people, and threatens, with a larger increase of representatives and loquacious agita-

tors, to diffuse its poison into all classes sufficiently indigent and sufficiently ignorant to join the great caravan of the discontented.

It seems indeed curious that Socialism, a movement so menacing to the peace of the military despotisms of the Russian and German Empires, should have reached our shores, and found foothold in this land of freedom and of plenty. It was long believed that neither discord nor discontent could ever cross the threshold of the young republic. She was the home of the oppressed, the asylum of the outcast. In a land flowing with milk and honey, where fortune and nature had vied with each other in their gifts, men thought to see and to foresee the realization of humanity's fondest hopes. Endowed with wealth, with all the fundamental principles of political liberty, a boundless and exhaustless territory, it seemed as if America were destined to dispel the night of ages, and to regenerate mankind. With earnest solicitude the wisest heads of Europe watched the progress of the great experiment. But the outbreak of the war of secession, foreseen and predicted by De Tocqueville, brought all calculation to a standstill, and modified and convulsed the whole condition of our social fabric. It introduced caste. It made of the republic a plutocracy. It altered and remolded our commercial and economic systems. It fostered protection. It created speculation, extravagance, an immense debt, and poverty. It was through the operation of these changes and innovations that the prevalence of Socialistic principles became possible in the United States; and while we have been discussing the possibility of a Mongol invasion, and the incapacity of the negro for responsible government, we have failed to notice the new enemy who may at no distant day plunge capital and labor into a conflict calculated to test the strength of a weak government even more severely than the late civil war.

To the ninety-nine out of every hundred of our people, Socialism in this country means nothing more than an empty name applied to strange and visionary radicals. To such it will be surprising if not alarming to learn that there are, in the leading and most populous States of the Union, thousands upon thousands of enrolled members of the regular Socialist organization, and that in numbers they largely exceed the organization which first elicited attention in Germany. We do not include the "Butlerites" and "Kearneyites" and other children of discontent, ever ready to give ear to their tempters, and to follow in the wake of the first successful demagogue or party that may lead the crusade against capital. Such

demagogues are already at hand, and dare to-day to raise their voice in the supreme councils of the nation. Not many months have passed since a United States Senator declared in debate at Washington that the combat of the future lay between the men who own the public debt and those who are to pay it, "*if it is to be paid at all.*" Nor does this estimate include the unnumbered thousands who have signified their allegiance to the cause of Socialism, without affixing their signatures as enrolled members of the brotherhood. The large number of self-supporting Socialist newspapers alone attests the existence of an immense sympathizing (though for the present silent) mass of men. And the success and extent of the movement are the more appreciable after a careful comparison of the relative increase of the Socialist vote, recently polled in the large cities of the Union, with that cast in Berlin during late years. By this it appears that the result at the polls of our large political centers, such as New York and Chicago, shows a more rapid growth of the Socialist vote than that cast at Berlin, when the increase was considered sufficiently alarming to call for restrictive measures. And the wonder grows greater when upon investigation it is ascertained that the moving spirits of our Socialist party are German agitators—many of them recently imported from the fatherland. These men lend to the cause all their knowledge, pertinacity, and experience. We speak of such men as F. Leib and Paul Grottkau, convicted and condemned, some time since, by the tribunals of Berlin, and Gustav Lyser and Henry Eude—both escaped from the prisons of Frankfort, the latter having since taken a prominent part in the Paris Commune. Indeed, the sympathy and the union of the American party with the German movement may be seen from the fact that, previous to the last election in Germany, a considerable sum was raised in the United States to aid the Socialists in defraying election expenses in Prussia. There these funds were instrumental in swelling the majority against a friendly Government.

Mr. Seward once declared that of all the elements which entered into our national composition the German was the element which he most feared. The discontented and revolutionary spirit which characterizes the German mind, coupled with the little learning which every citizen of the fatherland brings with him, and the clannishness of his race, seemed to Mr. Seward a danger menacing to the existing order of things. It is indeed true that the German combines in his nature traits dangerous to the fundamental princi-

ples of the present system of our society. Abject in adversity and minority, he becomes aggressive when favored by fortune and number. We have seen these features developed in Europe and even in our own country. We have witnessed the abject degradation of the German, when at the beginning of the century so-called Dutch slaves were sold in cargoes to the highest bidder. In the year 1817 six thousand German redemptioners were landed in Pennsylvania, where whole families were purchased by free negroes, of which there were then large numbers in Maryland.* That the German, despite the quality of infection that characterizes his doctrines, is of a clannish nature which with difficulty loses all traces of German origin, may be easily seen in Pennsylvania, the State which has suffered most from the ravages of Socialism. In that State there may be found at the present day whole communities of these people who have preserved the mother tongue to the exclusion of the Engish language. There can indeed be little doubt that German colonization, wherever it goes, is apt to illustrate the dictum of Lamartine when he said of the Turks that they were camped in Europe. As the Turk brings with him all the peculiarities of barbarism, so the German imports all the characteristics of the fatherland, and hands them down to succeeding ages without the Balkans for a barrier or the Koran for a curb.

Mr. Seward's fears apply pertinently to a large part of the six million Germans who now form a portion of the American Union. Of these the Socialists justly claim large numbers, and, if we examine the first acts and constitution of the Socialistic Labor party, it will appear that from its very foundation the chief officials and ringleaders of the organization were and still are Germans, not a few of whom have been expelled or have fled from their native country because of conspiracy against society. Nevertheless, these men have become the leaders of a great national and American movement.

At the first National Convention of Socialists, held at Philadelphia July 19, 1876, the year preceding the great railway strikes, three-fourths of the delegates present bore German names. A previous convention had been held at Pittsburg, the hotbed of the railway strikes, but no regular constitution was there adopted. At the Union Congress of Philadelphia, however, lasting some days, the party first received from its sponsors the name of the "Workingmen's Party

* See official report (p. 27) of Herr von Fürstenvärther, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1818.

of the United States." Here a constitution was finally formulated and adopted amid excitement and exhortations to keep cool, and here the first appeal was made to the great working classes of the United States. In these seditious words did Messrs. Sorge and Gabriel, two German delegates to the Union Congress, make their appeal to the country: "Rise, then, ye sons and daughters of labor! Rally round its flag, and carry it to the heights of humanity! Alter and amend whatever we did wrong or may be impracticable, but join hands with us for the establishment of that fraternal union of the disinherited and down-trodden wages-laborer which will relieve us from the evils of capitalistic society." These words strengthened the faithful, and the strikes grew with their growth and strengthened with their strength.

At the National Congress of the workingmen held at Newark, New Jersey, at the end of December, 1877, the year of the great labor strikes, the name of the party was changed to the "Socialistic Labor Party," and most of the clauses of the platform and constitution adopted at Philadelphia were retained. Here, however, all the principles were duly discussed and adopted by an assembly considerably larger than the Union Congress. It comprised among its members representatives from the remotest States of the Union. In this large assembly, again, over one half of the representatives were German, and the elected chairman, as well as two thirds of the committees chosen, could boast a German origin. Indeed, at this meeting the inconvenience attending the presence of so many German agitators, but lately arrived from the mother country and totally ignorant of the English language, became so apparent that a resolution was passed recommending each section to send to future conventions of the party delegates familiar with the English tongue. The following platform was adopted. We give it as it appeared in the last election bulletins. To any reader familiar with the writings of Lassalle and Karl Marx, it will present but an abstract from their works:

"*The earth is man's, and the fullness thereof.*"

THE NATIONAL PLATFORM AND PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIALISTIC LABOR PARTY.

"LABOR being the source of all wealth and civilization, and useful labor being possible only by and through the associated efforts of the people, the results of labor should, therefore, in all justice, belong to society. The system under which society is now organized is imperfect and hostile to the

general welfare, since through it the directors of labor, necessarily a small minority, are enabled in the competitive struggle to practically monopolize all the means of labor—all opportunities to produce for and supply the wants of the people—and the masses are therefore maintained in poverty and dependence.

"The industrial emancipation of labor, which must be achieved by the working classes themselves, independent of all political parties but their own, is consequently the great end, to which every political movement should be subordinate as a means.

"Since the ruling political parties have always sought only the direct interest of the dominant or wealthy classes, endeavored to uphold their industrial supremacy, and to perpetuate the present condition of society, it is now the duty of the working people to organize themselves into one great Labor party, using political power to achieve industrial independence. The material condition of the working people in all civilized countries being identical, and resulting from the same cause, the struggle for industrial emancipation is international, and must naturally be coöperative and mutual; therefore the organization of National and International Trade and Labor Unions upon a socialistic basis is an absolute necessity. For these reasons the Socialistic Labor party has been founded. We demand that the resources of life—the means of production, public transportation and communication, land, machinery, railroads, telegraph lines, canals, etc., become, as fast as practicable, the common property of the whole people through the Government—to abolish the wage system and substitute in its stead coöperative production, with a just distribution of its rewards.

"The Socialistic Labor party presents the following demands as measures to ameliorate the condition of the working people under our present competitive system and to *gradually accomplish the entire removal of the same:*

"1. Eight hours for the present as a legal working day, and prompt punishment of all violators.

"2. Sanitary inspection of all conditions of labor, means of subsistence and dwellings included.

"3. Bureaus of Labor Statistics in all States as well as in the National Government. The officers of the same to be elected by the people.

"4. Prohibition of the use of prison labor by private employers or corporations.

"5. Prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen years of age in industrial establishments.

"6. Compulsory education of all children under fourteen years of age. All materials, books, etc., necessary in the public schools, to be furnished free of charge.

"7. Prohibition of the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to the health or morality, and equalization of women's wages with those of men, where equal service is performed.

"8. Strict laws making employers liable for all accidents resulting through their negligence to the injury of their employees.

"9. All wages to be paid in the lawful money of the nation and at intervals of time not exceeding one week. Violations of this rule to be legally punished.

"10. All conspiracy laws operating against the right of workingmen to strike or induce others to strike shall be repealed.

"11. Gratuitous administration of justice in all courts of law.

"12. All indirect taxation to be abolished, and a graded income tax collected in its stead.

"13. All banking and insurance to be conducted by the Government.

"14. The right of suffrage shall in no wise be abridged.

"15. Direct popular legislation, enabling the people to propose or reject any law at their will, and introduction of minority representation in all legislative elections.

"16. Every public officer shall be at all times subject to prompt recall by the election of a successor.

"17. The importation of coolies under contract must be immediately prohibited, and those now in America under similar obligations shall be released from the same.

"The ignorance of the workingman as to his rights and wrongs is the cause of his enslavement by the intelligent ruffians of the age.

"Production belongs to the producer; the tools belong to the toiler.

"Economical, political, and religious liberty constitute the Holy Trinity of Human Freedom."

It was decided at Newark to conduct the affairs of the party by conventions, executive committees, and a board of supervision, the National Convention to assemble at least once in every two years, and the organization to be divided into sections embracing the whole of the United States. The following extracts from rules and regulations prescribed by the Newark Convention will give some conception of the care and minuteness with which the society is organized:

"Ten persons may form a section, providing they acknowledge the platform and constitution and resolutions of the National and State Conventions, and belong to no other political party. They shall demand admission to the party by sending a list of members to the National Executive Committee, and both list of membership and dues for the year to the State Executive Committee. Each section shall send each month a report of its numerical and financial condition, also its progress and prospects, to the National and also the State Executive Committee. It shall establish proper connections with the trades-unions, and endeavor to organize new ones upon the Socialistic basis.

"Only one main section shall be established in each city or town. When necessary, however, additional sections may be formed by those unable to take part in business meetings conducted in the English language. But in

matters of local importance, especially in political campaigns, all the sections shall be as one body.

"The section shall be the judge of its own members and responsible for their actions.

"Sections of different localities may propose the calling of a special State Convention. Ten sections are necessary to form a State organization. All ward and district organizations, including all branches and suburbs, shall belong to the main section. No ward or district organization shall conduct business of an important local character independently of the main section. Each section shall hold an agitation meeting at least once every two weeks, and a regular business meeting at least once a month. Three fourths of the members of a section must be wages-workers. The names of all persons applying for admission to the party must be voted upon at the regular business meeting of the main local section. Every section belonging to the party for three months prior to the National Convention, and which has fulfilled all its obligations, is entitled to representation therein by one delegate for each one hundred members or fraction thereof."

The National Convention frames the national platform, decides the form of organization, nominates the national candidates, and directs the national agitation, selects the place where the next National Convention will be held, and where the National Executive Committee and the Board of Supervision will be located. It fixes the salaries of party officers. It selects the corresponding and financial secretaries, and investigates and decides all difficulties within the party.

"The State Conventions will assemble at a proper time where the State elections are held. Each section is entitled to representation in the State Convention by one delegate for every fifty members or fraction thereof.

"The State Convention frames the State platform, nominates the State candidates, and decides where the State Executive Committee shall be located. All State and local platforms must be based upon the national platform, and shall not conflict with the principles therein declared. There is a National Executive Committee, and in each State a State Executive Committee. It is the duty of the National Executive Committee to carry out the resolutions of the National Convention, to organize and centralize the movement, to conduct and manage the agitation generally, and to establish proper relations and communication with the trades-unions of our own country and with the Socialistic parties of Europe. It is further incumbent upon it to issue semi-annually a report of the party, stating definitely the condition of every section and of the party's finances.

"The State Executive Committees are required to send every three months a full report showing the condition of their sections to the National Executive Committee. There is a board of supervision whose duty it is to watch over the acts of the National Executive Committee and of the whole party.

"In each State organization the sections pay five cents per month for each member of the State Executive Committee, from which funds the State Executive Committee pays to the National Executive Committee the sum of three cents per month. In case of need the National Executive Committee may with concurrence of the Board of Supervision call for the collection of voluntary contributions to the national funds.

All members, in acknowledging the platform and constitution, take upon themselves the obligations to assist each other to the extent of their ability in case of need. Each section elects from its midst an organizer, agitator, or, in other words, "a drummer," whose business it is to recruit as many members as can be enticed to join the ranks of the party.

"It is incumbent upon every member to pay, as monthly dues, at least ten cents, of which sum five cents is sent to the State Executive Committee. Invalids or unemployed members are excused from these payments.

"The emancipation of women is to be accomplished with the emancipation of men, and the so-called woman's rights question to be solved with the labor question.

"Every member is expected to subscribe for at least one of the party organs."

We now come to the measures adopted for the regulation of the press. These very clearly demonstrate not only the essentially German character of the Socialistic Labor party, but they offer the conclusion in one sense encouraging, that German Socialism is not initiative with the people of the United States, although their minds have proved singularly receptive to foreign influences. It has thus come to pass that we have to deal with a national movement led by German agitators.

The regulations prescribe that the party shall maintain but one official organ in each language, namely, the "Arbeiterstimme" (German) of New York, the "Delnicke Listy" (Bohemian) of New York, and the "Socialist" (American) of Chicago.

We are told in the regulations that the party organs shall represent the interests of the working people, and spread among them a knowledge of social economy, or in other words a knowledge of the beneficent results accruing to all indigent people by the equal distribution of property. Although the "Arbeiterstimme" is declared the official German organ of the party, there is now published in New York the "Volks-Zeitung," another German journal, which boasts a daily circulation of ten thousand copies; yet a year has not elapsed since its foundation. All Socialistic newspapers espousing

the interests of the party are conducted on the coöperative plan, and are said to be mostly self-sustaining—a significant fact when it is considered that enormous sums have been sunk in numerous efforts to establish party organs in this country, and that for the first time in the United States journals hostile to the law of the land have met with sufficient encouragement to prosper. It also is significant to note that, out of twenty-seven journals published in the interests of the party, fifteen are edited by German agitators. By the light of these facts it may be seen how perfect is the organization of the Socialist Labor party in the United States, as reconstructed since the strikes. The following extract from a letter written in the month of May last by an influential American Socialist, and recently published in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," will serve to indicate the opinions prevailing in the ranks of the party itself concerning the progress now making :

"We are at work not only in the great cities but in many others, and are gaining ground with a rapidity at which even we are astonished. Since July last, in ten months, the number of our followers has quadrupled, and we have every reason to believe that the progress will continue in the same ratio. In Cincinnati the recruits are drilled every week, and from week to week the number of volunteers under arms increases from five to eight per cent."

We have given a somewhat elaborate account of the laws formulated for the Labor party in this country under the auspices of German agitators, that, with these hitherto unpublished facts before him, it may be within the power of the reader to judge of the extent and ability of an organization which, if at any moment swelled by numbers and stimulated by industrial depression, might burst upon us as a mighty torrent, perhaps too powerful to stem at the outset, and calculated to threaten the best social and business interests of a country vast in extent of territory and fairly destitute of military protection.

To the indigent and ignorant laborer, indeed, we must confess that the whole scheme of the new social order wears a most alluring aspect. It is easy to picture the Arcadian Utopia which rises in his ravished fancy. Universal brotherhood, comfort and plenty, free railways, free telegraphs, free theatres and amusements, gratuitous instruction, an end to imprisonment, an end to caste, materialism to replace religion, "the mere opinion of nations," the state the universal, sole proprietor and administrator of the entire industry of the country ; state help in every direction, all men to

feed and fatten at the public crib; in fact, an end to care and trouble, and an era of competency and contentment, such as distinguished the home of Evangeline, where "the richest was poor, and the poorest lived in abundance."

These hopes are indeed bright and alluring. They are often, no doubt, presented by sincere and good men, free from the blood of the Commune, and actuated by pure motives. But the obverse of the medal which reason forces upon thoughtful men offers barriers insurmountable in practice. It is not our purpose to show, save incidentally, that the programme of modern Socialism aims at the destruction of the best interests of society, or that it is devoid of those possibilities or enduring characteristics which mark every successful innovation. Able and dispassionate disquisitions to this effect are to be found in many current works of the day. In one light alone, however, the case must appear impracticable. Granted, *argumenti causa*, that the difference existing between the workingman's knowledge and necessities is now greater than in former times; that machinery, over-products, and the growing concentration of capital must finally bring the capitalist and the laborer to a deadlock; that the majority of our States are bankrupt; that the expenses of our complex Government, embracing State, municipal, and central administration, exceed those of England, France, or any other proportionate population, and that these combined evils must finally produce a crisis, placing in the hands of the laborer all the wealth and control of the country—granted all this, then, what would ensue?

According to all Socialist authorities in America, eight hours' work will, with the present perfection of machinery, create a slight over-production. In this case the American Socialist would be driven in self-defense to establish a protective policy. This would exclude the product of the capital-ridden wretches of other lands, although the result would be that we should be enjoying our welfare at their expense, thus excluding from redemption the great majority of suffering humanity. For, where in former times we helped them with some of our custom, the increased cost of our labor would compel us to altogether exclude the products of our "kin beyond sea." For it must be manifest even to the dullest Socialist, in his moments of more sober reflection, that if the workmen of other nations work twelve hours a day, our own people working but eight, the foreign producer could manufacture for a price with which the American could not compete. On the other

hand, if the American producer should work much less than eight hours per day, American society becomes bankrupt, and if again he prolongs the working-day beyond eight hours, he abandons the very prize so long coveted and demanded, whereas to secure this prize he would have contributed to the upheaval of our present civilization. Could, therefore, the Socialists effect their aims in this country, the toiling and unredeemed millions in Germany, Russia, France, England, and other lands would, because of our own selfish motives, be reduced to the same plight in their relations to us as the laborer to-day stands to the proprietor. The reverse would of course hold good in the case of any other nation which might first attain the great end. For no Socialist is surely so sanguine as to believe that his plans, by a single stroke of the magician's wand, can be simultaneously put into practical and universal operation throughout the civilized world. Thus without united, universal, and simultaneous action, which is impossible, the plans of the Socialist become impracticable.

It is possible that Socialism in a modified form will be tried in some of the older countries of Europe. There an already dense population, increasing in geometrical proportion and overloaded with vast and ever-growing debts, may demand some experiment to relieve the poor. In England, where an overcrowded population more than doubles itself in thirty years, despite an enormous emigration, the danger is especially great. But it is improbable that Socialism, even in an amended form, should, at an early date, meet with any permanent success in the United States, where the unimproved resources of nature offer an almost unlimited field for the restless energies of the people. The restrictions which Socialism would impose would be intolerable to the activity of any class in the Union ; for he who enters the portals of the social El Dorado leaves behind him hope, that most human of human emotions, and with it all emulation, all ambition, and therefore all progress. Still, whatever might be the result of the second sober sense which would ultimately characterize our people, it must yet not be ignored that even a momentary craze of any extended nature would be fraught with incalculable mischief to the best interests of society. That in moments of distress and discontent the *ultima ratio regum* becomes the first resort of our people, has been abundantly revealed by the great civil war, the strikes of 1877, and by the late troubles in California, where German agitators moved and incited the rioters to acts of violence. We are besides daily reminded of this fact by

events which pass almost unnoticed. Within a few weeks a gang of organized tramps have seized part of a railroad in Michigan, with the purpose of appropriating and administering the entire line, and many other incidents of the day point in the same direction. It is stated by Monsieur Charles de Varigny, a recent French observer of the Socialist movement in America, that there exists in almost every State of the Union a contingent of Socialist volunteers. In Pennsylvania alone he estimates the number at from sixty to ninety thousand men. The Western States are remarkable for the prosperous condition of their Socialist sections. Here, as in other parts of the Union, the leaders are German, while a good proportion of the rank and file of the party are recruited among native Americans. At the last general election a number of Socialists were elected to the Legislature of Illinois. Some of the towns of Ohio number Socialists even among their municipal officers. In Youngtown, for example, the recently elected mayor and corporation were all avowed members of the Socialist party, and many other instances of the growth and strength of the organization could be cited had we not already exceeded our limits.

In conclusion, it may be well to say that no spirit of pessimism or sensation has prompted this task. In first directing his attention to Socialism in America the writer was moved by motives of pure curiosity. No one could have been more surprised at the discovery of so perfect an organization, the fanatic earnestness of its followers, and the strength of its numbers. Nor can we view without grave apprehension the fact that Prince Bismarck is at present secretly encouraging the emigration to the United States of proscribed German agitators, and defraying their expenses from the enormous secret service fund at the command of the Imperial Chancellor. For the present we must part with our subject, postponing for final consideration, in a succeeding paper, the protective measures necessary to shield American society from the schemes of the German Government and the menacing confederation which honeycombs the Union from sea to sea.

IV.

A FRIEND OF LORD BYRON.*

Mr. Hodgson has written his father's life upon a very unusual plan, for which he makes apologies in his preface. The apologies, however, were not strictly necessary, for the book is an interesting one, more so, perhaps, than if it had been composed in the manner usually followed in such cases. The late Archdeacon Hodgson was a genial and accomplished scholar, a man of the world, and an indefatigable versifier; but he was not a brilliant writer, and our loss is not great, in the fact that his letters have for the most part not been preserved. His son and biographer lays before us, in default of any specimens of his own share in his correspondence, a selection from the letters that he received from his friends. These were numerous, for Francis Hodgson had the good fortune to inspire a great deal of affection and confidence. His chief claim to the attention of posterity resides in the fact that he was an early and much-trusted intimate of Lord Byron. A good many of Byron's letters to him were printed by Moore, to whom, however, Hodgson surrendered but a portion of this correspondence. His son here publishes a number of new letters, together with a great many communications from Mrs. Leigh, the poet's sister, and two or three from Lady Byron. All this portion of these volumes is extremely interesting, and constitutes, indeed, their principal value. It throws a clearer, though by no means a perfectly clear, light upon the much-discussed episode of the separation between Byron and his wife, and upon the character of his devoted sister. The book contains, besides, a series of letters from Hodgson's Eton and Cambridge friends, and in its latter portion a variety of extracts from

* Memoir of the Rev. Francis Hodgson, B. D., with Numerous Letters from Lord Byron and Others. By his Son, the Rev. T. P. Hodgson, M. A. London: Macmillan, 1879.

his correspondence with such people as Lord Denman (Chief Justice of England, who presided at the trial of Queen Caroline, and incurred the bitter animosity of George IV.), James Montgomery, the late Herman Merivale, the late Duke of Devonshire, and the charming Mrs. Robert Arkwright, who figures in the lately published memoirs of Fanny Kemble. The picture of Hodgson's youth and early manhood, with his numerous friendships, his passion for literature, his extraordinary and unparalleled fecundity in the production of poetical epistles, his good spirits, good sense, and great industry, is an extremely pleasant one, and gives an agreeable idea of the tone of serious young Englishmen, sixty or seventy years ago, who were also good fellows. Hodgson's first intention on leaving Cambridge had been to study for the bar; but after some struggles the literary passion carried the day, and he became an ardent "reviewer." He worked a great deal for the critical periodicals of the early years of the century, notably for the "Edinburgh Review," and he produced (besides executing a translation of Juvenal) a large amount of satirical or would-be satirical verse. His biographer gives a great many examples of his poetical powers, which, however, chiefly illustrate his passion for turning couplets *à propos* of everything and of nothing. The facility of these effusions is more noticeable than their point. In 1815 Hodgson went into the Church, and in 1836, after having spent many years at Bakewell, in Derbyshire, in a living which he held from the Duke of Devonshire, he was appointed Archdeacon of Derby. In 1840 he was made Provost of Eton College, a capacity in which he instituted various salutary reforms (he abolished the old custom of the "Montem," which had become a very demoralizing influence). Archdeacon Hodgson died in 1852.

Mrs. Leigh wrote to him at the time of Byron's marriage, in which she felt great happiness, that her brother had "said that in all the years that he had been acquainted with you he never had had a moment's disagreement with you: 'I have quarreled with Hobham, with everybody but Hodgson,' were his own words." Byron's letters and allusions to his friend quite bear out this declaration, and they present his irritable and passionate nature in the most favorable light. He had a great esteem for Hodgson's judgment, both in literature and in life, and he defers to it with a docility which is touching in a spoiled young nobleman who, on occasion, can make a striking display of temper. Mr. Hodgson gives no definite account of the origin of his father's acquaintance with

Byron—he simply says that their intimacy, which in 1808 had become complete, had "doubtless been formed previously, during Hodgson's visits to London and Cambridge and to the Drurys at Harrow." In 1808 Hodgson was appointed tutor in moral philosophy at King's College, Cambridge, and in this year "Byron came to Cambridge for the purpose of availing himself of his privilege as a nobleman, and taking his M. A. degree, although he had only matriculated in 1805. . . . From this time until early in 1816 the friends constantly met, and when absent as constantly corresponded." Hodgson was completely under the charm of Byron's richly-endowed nature; but his affection, warm as it was (and its warmth is attested by the numerous copies of verse which he addressed to his noble friend, and which, though they exhibit little poetical inspiration, show great tenderness of feeling), was of that pure kind which leaves the judgment unbribed. Byron's letters have always a great charm, and those quoted by Mr. Hodgson, whether published for the first time, or anticipated by Moore, are full of youthful wit and spontaneity. In 1811, while the second canto of "Childe Harold" (Hodgson was helping to revise it) was going through the press, the poet's affectionate Mentor had, by letter, a religious discussion with him. Hodgson's side of the controversy has disappeared, but Byron's skeptical rejoinders are full of wit, levity, and a cynicism which (like his cynicism through life) was half natural and half affected. "As to your immortality, if people are to live, why die? And any carcasses, which are to rise again, are they worth raising? I hope, if mine is, that I shall have *a better pair of legs* than I have moved on these two-and-twenty years, as I shall be sadly behind in the squeeze into paradise." The letters which throw light upon Byron's unhappy marriage are all, as we have said, of great interest. Hodgson's correspondence with Mrs. Leigh, which became an intimate one, began in 1814 and lasted for forty years. Staying with Byron at Newstead in the autumn of that year, she first writes to him as a substitute for her brother, who, "being very lazy," has begged her to take his pen. It was at this moment that he became engaged to Miss Milbanke, and one of the few extracts from his father's own letters, given by Mr. Hodgson, is a very sympathetic account of a meeting with Byron in Cambridge while the latter was in the glow of just having completed his arrangements for marrying "one of the most divine beings on earth." There are several letters of Mrs. Leigh's during 1815, after the marriage had taken place, going on into the winter of 1816,

when they assume a highly dramatic interest. It is interesting, in view of the extraordinary theory which in the later years of her life Lady Byron was known to hold on the subject of the relations between her husband and his sister, and which were given to the world in so regrettable a manner not long after her death, to observe that Mrs. Leigh's letters afford the most striking intrinsic evidence of the purely phantasmal character of the famous accusation, and place the author's character in a highly honorable and touching light. This is the view taken, in the strongest manner, by the editor of these volumes, who regards Mrs. Leigh as the most devoted and disinterested of sisters—as the good genius, the better angel, of the perverse and intractable poet. She appears to have been a very sympathetic and conscientious woman, not very witty or very clever, but addicted to writing rather expansive, confidential, lady-like letters, and much concerned about the moral tone and religious views of her brother, whose genius and poetic fame inspire her with a quite secondary interest. She appeals to Hodgson, as her brother's nearest and most trusted friend, to come up to town and intercede with either party to prevent the separation. Hodgson obeyed her summons, and did his best in the matter, but his efforts were unavailing. His son quotes a remarkable letter which he wrote to Lady Byron, urging her to the exercise of patience and forbearance ; and he quotes as well Lady Byron's reply, which on the whole does less credit to her clemency than his appeal had done to his tact and wisdom. There is an element of mystery in the whole matter of her rupture with her husband which these letters still leave unsolved ; but, putting this aside, they leave little doubt as to her ladyship's rigidity of nature.

"I believe the nature of Lord B.'s mind to be most benevolent," she says in answer to Hodgson's appeal. "But there may have been circumstances (I would hope the *consequences*, not the *causes* of mental disorder) which would render an original tenderness of conscience the motive of desperation, even of guilt, when self-esteem had been forfeited *too far*." And in reply to Hodgson's request, made on Byron's behalf, that she would specify those acts of his which she holds to have made a reconciliation impossible, she says, "He *does* know, too well, what he affects to inquire." Mrs. Leigh says to Hodgson, in writing of her brother : "If I may give you *mine* [my opinion], it is that *in his own mind* there *were* and *are* recollections fatal to his peace, and which would have prevented his being happy with any woman whose excellence

equaled or approached that of Lady B., from the consciousness of being unworthy of it. Nothing," she adds, "could or can remedy this fatal cause but the consolation to be derived from religion, of which, alas! dear Mr. H., our beloved B. is, I fear, destitute." In such allusions as these some people will always read the evidence of some dark and definite wrong-doing on the part of one who delighted in the appearance of criminality, and who, possibly, simply by overacting his part, in the desire to mystify, rather viciously, a woman of literal mind, in whom the sense of humor was not strong, and the imagination was uncorrected by it, succeeded too well and got caught in his own trap.

Even if the inference we speak of were valid, it would be very profitless to inquire further as regards Byron's unforgivable sin; we are convinced that, if it were ascertained, it would be, to ingenuous minds, a great disappointment. The reader of these volumes will readily assent to Mr. Hodgson's declaration that they offer a complete, virtual exoneration of Mrs. Leigh. The simple, touching, pious letters addressed to her brother's friend at the time of Byron's death and of the arrival of his remains in England, strongly contribute to this effect; as does also the tone in which she speaks of Lady Byron's estrangement from her, which took place very suddenly some years after the separation. The tone is that of a person a good deal mystified and even wounded.

HENRY JAMES, JR.

V.

THE CENSUS OF 1880.

THE period is approaching when, for the tenth time since the organization of the Government of the United States, the enumeration of the inhabitants required by the Federal Constitution to be made once in every ten years is again about to be entered upon. The constitutional purpose of the census was a very simple one, being merely to fix the apportionment of representatives and of direct taxes between the States. In the course of a century it has assumed a far greater importance, and, though heretofore much less comprehensive than would be desirable, it has come to embrace many of the most important facts which mark our material progress as a nation.

The ten years just closing have been marked by greater changes of material condition than any similar period since the beginning of our national history. The vast extension of the railway system and of telegraphy, the steady pushing forward of the frontiers of civilization to and beyond the Rocky Mountains, the discovery of new and rich deposits of the precious metals and the enlarging of the areas of all mining industry, the increase in the number of occupations and the greater development of established industries, would seem to demand of the approaching census an enlargement of the plans heretofore pursued, and a greater variety of details, than has characterized any of its predecessors. The census bill of 1870, which passed the House of Representatives, but failed to become a law, proposed to add very largely to the range of statistical inquiry. The fullest detailed information was required to be obtained respecting railways, canals, and river improvements, coastwise and inland navigation, express companies, telegraphs, life, fire, and marine insurance, newspapers and periodicals, and State, municipal, and corporate debts. The failure of the bill left the census to be taken under the act of 1850, which, though it considerably

enlarged the scope of previous censuses, left it still much narrower than was proposed by the contemplated legislation. Up to 1850, nothing had been added to the population tables required by the Constitution, except some manufacturing schedules of an indeterminate character and of slight statistical value. These were first included in the census of 1810, continued in 1820, wholly omitted in 1830, renewed, but not materially added to, in 1840.

In his report, made to the Secretary of the Interior in January, 1870, General Walker, the experienced and very capable Superintendent of the Census, did not propose any increase in the number of schedules required by the act of 1850, but he made several valuable suggestions as to the obtaining of completer and more accurate information under the several schedules heretofore used.

These schedules were five in number, and related respectively to population, mortality, agriculture, industrial pursuits, and to social statistics, which included all that relates to churches, schools, libraries, newspapers, wealth, taxation, pauperism, crime, wages, etc. The slave schedule, which formed the sixth and last under the act of 1850, is now happily obsolete.

As we are writing, information comes to us that the more elaborate statistics required by the proposed law of 1870 have been grafted as an amendment on the original bill now passing through Congress, although opposed by General Garfield, the chairman of the committee on the ninth census, whose elaborate report, presented to the House of Representatives in January, 1870, is one of the most valuable of American state papers on the whole subject. The grounds of General Garfield's objection are stated to be that "he feared the schedules would be overloaded, and that the statistics on these subjects, gathered in the manner indicated, would be of little value."

We are now far behind most European countries in the completeness of our statistical annals, and the materials are wanting to any exhaustive study of our political and social economy. It matters little what theory of political economy or of sociology is entertained by the studious inquirers; exact facts, arranged for convenient comparison, are alike necessary to him. Whether political economy be a deductive science, resting on certain fundamental principles, as the English economists insist, or is, on the other hand, an inductive science, as is, with equal confidence, claimed by the new historical school of the Continent, the fullest statistical data are necessary to support it and give it practical value. The disciples

of Adam Smith and Ricardo invoke the evidence of facts to support their *a priori* propositions, and the disciples of Roscher require them even more, in order to show their modifying influence on laws and institutions at different periods, in different countries, and in different states of society.

But the importance of statistics and of statistical deductions has never been properly appreciated in this country. For this there are several reasons. Chief among them is the fact that we occupy a new country, and are, practically speaking, a new race. Our natural resources are so exuberant that we have hitherto been careless of those minute calculations and close economies to accomplish which statesmen in older and less favored countries are constantly interrogating the past. The average American feels very little interest in knowing the number of births and deaths, the rates of mortality in different places, the diseases which are most prevalent and most fatal, the average period of longevity, the occupations of the people, or the places of their birth. He does not see what uses this knowledge could be put to if he acquired it, and he is very apt to look upon the whole thing as so much rubbish. He is somewhat more alive to the importance of agricultural, manufacturing, and other industrial statistics, because some of the facts included in these fall within his experience, or touch his particular trade or occupation. So far as it goes, this desire for particular and partial information is good, and works toward the right end. If every man in his own calling were to demand of the Government full and exact information about matters which concerned him, the aggregate of those demands would create a public sentiment by which a very complete and progressive body of statistics would ultimately be created.

Considered in the light of their natural intelligence, average education, and reputed inquisitiveness, there is no people in the world so competent as the American people to communicate the facts which a census should include, and at the same time understand the practical uses to which statistical information can be put. But educational training in that direction is almost wholly wanting. In his annual report for 1872, the Secretary of the Interior recommended the publication of the excellent statistical atlas compiled under the direction of General Walker, and urged an appropriation for that purpose, "with a view to promote that higher kind of political education which has hitherto been so greatly neglected in this country, but toward which the attention of the general public,

as well as of institutions and students, is now being turned with the most lively interest. The exact knowledge of our country should be the basis of this education, and it is in the power of Congress, by authorizing such a publication as is here recommended, to practically inaugurate the study of political and social statistics in the colleges and higher schools of the land."

The importance of this class of studies has recently been presented with great ability by Mr. White, the President of Cornell University, in an address delivered on the 22d of February last before the trustees and alumni of the Johns Hopkins University, at Baltimore. The special subject of this address was "the proper provision for higher instruction in subjects bearing directly upon public affairs." Its opening proposition is that "the demand of this nation for men trained in history, political and social science, and general jurisprudence, can hardly be overstated."

It will be greatly to the honor of these two younger among American universities if they shall, in advance of more venerable and more distinguished institutions of learning, occupy this new field of instruction. Until studies of this character form a part of all higher education, it is in vain to expect that statistics will have their proper weight, either in legislative bodies or in common life. There is at present a lack of educators to instill a proper respect for statistical learning and to point out its practical uses. In most enlightened countries the two classes of men who best perform that office are statesmen and publicists. The conditions both of public and of private life in this country are not favorable to the creation of either of those classes. Public life is too short and too precarious to offer any inducements to a special preparation for it. It is an accident or an episode rather than a career. In England young men make choice of it as they would of any other profession, and begin at the universities to study public questions and to exercise themselves in public speaking. There is very little of this now to be found in American colleges—much less, we incline to believe, under the *régime* of the prevailing fashion of secret societies than when whole colleges were divided into two or three great debating clubs, such as existed at Yale College forty years ago. A young and clever man just out of college could hardly do anything more likely to defeat its object than to avow an intention of making political life a career.

The too frequent and regular recurrence of elections has much to do with the diversion of politics from its higher ends in the

United States. There is no rest either for the elector or the elected. The smoke of one party battle has hardly cleared away before another one begins. The member of Congress is always looking backward at his constituency, and his anxieties are deepened by the knowledge that there is but one constituency open to him. If he grows out of accord with its dominant sentiment, if its local interests seem to him to clash with higher national considerations, he has to make the painful choice between the sacrifice of his convictions or his place. Thus the constituency, the nominating convention, and the ever-impending election are to public men a constant nightmare, diverting them from the business of legislation, and, still more, from those habits of study and reflection which are so necessary to the maturing of statesmanlike opinions.

A very different state of things prevails in Great Britain, where the septennial act, the principle of responsible government, and the freedom to represent any constituency, without regard to the question of domicile, are the bulwarks of a Parliamentary career.

While the possible life of a Parliament is seven years, the period of its actual duration is determined by causes acting within its own body. Governments are carried on not by a bare majority, but by a largely predominating fraction of the House of Commons. Within the limits of such a majority there is room for independence and a measurable degree of dissent from the policy of the governing party taken as a whole. Without the recognized division into Right and Left and Right and Left Centers, which prevails in the French Assembly, the British House of Commons has its Liberal Conservatives and its Conservative Liberals—men who sit below the gangway on either side of its Parliamentary chamber.

The last published article of the lamented Walter Bagehot ("Fortnightly Review" for December, 1878) gives a clear definition of the place held by these intermediate bodies.

Holding its place by the ability of its administration to command the votes of its party within and the sympathy of the people outside of Parliament, an English Ministry is compelled to frame a policy and to legislate in harmony with it. Hence the presentation of Parliamentary business is not left to chance, nor to the caprices of individuals or committees, but is the constitutional duty of ministers as the chosen party leaders. It is to legislation matured under these conditions that a well-authenticated and digested body of statistics is especially necessary.

We can not have in this country the machinery nor the political

and social conditions which make the British Parliament what it is; we can not substitute the system of Parliamentary government for what Mr. Bagehot calls the Presidential form. It is extremely doubtful whether we can even mix the two systems to any advantage, though this has sometimes been proposed. Of what use would it be to the House of Representatives to record a vote of want of confidence in a Cabinet not nominated by itself, but chosen by the nation through its choice of the President who appoints them, when such a vote would not lead to their resignation? Being the personal advisers of the President, they must stay by him during his term of office, or the whole character of that office is changed. One feature of the English system might, however, as it seems to us, be safely and wisely ingrafted on our own; that is, the giving to Cabinet officers seats without votes in the House of Representatives. It would promote a closer union between the legislative and executive branches of the Government, and it would give the heads of departments a much better opportunity to explain and defend measures than they now have through the clumsy medium of written annual reports. It would certainly add to the dignity as well as to the usefulness of Cabinet officers, who, at present, occupy a much less influential position than the members of the British Cabinet.

The things which are now lacking to an intelligent use of statistics by American statesmen are a more thorough educational training, greater permanence in public life, more power in the hands of party leaders to shape and control legislation, and a better civil service, by means of which the departmental offices might come gradually to be filled by persons of education and technical experience. In the hands of such persons the value of statistics, in the work of legislation, would very soon be recognized. The excellent recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior with regard to statistical education, already quoted, have as yet borne no important fruits. There are chairs of Political Economy (generally in connection with history) in most of our better colleges; but none, so far as we are aware, of political science in the broader acceptation, as that science was presented by President White in his Baltimore address. The treatment of Political Economy is generally technical, and from one or other of the two partisan standpoints—protection or free trade. There is ground for hope that the recent publication of an American translation of Roscher, the founder of the Historical School in Germany, may open the way to a broader

consideration of Political Economy as one of the most important branches of human history.

The very conditions and shortcomings of our public life, as we have indicated them, make it the more necessary that there should be greater attention paid to political studies in our systems of higher education. We can not depend, as in England, upon the services of a Parliamentary class, and must therefore endeavor to make more general and popular the study of those subjects which lie at the bottom of a statesman's education; there is no reason why they should not form a part of the elective studies running through a considerable portion of a college course. If this were the case, a body of competent teachers would soon spring up, such as are to be found at all the great universities of Continental Europe, and the word publicist would become a recognized one in our national vocabulary.

The importance of statistical studies was lately very well presented in an address of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, a leading member of the British Parliament, on assuming the presidency of the Statistical Society of London. That Society was formed on the 15th of March, 1834, and was an outgrowth of the statistical section of the British Association. Among its founders were Charles Babbage, inventor of the calculating machine, and Henry Hallam, the historian. The true founder, however, of statistical science was Adolphe Quetelet, a Belgian Professor of Mathematics in his native city of Ghent. "By a masterly application of the inductive system to moral and social problems, he educed, from a vast collection of isolated facts, generalizations which amazed the world of his day to the full as much as the conclusions of physical philosophers had startled and terrified preceding generations." The Royal Academy of Belgium owes its existence, in its present form, chiefly to the influence of Quetelet; and from him, also, the British Association borrowed the terms of what is now the London Statistical Society.

Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, in the address referred to, stated the objects of that Association to be, "the study of the conditions and prospects of society. The state or condition of society is the simultaneous state of all the greater social facts or phenomena; and the progress of society is the succession of those facts or phenomena considered in relation to one another. . . . In the life or progress of a country like ours, with its vast empire, its extended interests, and its endless points of contact with other countries, there must be a continuous succession of subjects of vital interest to the community, pressing

upon the heels of one another, and requiring the investigation of impartial thinkers, statists, philosophers, and experts, before they are ripe for practical dealing by statesmen in Parliament, or before they can be understood in all their bearings by the public."

It is much to be regretted that there are so few similar associations in this country. Most European countries have them, and they are there regarded as indispensable auxiliaries to public statistical work. Except the American Social Science Association, we have no corresponding body in the United States. That society is doing good and improving work; and, if some provision can be made for the wider distribution of the papers read before it, a decided progress in several departments of sociology may be expected to show itself in all parts of this country.

The study of comparative statistics is one of the secondary and higher growths resulting from the cultivation of statistical science. The English race has not been hitherto remarkable for a patient and exhaustive study of foreign statistics. Exception ought, however, to be made in favor of the reports sent to the British Foreign Office by its diplomatic and consular agents in other countries on subjects affecting British industry and commerce. But scholars and publicists in England have not, for the love of science only, nor out of respect for what foreign nations are capable of teaching Great Britain, pushed their researches into the material history of those nations. On the Continent, however, both Governments and individuals have been at great pains to bring important foreign statistics to the attention of their own people. Some recent instances of this may be mentioned. The "Documents Monétaires," published by the Belgian Government, under the late ministry of M. Malou, is a collection containing the text of all the important legislation and of leading reports and state papers on monetary subjects which have appeared in Europe or America since 1865.* The Italian Government has also published a valuable series of reports illustrative of the banking and forced paper-money systems of the United States, France, Russia, and Austria, under the title of "Notizie interno all' Ordinamento Bancario, e al Corso Forzato, negli Stati Uniti di America, in Russia, nell' Impero Austro-Ungarico e in Francia." Baron Karl von Hock, of Austria, published, more than ten years ago, the most compact and intelligible account

* In this connection we ought not to omit to give credit to the British Government for the valuable statistical information contained in the appendices to Mr. Goschen's "Silver Report" of 1876.

of the financial system of France ever written, and still more recently an exhaustive treatise on the finances of the United States during the civil war.

Maurice Block and M. A. Legoyt, in France, have made invaluable contributions to statistical science; the former by his "L'Europe Politique et Sociale," published in 1869, and the latter by his "Forces Matérielles de l'Empire d'Allemagne," published in 1877.

It will be a long time, we fear, before American scholars will add anything to statistical history of a kindred nature.

The census bill now before Congress, and which will doubtless be a law before this article goes to press, enlarges the constitutional scope of the census by making it apply to the "wealth and industry" of the United States, as well as to its population. It henceforth takes its place as a statistical inquiry of the broadest character. With the proposed new schedules of 1870 added, of which we have already given the particulars, there would seem to be scarcely anything wanting to its completeness. In view of this enlargement of its scope, certain changes in the method of obtaining information became absolutely necessary. Hitherto the enumeration has been made by United States marshals, men holding their offices by political appointment and directly attached to the Federal courts. The only possible ground for selecting them has been, that they are the least objectionable Federal officers for the work, who live in the several States and Territories where the census is to be taken. Neither judges nor custom-house officials nor postmasters would have answered the purpose as well. So long as the single fact of the number of people residing in a State or district was to be ascertained, United States marshals and their deputies were competent enough for the task, but they were as a class not at all competent to prosecute the higher branches of a statistical inquiry.

Under the new law, the Secretary of the Interior is to appoint one or more supervisors of census for each State or Territory, the whole number not to exceed one hundred and fifty. The supervisors are to recommend to the Superintendent of Census a subdivision of the territory assigned to them, into suitable districts, and an enumerator for each district. Such enumerators must have the approval of the Superintendent, and be chosen for their fitness, and without reference to party affiliations.

The Superintendent is not, however, obliged to employ the official enumerators for the whole work; but may, at his discretion, use the mortality statistics to be obtained from city registrations,

where such registrations are kept. He may, in like manner, entirely withdraw from the enumerators the manufacturing and social schedules, and charge the collection of these statistics upon experts and special agents, to be employed without reference to locality. He may also employ similar experts and agents to investigate, in their economic relations, the manufacturing, railway, fishing, mining, and other industries of the country, and to gather the statistics relating to telegraph, express, transportation, and insurance companies; framing, in all cases, such additional schedules as he may think desirable.

With this wide discretion, it will be in the power of an experienced Superintendent to make the tenth census a far more complete and valuable document than any of its predecessors.

Provision is made in the law for utilizing and harmonizing with the Federal system the intermediate censuses now taken by many of the States, the Federal Government agreeing to pay half the cost of such censuses if taken in conformity with that law.

An important question, which has been considered in connection with the new census, was the practicability and expediency of taking the enumeration of the people in a single day, as is done in England. General Walker discussed this question at some length in his report made to the Secretary of the Interior in January, 1878, and advised against it on the ground of expense. It is agreed, on all hands, that an instantaneous enumeration is highly desirable, so as to photograph, as it were, the population of a country exactly as it stands at a given moment. The census law of 1850 made no attempt to do this, but permitted the work to be protracted over a period of one hundred days, from June 1st to September 10th. The new law is a great improvement, in that it requires the enumeration to be completed within two weeks from the first day of June in all places of ten thousand inhabitants or over, and on or before the first day of July in all other places.

The results of the tenth census will be looked for with great interest, not only by the people of the United States, but in all other civilized countries. This country occupies a far higher rank in the family of nations than it occupied in 1870. The Centennial Exhibition first opened the eyes of Europe to the astonishing progress of our first political century, and won for us a respectful consideration such as was never before entertained. Our successful victory over domestic rebellion, and our not less signal financial victory over forced paper-money, rank among the highest political

and moral achievements in national history. A career of great material prosperity is evidently opening before us, which contrasts strongly with the arrest, if not the decadence, of commerce and industry which seems to threaten the British Islands. It is highly probable that the coming decade will witness a larger immigration from Europe than has ever before taken place in the same period. The present state both of Great Britain and Germany invites it. With the vast accumulated wealth at its command we do not suppose that the present industrial prostration of the former country will long continue to be as severe as now. The conditions of production will readjust themselves; raw materials, food, and wages will decline, and merchandise will be produced at lower cost, and the fierce competition for the possession of foreign markets will be renewed. But it will be under conditions far more onerous to the laborer, and he will, in many instances, expatriate himself rather than submit to them. So, too, in Germany, the Socialistic element will emigrate rather than bear the ever-increasing repression which a government ruled over by Prince Bismarck will subject it to. His new protective policy may or may not bring measurable relief to the working classes. Opinions differ widely on that point; but, when the people of a great empire has become so strongly inoculated with social and political ideas at variance with those of their rulers, there must either be revolution or a large expatriation of the dissatisfied element, before matters will be accommodated. From both of those countries, therefore, we may expect the influx of a substantial and serviceable population.

The population of the United States in 1870 was 38,558,000. What may it be expected to be in 1880? The rate of decennial increase, from the formation of the Government down to 1870, was remarkably uniform. From 1790 to 1800, it was 35 per cent.; from 1800 to 1810, 36½ per cent.; from 1810 to 1820, 33 per cent.; from 1820 to 1830, 33⅓ per cent.; from 1830 to 1840, 32⅔ per cent.; from 1840 to 1850, nearly 36 per cent.; from 1850 to 1860, 35½ per cent.; and from 1860 to 1870, only 22½ per cent. There was in that decade very little immigration, and a large destruction of lives through the civil war. If the increase from 1870 to 1880 should be only 25 per cent. we shall show a population of more than 48,000,000. Professor Elliott, of the Statistical Bureau, estimates it at 50,858,000. As countries grow older, the rate of increase lessens: thus, in Great Britain, it was 10 per cent. between 1790 and 1800; 17 per cent. between 1810 and 1820; and only 7$\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. between

1860 and 1870. It is hardly probable that in the United States the former ratios of increase will be maintained. Enough that we are already by far the most numerous people speaking one language on the face of the globe. Russia alone of European states now goes before us in population, having, exclusive of her Asiatic territory, about 75,000,000 people. Before the century ends, we shall doubtless exceed that number.

It must be remembered that of our vast territory of more than three million square miles, only a fourth part is to any great extent in a state of cultivation. The center of population is moving steadily westward. In 1800 it was on the meridian of Washington; in 1840, of Pittsburg; in 1870, of Cincinnati. In 1880, it may be expected to reach Indianapolis; and, by the end of the century, the Mississippi River, originally the western boundary of our national domain, may have become the central point of our extended empire.

Few Americans realize the enormous changes which that empire has undergone since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Prior to the Louisiana purchase in 1803, our territory was bounded by the Mississippi River on the west and the Spanish possession of Florida on the south. The cession of Louisiana gave us all west of the Mississippi and north of the Red River and of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, a territory considerably exceeding the previous Union. The annexation of Texas in 1845, and the Texas cession of 1850, added a domain nearly equal to the States north of the line of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi; and the first and second Mexican cessions of 1848 and 1852 completed the line of our "scientific frontier" by giving us a territory about as large as the States south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi. The United States of 1800 was therefore a country only a third as large as the United States of to-day.

The census of 1880 will tell us how this empire is peopled, and will add all the material facts necessary to a knowledge of its productions and its resources. It will remain for statesmen and publicists to instruct the people how these resources may be used to the highest national advantage.

GEORGE WALKER.

VI.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE.

PART II.

It would seem to be probable that the ancient Romans not only gave a different accent, weight, and inflection to words from that which, with all our pride in our quantities, we ordinarily give; but that the final consonants were, in some cases at least, not sounded, and that the written language in its terminations did not correspond to the spoken language—in this respect resembling to a certain degree the French, whose language has many final syllables which are not expressed and distinguished in the speech. In the ancient writers are many passages clearly showing that the spoken differed from the written language. Quintilian observes that care should be taken not to cut off the final syllables, as was the case in speaking—"Curabit etiam ne extremæ syllabæ intercidant." (Lib. i, cap. xi.) Victorinus says (De Orthog.), "Scribere quidem omnibus literis oportet, enuntiando autem quasdam literas elidere." Among the final letters which were often elided in pronunciation were *m*, *c*, and *s*. Quintilian says (lib. ix., cap. iv.) of *m*, that whenever it is at the end of a word, and the following word begins with a vowel, although it is written, so little is it pronounced that in such phrases as *multum ille* or *quantum erat*, the *m* scarcely has any sound. Cassiodorus (De Orthog., cap. i.) also cites a passage from Cornutus, in which he says that to pronounce *m* before a vowel had a hard and barbarous sound: "Durum ac barbarum sonat, par enim atque idem est vitium ita cum vocali sicut cum consonante *m* literam exprimere." The *m* is also elided and omitted in some inscriptions, examples of which may be found in the Index of Gruterus; as, for instance, "Ante ora positu est." So also in the epitaph of Lucius Scipio, the son of L. Scip. Barbatus, the *m* is omitted even before a consonant. Thus, "Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romæ bonorum optimum fuisse virum, Lucium Scipionem filium Barbati. Consul, censor, hic

fuit apud vos. Hic coepit Corsicam Aleriamque urbem ; Dedit tempestatibus aedem merito," is written in his inscription with every final *m* but one omitted, thus : "Honc oino ploirume consentiont R. . . duonoro optumo fuise viro Luciom Scipione *filios* Barbati. Consol, censor, aidilis hic fuet a . . . . Hec cepet Corsica Aleriaque urbe—Dedet tempestatibus aide merito." In another epitaph on L. Cornelius Scipio we have also "regem Antioco subegit." Again, in all the poets the *m* is invariably elided and not sounded when it precedes a vowel, showing that in such cases at least it was not pronounced.

In like manner the final *s* was often elided, as is evident in such terminations to hexameter verses as "Aelius Sextus optimus longe," when the *us* would otherwise be long. In the epitaph cited above, filios is written for filium, and agrees with viro, showing that it had no value as sound. Written in the orthography of later Latin, we should have Lucium Scipionem filium ; there we have Luciom Scipione filios, which were all pronounced apparently in the same way, despite the difference of writing. This would seemingly indicate that the final letters *m* and *s* were not pronounced, and, more than this, that there then was no difference of pronunciation between *filios*, the accusative plural, *filius*, the nominative singular, and *filium*, the accusative singular. In other inscriptions we find : Obtenui laude, Pomponeo virio posuit, Dono Dedro—resembling the Italian forms. In the epitaph by Ennius on a nephew of Scipio Asiaticus, we have "Nemo ceivi neque hostis" for "civis." In various old inscriptions the *o* and the *u* are interchanged, as if there was ordinarily little or no distinction between them. Sometimes, and in some words, however, *oi* is used for *u*, showing that it had at times a peculiar sound, resembling perhaps the French *u*, as *oino* for *unum*, *ploirume* for *plurimi*, *comoinem* for *communem ;* and there can be little doubt, from what Quintilian says, that there was a sound of the *u* for which there was no special letter (lib. i., cap. vi.).*

Another proof that the ancients did not pronounce the final let-

* In 1692 a bronze tablet was discovered in Calabria, with a decree of the Senate against the Bacchanals, of about the year 567 of Rome, which is in the Museum of Vienna; and on this will be found various words spelled with a final *s*, which in later Latin are spelled without it: thus *qui* is spelled *quis ; necesse*, *necesus*. In fact, as *qui* even later is often written *quis*, it would seem at least questionable whether the final *s* in this word was sounded. Again, Suetonius says that Octavius Augustus did not follow the rules of the grammarians in orthography ; he rather was of the opinion of those who think a language should be written as it is spoken, and he often changed letters and syllables, and wrote *b* for *c*, and *c* for *b* (which, by the way, also shows

ters of all their words is to be found in the use of the final letter *d* in ancient inscriptions, where it is struck off in the later Latin writing. Thus, in the Duilian inscription, we find *pugnandod* for *pugnando*, *altod marid* for *alto mari*, *dictatored* for *dictatore*, *navaled* for *navale*, and *captom aes navaled* and *praedad poplum*, evidently pronounced without the final letters. On the bronze table in Vienna already spoken of, we have *sententiad* for *sententia* repeatedly, *extrad* for *extra*, *oquoltod* for *occulto*, *preivatod* for *privato*, *suprad* for *supra*, and *facillumed* for *facillime*.

The same remark which has been made about the letter *m* also applies to the *n*, which frequently was not sounded at all, or but lightly; as for instance in such words as *consul* and *censor*, which are sometimes written *cosul* and *cesor*, thus following what would be the nasal pronunciation of similar words in French.*

And again Ennius also writes:

> "Qui cum molta volup ac gaudia clamque palamque,
> Ingenio quoi nolla malum sententia suadet,
> Ut faceret facinus; levis aut malu', doctu', fidelis,
> Suavis homo, facundu', suo contentu', beatus
> Scitu, secunda loquens in tempore, commodu', verbum
> Paucum, molta tenens anteiqua."

Here the *s* is struck off from all the words which are not followed by a vowel, or which do not finish a line or clause, very much after the manner of the French, who carry over a final consonant on to a vowel when it would not alone be sounded, as "Il est bon"; "Il est aimable." Spoken in this way, it is to be observed that Latin closely resembles Italian. †

Even Virgil at times strikes off the *s*, as in "Nomen illi Virgilio

that *c* could not have had the hard sound of *k* always), and *cc* for *x*, and *simus* for *sumus*, and *caldum* for *calidum*, and *domos* for *domus*, following the pronunciation; and added prepositions to the verbs, and repeated the conjunctions, as is now done in Italian. Porphyrius also says of Plotinus, that he cared little for writing elegantly, and neglected the divisions of syllables, and paid almost no attention to the rules of orthography.

* The following passage in Quintilian shows that, in spoken Latin, many letters were unpronounced even by the best speakers. "That pronunciation," he says, "will be distinct (*dilucida*) which exacts the utterance of whole words, where part of them is usually swallowed and part elided, the extreme syllables not being given, while weight is given to the first. Though what is necessary to make the word clear should be given, yet to compute and number all the letters is offensive and odious. For vowels very frequently are run together, and certain consonants are obscured by following vowels." (Quintilian, lib. xi., "De Pronunciatione.") See also lib. xii., "De Genere Dicendi."

† *Volup* he also uses for *voluptas*, and in other lines are to be found *facul* for

est" (Georg. iv., 271), and "Cui nomen Amello" (Æn. viii., 358), and "Cui Remulo cognomen erat." *

Examples of this have been already given, and they might be largely multiplied did space permit. Where we see perhaps more than elsewhere these truncations and variations of form, as well as of spelling, would naturally be among the writers of comedy; and here, in point of fact, Quintilian admits that the language is halting, "In *comoedia* maxime *claudicamus*"; though Varro says that, had the Muses *spoken* Latin, they would have used the speech of Plautus. In Terence, vowels are constantly contracted or omitted to shorten the words, and at times whole syllables are cut off. In words ending in *is* or *as*, sometimes the final *s* is elided, sometimes the whole syllable; the *d* in such words as *apud* is omitted; *ille* is shortened by a syllable, as well as many other words, such as *diutius*, *divitias*, *voluptatem*, *semel*, *illius*, etc.; and he abounds in constructions which are still retained in the modern dialects of Italy.

If, then, the *s* and *m* final of words were not pronounced, but only written, if *o* was constantly confounded with *u*, the inflections of nouns would in common speech be nearly obliterated. Taking the words *communis* and *bonus*, if they were pronounced *commune* or *bono*, as well in the nominative as in the accusative, what becomes, in speaking, of the declension? If *os* and *us* are confounded, how is the plural to be distinguished from the singular by the ear? Suppose this to be the case, and that during the shadow of ignorance which gradually enshrouded the world in the middle ages the true Latin orthography were lost, while the pronunciation was retained, on the revival of learning what would be more natural than that the spoken language should be written again, not according to its ancient orthography, but according to its common pronunciation? In such a case, as far as adjectives and nouns are concerned, we should probably have a language closely corresponding to the Latin of common speech, its inflections being obscured or lost in its elisions. To find the language quite the same after centuries of growth, development, decay, and variation, would be contrary to all just expectations, and to all the rules which govern

facultas, and *luxu*, *rectu*, *sati*, and *priu*, without the final *s*. Fronto writing to Marcus Aurelius, and playing upon common words, also uses *volup*, in imitation of Plautus, and adds: "Qua malum volup," "Immo, si dimidiatis verbis dicendum est ubi tu animo faceres vigil, vigilias dico; aut tu faceres labo; aut tu faceres mole, labores et molestias dico, Tu unquam volup?" ("De Feriis Al.," lib. iii.)

* Given in "Exempla Elocutionis," by Fronto.

the fluctuations of a living language; but certainly in such a view many of the variations from the Latin would be but orthographical, not essential; and in Italian we should have a language closely affiliated to the parent Latin. It would be scarcely necessary to assume vital corruption from Germanic sources, though they might naturally have in some measure modified it. It is therefore, in this view, most interesting to investigate the ancient Latin pronunciation, as affording an insight into the true origin of the Italian. Cantú has already done a good work in his essay, but it would be desirable that this investigation should be carried further and more deeply pursued.

As far as regards the construction of the Italian language, a serious examination shows that even in the ancient days, when Latin was the spoken and written language of Italy, many of those constructions and forms were in common use which are now considered to be essentially Italian. Some of these are indicated in the passage already cited from Suetonius concerning the habits of Octavius. Quintilian also uses a phrase in his "Institutes" which has a most important bearing on the question, and from which it would seem that the ancient Latins only employed the ablative, declension having been introduced only from convenience and necessity. "The question arises," he says, "whether the same declensions should exist in Latin as in Greek. If you find a lover of the old grammars, he will deny that any change is needed for Latin, since we have the ablative case, which they have not; it would be little appropriate for us, instead of our one case, to take the five Greek cases (cum sit apud nos casus ablativus, quem illi non habent, parum conveniat uno casu nostro quinque Græcis uti)." (Lib. i., cap. x.) And in another passage he speaks of the propriety of putting an accent (apicem) over the ablative, to distinguish it from the nominative, the latter being short and the former long, the accent probably indicating the ancient final *d*, which in after-days was omitted in writing.

Whether the Italian be merely the ablative form of Latin or not, it in most cases undoubtedly corresponds to it. Such lines as the following are as pure Latin as Italian:

> "In mare irato in subita procella
> Invoco te, o benigna stella."

And the derivation from the ablative would clearly appear in the forms of such words as charitas, mediocritas, majestas, sublimitas, tranquillitas, serenitas, in which the Italian has the sound and

accent indicated by Quintilian as designating the ablative; thus, carità, mediocrità, maestà, sublimità, tranquillità, serenità, pietà, and so on.

In many of the phrases employed by the ancient authors to indicate the common speech, we find the same construction that is current in Italy. Taking the pronunciation as eliminating the final *m* and *s*, we have often nearly the same form and expression that would now be used; thus, "Da mihi illum panem," is simply "Dammi il pane"; "Non hodie buccam panis invenire potui," is "Oggi non potei trovare una boccata di pane"; "Tanquam unus de nobis," "Come uno di noi"; "Illud erat vivere," "Quello era vivere," from Petronius; or, "Quid vos duae agitis" of Plautus is "Che fate voi due." "Voi due, voi altri," is the commonest of Italian forms of speech. The inscription on a vase at Pompeii, "Presta mi sincerum vinum," is "Prestami sincero vino" in the true Italian idiom.*

We have given but a rapid and most inadequate glance at a subject which well deserves a far more careful and learned survey. Our purpose will, however, have been served if other and abler

* Cantù has collected a series of phrases from the best Latin writers, showing that various constructions often considered to be peculiar to Italian were also employed by them, as, for instance, in *de* (or *di*) and *ad* prefixed to nouns. Cicero says, "Homo de schola; declamator de ludo; ad meridiem spectans; audiebam de parente nostro"; Pliny, "Genera de ulmo"; Ovid, "Arbiter de lite jocosa"; Varro, "Turdis revolant ad aquinoctium vernum." Other examples he gives of the Italian use of the pronoun, and of the forms *inde*, *onde*, and *ne*. From Cicero, "Romani sales salsiores quam *illi* Atticorum"; from Plautus, "Cadus erat vini; *inde* implevit cirneam." And again of the use of the indeterminate article, Cicero says, "Cum *uno* forti viro loquor; cum *uno* gladiatore nequissimo"; Plautus, "*Unam* vidi mortuam efferre foras; est huic *unus* servus violentissimus"—all of which are pure Italian idioms. And indeed Donatus, writing when Latin was still the spoken language, says of this form, in commenting on a verse of Terence, "Ex consuetudine dicit *unam*, ut dicimus, *unus est adolescens*."

In the past tenses he also gives various examples, showing that the Latins used a compound form similar to the Italian *Ho detto*, *fu nato*, *ho fatto*, among which one or two may be cited. Cicero says, "Satis hoc tempore *dictum* habeo; Clodii animum perfecte habeo cognitum, judicatum"; Pliny says, "*Cognitum habeo* insulas." And he also cites a passage from Baluzius (A. D. 422) given by Muratori (Antiq. Medii Aevi, diss. xxxii.), filled with forms which would be considered now as barbarous. But more, perhaps, than in any other book, forms of construction and idioms and words specially Italian are to be found in the Bible, which was translated into Latin in the time of Tacitus and Seneca, and reformed by St. Jerome while the Roman Empire still existed, and before the language could have been corrupted by the incursions of barbarians; and from this Cantù has cited a large number of passages in support of his thesis. One of these may suffice, from Luke vii. 40: "Simon habeo tibi aliquid dicere."

minds are stimulated by these suggestions to explore and minutely examine what we have here but vaguely pointed out.

In conclusion, we cannot do better than transcribe the following passage from Diez, which in general terms expresses the same view which we have taken of this subject, and coincides with those taken by Cantù. Speaking of the Romance languages, he says:

"They all have their primary and principal source in the Latin, but they are derived not from the Latin employed in literature, but, as has often been justly argued, from the Roman popular speech, which was used continually with classical Latin. Attempts have been made to prove the existence of such a popular dialect by the testimony of the ancients; but its existence is a fact so little needing proof that we should rather be justified in requiring evidence to the contrary as an exception to the general rule. We must, however, be careful not to understand by the term popular speech anything more than is implied by it in other cases; that is, the vulgar vernacular dialect of one and the same language, which consists in a negligent pronunciation of words, in an inclination to the resolution of grammatical forms, in the use of numerous expressions avoided by writers, and in special phrases and constructions. These and no other conclusions are warranted by the testimony and the specimens gathered from the works of ancient authors; at most we can only admit that the contrast between the dialect of popular discourse and that of literature on the complete congelation of this latter, a little before the downfall of the Western Empire, manifested itself more conspicuously. If, then, the existence of a popular dialect—that is, of a vulgar form of speech—is upon general grounds certain, the derivation of the Romance dialects from this popular speech is not less certain, inasmuch as the written language, resting altogether on the past, and cultivated only by the higher classes and by writers, admitted of no new development or production, while the much more flexible vulgar tongue contained the germ and the susceptibility of a development imposed by time. When, at a later period, in consequence of that great event, the German conquest, the ancient culture perished with the higher classes, the pure Latin died of itself. The popular dialect pursued its course the more rapidly, and became at last the fountain from which the Romance languages flowed, though in a form widely different from the original." *

* "Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen," vol. i., pp. 3, 4.

W. W. Story.

VII.

AN INDIAN'S VIEWS OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

INTRODUCTION.

I WISH that I had words at command in which to express adequately the interest with which I have read the extraordinary narrative which follows, and which I have the privilege of introducing to the readers of this "Review." I feel, however, that this *apologia* is so boldly marked by the charming *naïveté* and tender pathos which characterize the red-man, that it needs no introduction, much less any authentication; while in its smothered fire, in its deep sense of eternal righteousness and of present evil, and in its hopeful longings for the coming of a better time, this Indian chief's appeal reminds us of one of the old Hebrew prophets of the days of the captivity.

I have no special knowledge of the history of the Nez Percés, the Indians whose tale of sorrow Chief Joseph so pathetically tells—my Indian missions lying in a part at the West quite distant from their old home—and am not competent to judge their case upon its merits. The chief's narrative is, of course, *ex parte*, and many of his statements would no doubt be ardently disputed. General Howard, for instance, can hardly receive justice at his hands, so well known is he for his friendship to the Indian and for his distinguished success in pacifying some of the most desperate.

It should be remembered, too, in justice to the army, that it is rarely called upon to interfere in Indian affairs until the relations between the Indians and the whites have reached a desperate condition, and when the situation of affairs has become so involved and feeling on both sides runs so high that perhaps only more than human forbearance would attempt to solve the difficulty by disentangling the knot and not by cutting it.

Nevertheless, the chief's narrative is marked by so much can-

dor, and so careful is he to qualify his statements, when qualification seems necessary, that every reader will give him credit for speaking his honest, even should they be thought by some to be mistaken, convictions. The chief, in his treatment of his defense, reminds one of those lawyers of whom we have heard that their splendid success was gained, not by disputation, but simply by their lucid and straightforward statement of their case. That he is something of a strategist as well as an advocate appears from this description of an event which occurred shortly after the breaking out of hostilities: "We crossed over Salmon River, hoping General Howard would follow. We were not disappointed. He did follow us, and we got between him and his supplies, and cut him off for three days." Occasionally the reader comes upon touches of those sentiments and feelings which at once establish a sense of kinship between all who possess them. Witness his description of his desperate attempt to rejoin his wife and children when a sudden dash of General Miles's soldiers had cut the Indian camp in two: "About seventy men, myself among them, were cut off. . . . I thought of my wife and children, who were now surrounded by soldiers, and I resolved to go to them. With a prayer in my mouth to the Great Spirit Chief who rules above, I dashed unarmed through the line of soldiers. . . . My clothes were cut to pieces, my horse was wounded, but I was not hurt." And again, when he speaks of his father's death: "I saw he was dying. I took his hand in mine. He said: 'My son, my body is returning to my mother Earth, and my spirit is going very soon to see the Great Spirit Chief. . . . A few more years and the white men will be all around you. They have their eyes on this land. My son, never forget my dying words. This country holds your father's body—never sell the bones of your father and your mother.' I pressed my father's hand, and told him I would protect his grave with my life. My father smiled, and passed away to the spirit-land. I buried him in that beautiful valley of Winding Waters. I love that land more than all the rest of the world. A man who would not love his father's grave is worse than a wild animal."

His appeals to the natural rights of man are surprisingly fine, and, however some may despise them as the utterances of an Indian, they are just those which, in our Declaration of Independence, have been most admired. "We are all sprung from a woman," he says, "although we are unlike in many things. You are as you were made, and, as you were made, you can remain.

We are just as we were made by the Great Spirit, and you can not change us: then, why should children of one mother quarrel? Why should one try to cheat another? I do not believe that the Great Spirit Chief gave one kind of men the right to tell another kind of men what they must do."

But I will not detain the readers of the "Review" from the pleasure of perusing for themselves Chief Joseph's statement longer than is necessary to express the hope that those who have time for no more will at least read its closing paragraph, and to remark that the narrative brings clearly out these facts which ought to be regarded as well-recognized principles in dealing with the red-man:

1. The folly of any mode of treatment of the Indian which is not based upon a cordial and operative acknowledgment of his rights as our *fellow man.*

2. The danger of riding rough-shod over a people who are capable of high enthusiasm, who know and value their national rights, and are brave enough to defend them.

3. The liability to want of harmony between different departments and different officials of our complex Government, from which it results that, while many promises are made to the Indians, few of them are kept. It is a home-thrust when Chief Joseph says: "The white people have too many chiefs. They do not understand each other. . . . I can not understand how the Government sends a man out to fight us, as it did General Miles, and then break his word. Such a Government has something wrong about it."

4. The unwisdom, in most cases in dealing with Indians, of what may be termed *military short-cuts*, instead of patient discussion, explanations, persuasion, and reasonable concessions.

5. The absence in an Indian tribe of any truly representative body competent to make a treaty which shall be binding upon all the bands. The failure to recognize this fact has been the source of endless difficulties. Chief Joseph, in this case, did not consider a treaty binding which his band had not agreed to, no matter how many other bands had signed it; and so it has been in many other cases.

6. Indian chiefs, however able and influential, are really without power, and for this reason, as well as others, the Indians, when by the march of events they are brought into intimate relations with the whites, should at the earliest practicable moment be given the support and protection of our Government and of our law; not

local law, however, which is apt to be the result of *special* legislation, adopted solely in the interest of the stronger race.

WILLIAM H. HARE, *Missionary Bishop of Niobrara.*

MY friends, I have been asked to show you my heart. I am glad to have a chance to do so. I want the white people to understand my people. Some of you think an Indian is like a wild animal. This is a great mistake. I will tell you all about our people, and then you can judge whether an Indian is a man or not. I believe much trouble and blood would be saved if we opened our hearts more. I will tell you in my way how the Indian sees things. The white man has more words to tell you how they look to him, but it does not require many words to speak the truth. What I have to say will come from my heart, and I will speak with a straight tongue. Ah-cum-kin-i-ma-me-hut (the Great Spirit) is looking at me, and will hear me.

My name is In-mut-too-yah-lat-lat (Thunder traveling over the Mountains). I am chief of the Wal-lam-wat-kin band of Chute-pa-lu, or Nez Percés (nose-pierced Indians). I was born in eastern Oregon, thirty-eight winters ago. My father was chief before me. When a young man, he was called Joseph by Mr. Spaulding, a missionary. He died a few years ago. There was no stain on his hands of the blood of a white man. He left a good name on the earth. He advised me well for my people.

Our fathers gave us many laws, which they had learned from their fathers. These laws were good. They told us to treat all men as they treated us; that we should never be the first to break a bargain; that it was a disgrace to tell a lie; that we should speak only the truth; that it was a shame for one man to take from another his wife, or his property without paying for it. We were taught to believe that the Great Spirit sees and hears everything, and that he never forgets; that hereafter he will give every man a spirit-home according to his deserts: if he has been a good man, he will have a good home; if he has been a bad man, he will have a bad home. This I believe, and all my people believe the same.

We did not know there were other people besides the Indian until about one hundred winters ago, when some men with white faces came to our country. They brought many things with them to trade for furs and skins. They brought tobacco, which was new to us. They brought guns with flint stones on them, which fright-

ened our women and children. Our people could not talk with these white-faced men, but they used signs which all people understand. These men were Frenchmen, and they called our people "Nez Percés," because they wore rings in their noses for ornaments. Although very few of our people wear them now, we are still called by the same name. These French trappers said a great many things to our fathers, which have been planted in our hearts. Some were good for us, but some were bad. Our people were divided in opinion about these men. Some thought they taught more bad than good. An Indian respects a brave man, but he despises a coward. He loves a straight tongue, but he hates a forked tongue. The French trappers told us some truths and some lies.

The first white men of your people who came to our country were named Lewis and Clarke. They also brought many things that our people had never seen. They talked straight, and our people gave them a great feast, as a proof that their hearts were friendly. These men were very kind. They made presents to our chiefs and our people made presents to them. We had a great many horses, of which we gave them what they needed, and they gave us guns and tobacco in return. All the Nez Percés made friends with Lewis and Clarke, and agreed to let them pass through their country, and never to make war on white men. This promise the Nez Percés have never broken. No white man can accuse them of bad faith, and speak with a straight tongue. It has always been the pride of the Nez Percés that they were the friends of the white men. When my father was a young man there came to our country a white man (Rev. Mr. Spaulding) who talked spirit law. He won the affections of our people because he spoke good things to them. At first he did not say anything about white men wanting to settle on our lands. Nothing was said about that until about twenty winters ago, when a number of white people came into our country and built houses and made farms. At first our people made no complaint. They thought there was room enough for all to live in peace, and they were learning many things from the white men that seemed to be good. But we soon found that the white men were growing rich very fast, and were greedy to possess everything the Indian had. My father was the first to see through the schemes of the white men, and he warned his tribe to be careful about trading with them. He had suspicion of men who seemed so anxious to make money. I was a boy then, but I remember well my father's caution. He had sharper eyes than the rest of our people.

Next there came a white officer (Governor Stevens), who invited all the Nez Percés to a treaty council. After the council was opened he made known his heart. He said there were a great many white people in the country, and many more would come; that he wanted the land marked out so that the Indians and white men could be separated. If they were to live in peace it was necessary, he said, that the Indians should have a country set apart for them, and in that country they must stay. My father, who represented his band, refused to have anything to do with the council, because he wished to be a free man. He claimed that no man owned any part of the earth, and a man could not sell what he did not own.

Mr. Spaulding took hold of my father's arm and said, "Come and sign the treaty." My father pushed him away, and said: "Why do you ask me to sign away my country? It is your business to talk to us about spirit matters, and not to talk to us about parting with our land." Governor Stevens urged my father to sign his treaty, but he refused. "I will not sign your paper," he said; "you go where you please, so do I; you are not a child, I am no child; I can think for myself. No man can think for me. I have no other home than this. I will not give it up to any man. My people would have no home. Take away your paper. I will not touch it with my hand."

My father left the council. Some of the chiefs of the other bands of the Nez Percés signed the treaty, and then Governor Stevens gave them presents of blankets. My father cautioned his people to take no presents, for "after a while," he said, "they will claim that you have accepted pay for your country." Since that time four bands of the Nez Percés have received annuities from the United States. My father was invited to many councils, and they tried hard to make him sign the treaty, but he was firm as the rock, and would not sign away his home. His refusal caused a difference among the Nez Percés.

Eight years later (1863) was the next treaty council. A chief called Lawyer, because he was a great talker, took the lead in this council, and sold nearly all the Nez Percés country. My father was not there. He said to me: "When you go into council with the white man, always remember your country. Do not give it away. The white man will cheat you out of your home. I have taken no pay from the United States. I have never sold our land." In this treaty Lawyer acted without authority from our band. He had no right to sell the Wallowa (*winding water*) country. That

had always belonged to my father's own people, and the other bands had never disputed our right to it. No other Indians ever claimed Wallowa.

In order to have all people understand how much land we owned, my father planted poles around it and said :

"Inside is the home of my people—the white man may take the land outside. Inside this boundary all our people were born. It circles around the graves of our fathers, and we will never give up these graves to any man."

The United States claimed they had bought all the Nez Percés country outside of Lapwai Reservation, from Lawyer and other chiefs, but we continued to live on this land in peace until eight years ago, when white men began to come inside the bounds my father had set. We warned them against this great wrong, but they would not leave our land, and some bad blood was raised. The white men represented that we were going upon the war-path. They reported many things that were false.

The United States Government again asked for a treaty council. My father had become blind and feeble. He could no longer speak for his people. It was then that I took my father's place as chief. In this council I made my first speech to white men. I said to the agent who held the council :

"I did not want to come to this council, but I came hoping that we could save blood. The white man has no right to come here and take our country. We have never accepted any presents from the Government. Neither Lawyer nor any other chief had authority to sell this land. It has always belonged to my people. It came unclouded to them from our fathers, and we will defend this land as long as a drop of Indian blood warms the hearts of our men."

The agent said he had orders, from the Great White Chief at Washington, for us to go upon the Lapwai Reservation, and that if we obeyed he would help us in many ways. "You *must* move to the agency," he said. I answered him : "I will not. I do not need your help ; we have plenty, and we are contented and happy if the white man will let us alone. The reservation is too small for so many people with all their stock. You can keep your presents ; we can go to your towns and pay for all we need ; we have plenty of horses and cattle to sell, and we won't have any help from you ; we are free now ; we can go where we please. Our fathers were born here. Here they lived, here they died, here are their graves. We

will never leave them." The agent went away, and we had peace for a little while.

Soon after this my father sent for me. I saw he was dying. I took his hand in mine. He said: "My son, my body is returning to my mother earth, and my spirit is going very soon to see the Great Spirit Chief. When I am gone, think of your country. You are the chief of these people. They look to you to guide them. Always remember that your father never sold his country. You must stop your ears whenever you are asked to sign a treaty selling your home. A few years more, and white men will be all around you. They have their eyes on this land. My son, never forget my dying words. This country holds your father's body. Never sell the bones of your father and your mother." I pressed my father's hand and told him I would protect his grave with my life. My father smiled and passed away to the spirit-land.

I buried him in that beautiful valley of winding waters. I love that land more than all the rest of the world. A man who would not love his father's grave is worse than a wild animal.

For a short time we lived quietly. But this could not last. White men had found gold in the mountains around the land of winding water. They stole a great many horses from us, and we could not get them back because we were Indians. The white men told lies for each other. They drove off a great many of our cattle. Some white men branded our young cattle so they could claim them. We had no friend who would plead our cause before the law councils. It seemed to me that some of the white men in Wallowa were doing these things on purpose to get up a war. They knew that we were not strong enough to fight them. I labored hard to avoid trouble and bloodshed. We gave up some of our country to the white men, thinking that then we could have peace. We were mistaken. The white man would not let us alone. We could have avenged our wrongs many times, but we did not. Whenever the Government has asked us to help them against other Indians, we have never refused. When the white men were few and we were strong we could have killed them all off, but the Nez Percés wished to live at peace.

If we have not done so, we have not been to blame. I believe that the old treaty has never been correctly reported. If we ever owned the land we own it still, for we never sold it. In the treaty councils the commissioners have claimed that our country had been sold to the Government. Suppose a white man should come to me

and say, "Joseph, I like your horses, and I want to buy them." I say to him, "No, my horses suit me, I will not sell them." Then he goes to my neighbor, and says to him: "Joseph has some good horses. I want to buy them, but he refuses to sell." My neighbor answers, "Pay me the money, and I will sell you Joseph's horses." The white man returns to me, and says, "Joseph, I have bought your horses, and you must let me have them." If we sold our lands to the Government, this is the way they were bought.

On account of the treaty made by the other bands of the Nez Percés, the white men claimed my lands. We were troubled greatly by white men crowding over the line. Some of these were good men, and we lived on peaceful terms with them, but they were not all good.

Nearly every year the agent came over from Lapwai and ordered us on to the reservation. We always replied that we were satisfied to live in Wallowa. We were careful to refuse the presents or annuities which he offered.

Through all the years since the white men came to Wallowa we have been threatened and taunted by them and the treaty Nez Percés. They have given us no rest. We have had a few good friends among white men, and they have always advised my people to bear these taunts without fighting. Our young men were quick-tempered, and I have had great trouble in keeping them from doing rash things. I have carried a heavy load on my back ever since I was a boy. I learned then that we were but few, while the white men were many, and that we could not hold our own with them. We were like deer. They were like grizzly bears. We had a small country. Their country was large. We were contented to let things remain as the Great Spirit Chief made them. They were not; and would change the rivers and mountains if they did not suit them.

Year after year we have been threatened, but no war was made upon my people until General Howard came to our country two years ago and told us that he was the white war-chief of all that country. He said: "I have a great many soldiers at my back. I am going to bring them up here, and then I will talk to you again. I will not let white men laugh at me the next time I come. The country belongs to the Government, and I intend to make you go upon the reservation."

I remonstrated with him against bringing more soldiers to the Nez Percés country. He had one house full of troops all the time at Fort Lapwai.

The next spring the agent at Umatilla agency sent an Indian runner to tell me to meet General Howard at Walla Walla. I could not go myself, but I sent my brother and five other head men to meet him, and they had a long talk.

General Howard said: "You have talked straight, and it is all right. You can stay in Wallowa." He insisted that my brother and his company should go with him to Fort Lapwai. When the party arrived there General Howard sent out runners and called all the Indians in to a grand council. I was in that council. I said to General Howard, "We are ready to listen." He answered that he would not talk then, but would hold a council next day, when he would talk plainly. I said to General Howard: "I am ready to talk to-day. I have been in a great many councils, but I am no wiser. We are all sprung from a woman, although we are unlike in many things. We can not be made over again. You are as you were made, and as you were made you can remain. We are just as we were made by the Great Spirit, and you can not change us; then why should children of one mother and one father quarrel—why should one try to cheat the other? I do not believe that the Great Spirit Chief gave one kind of men the right to tell another kind of men what they must do."

General Howard replied: "You deny my authority, do you? You want to dictate to me, do you?"

Then one of my chiefs—Too-hool-hool-suit—rose in the council and said to General Howard: "The Great Spirit Chief made the world as it is, and as he wanted it, and he made a part of it for us to live upon. I do not see where you get authority to say that we shall not live where he placed us."

General Howard lost his temper and said: "Shut up! I don't want to hear any more of such talk. The law says you shall go upon the reservation to live, and I want you to do so, but you persist in disobeying the law" (meaning the treaty). "If you do not move, I will take the matter into my own hand, and make you suffer for your disobedience."

Too-hool-hool-suit answered: "Who are you, that you ask us to talk, and then tell me I sha'n't talk? Are you the Great Spirit? Did you make the world? Did you make the sun? Did you make the rivers to run for us to drink? Did you make the grass to grow? Did you make all these things, that you talk to us as though we were boys? If you did, then you have the right to talk as you do."

General Howard replied, "You are an impudent fellow, and I will put you in the guard-house," and then ordered a soldier to arrest him.

Too-hool-hool-suit made no resistance. He asked General Howard: "Is that your order? I don't care. I have expressed my heart to you. I have nothing to take back. I have spoken for my country. You can arrest me, but you can not change me or make me take back what I have said."

The soldiers came forward and seized my friend and took him to the guard-house. My men whispered among themselves whether they should let this thing be done. I counseled them to submit. I knew if we resisted that all the white men present, including General Howard would be killed in a moment, and we would be blamed. If I had said nothing, General Howard would never have given another unjust order against my men. I saw the danger, and, while they dragged Too-hool-hool-suit to prison, I arose and said: "*I am going to talk now.* I don't care whether you arrest me or not." I turned to my people and said: "The arrest of Too-hool-hool-suit was wrong, but we will not resent the insult. We were invited to this council to express our hearts, and we have done so." Too-hool-hool-suit was prisoner for five days before he was released.

The council broke up for that day. On the next morning General Howard came to my lodge, and invited me to go with him and White-Bird and Looking-Glass, to look for land for my people. As we rode along we came to some good land that was already occupied by Indians and white people. General Howard, pointing to this land, said: "If you will come on to the reservation, I will give you these lands and move these people off."

I replied: "No. It would be wrong to disturb these people. I have no right to take their homes. I have never taken what did not belong to me. I will not now."

We rode all day upon the reservation, and found no good land unoccupied. I have been informed by men who do not lie that General Howard sent a letter that night, telling the soldiers at Walla Walla to go to Wallowa Valley, and drive us out upon our return home.

In the council, next day, General Howard informed me, in a haughty spirit, that he would give my people *thirty days* to go back home, collect all their stock, and move on to the reservation, saying, "If you are not here in that time, I shall consider that you want to fight, and will send my soldiers to drive you on."

I said: "War can be avoided, and it ought to be avoided. I want no war. My people have always been the friends of the white man. Why are you in such a hurry? I can not get ready to move in thirty days. Our stock is scattered, and Snake River is very high. Let us wait until fall, then the river will be low. We want time to hunt up our stock and gather supplies for winter."

General Howard replied, "If you let the time run over one day, the soldiers will be there to drive you on to the reservation, and all your cattle and horses outside of the reservation at that time will fall into the hands of the white men."

I knew I had never sold my country, and that I had no land in Lapwai; but I did not want bloodshed. I did not want my people killed. I did not want anybody killed. Some of my people had been murdered by white men, and the white murderers were never punished for it. I told General Howard about this, and again said I wanted no war. I wanted the people who lived upon the lands I was to occupy at Lapwai to have time to gather their harvest.

I said in my heart that, rather than have war, I would give up my country. I would give up my father's grave. I would give up everything rather than have the blood of white men upon the hands of my people.

General Howard refused to allow me more than thirty days to move my people and their stock. I am sure that he began to prepare for war at once.

When I returned to Wallowa I found my people very much excited upon discovering that the soldiers were already in the Wallowa Valley. We held a council, and decided to move immediately, to avoid bloodshed.

Too-hool-hool-suit, who felt outraged by his imprisonment, talked for war, and made many of my young men willing to fight rather than be driven like dogs from the land where they were born. He declared that blood alone would wash out the disgrace General Howard had put upon him. It required a strong heart to stand up against such talk, but I urged my people to be quiet, and not to begin a war.

We gathered all the stock we could find, and made an attempt to move. We left many of our horses and cattle in Wallowa, and we lost several hundred in crossing the river. All of my people succeeded in getting across in safety. Many of the Nez Percés came together in Rocky Cañon to hold a grand council. I went with all my people. This council lasted ten days. There was a

great deal of war-talk, and a great deal of excitement. There was one young brave present whose father had been killed by a white man five years before. This man's blood was bad against white men, and he left the council calling for revenge.

Again I counseled peace, and I thought the danger was past. We had not complied with General Howard's order because we could not, but we intended to do so as soon as possible. I was leaving the council to kill beef for my family, when news came that the young man whose father had been killed had gone out with several other hot-blooded young braves and killed four white men. He rode up to the council and shouted: "Why do you sit here like women? The war has begun already." I was deeply grieved. All the lodges were moved except my brother's and my own. I saw clearly that the war was upon us when I learned that my young men had been secretly buying ammunition. I heard then that Too-hool-hool-suit, who had been imprisoned by General Howard, had succeeded in organizing a war-party. I knew that their acts would involve all my people. I saw that the war could not then be prevented. The time had passed. I counseled peace from the beginning. I knew that we were too weak to fight the United States. We had many grievances, but I knew that war would bring more. We had good white friends, who advised us against taking the war-path. My friend and brother, Mr. Chapman, who has been with us since the surrender, told us just how the war would end. Mr. Chapman took sides against us, and helped General Howard. I do not blame him for doing so. He tried hard to prevent bloodshed. We hoped the white settlers would not join the soldiers. Before the war commenced we had discussed this matter all over, and many of my people were in favor of warning them that if they took no part against us they should not be molested in the event of war being begun by General Howard. This plan was voted down in the war-council.

There were bad men among my people who had quarreled with white men, and they talked of their wrongs until they roused all the bad hearts in the council. Still I could not believe that they would begin the war. I know that my young men did a great wrong, but I ask, Who was first to blame? They had been insulted a thousand times; their fathers and brothers had been killed; their mothers and wives had been disgraced; they had been driven to madness by whisky sold to them by white men; they had been told by General Howard that all their horses and cattle which they

had been unable to drive out of Wallowa were to fall into the hands of white men; and, added to all this, they were homeless and desperate.

I would have given my own life if I could have undone the killing of white men by my people. I blame my young men and I blame the white men. I blame General Howard for not giving my people time to get their stock away from Wallowa. I do not acknowledge that he had the right to order me to leave Wallowa at any time. I deny that either my father or myself ever sold that land. It is still our land. It may never again be our home, but my father sleeps there, and I love it as I love my mother. I left there, hoping to avoid bloodshed.

If General Howard had given me plenty of time to gather up my stock, and treated Too-hool-hool-suit as a man should be treated, there *would have been no war.*

My friends among white men have blamed me for the war. I am not to blame. When my young men began the killing, my heart was hurt. Although I did not justify them, I remembered all the insults I had endured, and my blood was on fire. Still I would have taken my people to the buffalo country without fighting, if possible.

I could see no other way to avoid a war. We moved over to White Bird Creek, sixteen miles away, and there encamped, intending to collect our stock before leaving; but the soldiers attacked us, and the first battle was fought. We numbered in that battle sixty men, and the soldiers a hundred. The fight lasted but a few minutes, when the soldiers retreated before us for twelve miles. They lost thirty-three killed, and had seven wounded. When an Indian fights, he only shoots to kill; but soldiers shoot at random. None of the soldiers were scalped. We do not believe in scalping, nor in killing wounded men. Soldiers do not kill many Indians unless they are wounded and left upon the battle-field. Then they kill Indians.

Seven days after the first battle, General Howard arrived in the Nez Percés country, bringing seven hundred more soldiers. It was now war in earnest. We crossed over Salmon River, hoping General Howard would follow. We were not disappointed. He did follow us, and we got back between him and his supplies, and cut him off for three days. He sent out two companies to open the way. We attacked them, killing one officer, two guides, and ten men.

We withdrew, hoping the soldiers would follow, but they had got fighting enough for that day. They intrenched themselves, and next day we attacked them again. The battle lasted all day, and was renewed next morning. We killed four and wounded seven or eight.

About this time General Howard found out that we were in his rear. Five days later he attacked us with three hundred and fifty soldiers and settlers. We had two hundred and fifty warriors. The fight lasted twenty-seven hours. We lost four killed and several wounded. General Howard's loss was twenty-nine men killed and sixty wounded.

The following day the soldiers charged upon us, and we retreated with our families and stock a few miles, leaving eighty lodges to fall into General Howard's hands.

Finding that we were outnumbered, we retreated to Bitter Root Valley. Here another body of soldiers came upon us and demanded our surrender. We refused. They said, "You can not get by us." We answered, "We are going by you without fighting if you will let us, but we are going by you anyhow." We then made a treaty with these soldiers. We agreed not to molest any one, and they agreed that we might pass through the Bitter Root country in peace. We bought provisions and traded stock with white men there.

We understood that there was to be no more war. We intended to go peaceably to the buffalo country, and leave the question of returning to our country to be settled afterward.

With this understanding we traveled on for four days, and, thinking that the trouble was all over, we stopped and prepared tent-poles to take with us. We started again, and at the end of two days we saw three white men passing our camp. Thinking that peace had been made, we did not molest them. We could have killed or taken them prisoners, but we did not suspect them of being spies, which they were.

That night the soldiers surrounded our camp. About daybreak one of my men went out to look after his horses. The soldiers saw him and shot him down like a coyote. I have since learned that these soldiers were not those we had left behind. They had come upon us from another direction. The new white war-chief's name was Gibbon. He charged upon us while some of my people were still asleep. We had a hard fight. Some of my men crept around and attacked the soldiers from the rear. In this battle we lost nearly all our lodges, but we finally drove General Gibbon back.

Finding that he was not able to capture us, he sent to his camp a few miles away for his big guns (cannons), but my men had captured them and all the ammunition. We damaged the big guns all we could, and carried away the powder and lead. In the fight with General Gibbon we lost fifty women and children and thirty fighting men. We remained long enough to bury our dead. The Nez Percés never make war on women and children; we could have killed a great many women and children while the war lasted, but we would feel ashamed to do so cowardly an act.

We never scalp our enemies, but when General Howard came up and joined General Gibbon, their Indian scouts dug up our dead and scalped them. I have been told that General Howard did not order this great shame to be done.

We retreated as rapidly as we could toward the buffalo country. After six days General Howard came close to us, and we went out and attacked him, and captured nearly all his horses and mules (about two hundred and fifty head). We then marched on to the Yellowstone Basin.

On the way we captured one white man and two white women. We released them at the end of three days. They were treated kindly. The women were not insulted. Can the white soldiers tell me of one time when Indian women were taken prisoners, and held three days and then released without being insulted? Were the Nez Percés women who fell into the hands of General Howard's soldiers treated with as much respect? I deny that a Nez Percé was ever guilty of such a crime.

A few days later we captured two more white men. One of them stole a horse and escaped. We gave the other a poor horse and told him he was free.

Nine days' march brought us to the mouth of Clarke's Fork of the Yellowstone. We did not know what had become of General Howard, but we supposed that he had sent for more horses and mules. He did not come up, but another new war-chief (General Sturgis) attacked us. We held him in check while we moved all our women and children and stock out of danger, leaving a few men to cover our retreat.

Several days passed, and we heard nothing of General Howard, or Gibbon, or Sturgis. We had repulsed each in turn, and began to feel secure, when another army, under General Miles, struck us. This was the fourth army, each of which outnumbered our fighting force, that we had encountered within sixty days.

We had no knowledge of General Miles's army until a short time before he made a charge upon us, cutting our camp in two, and capturing nearly all of our horses. About seventy men, myself among them, were cut off. My little daughter, twelve years of age, was with me. I gave her a rope, and told her to catch a horse and join the others who were cut off from the camp. I have not seen her since, but I have learned that she is alive and well.

I thought of my wife and children, who were now surrounded by soldiers, and I resolved to go to them or die. With a prayer in my mouth to the Great Spirit Chief who rules above, I dashed unarmed through the line of soldiers. It seemed to me that there were guns on every side, before and behind me. My clothes were cut to pieces and my horse was wounded, but I was not hurt. As I reached the door of my lodge, my wife handed me my rifle, saying: "Here's your gun. Fight!"

The soldiers kept up a continuous fire. Six of my men were killed in one spot near me. Ten or twelve soldiers charged into our camp and got possession of two lodges, killing three Nez Percés and losing three of their men, who fell inside our lines. I called my men to drive them back. We fought at close range, not more than twenty steps apart, and drove the soldiers back upon their main line, leaving their dead in our hands. We secured their arms and ammunition. We lost, the first day and night, eighteen men and three women. General Miles lost twenty-six killed and forty wounded. The following day General Miles sent a messenger into my camp under protection of a white flag. I sent my friend Yellow Bull to meet him.

Yellow Bull understood the messenger to say that General Miles wished me to consider the situation; that he did not want to kill my people unnecessarily. Yellow Bull understood this to be a demand for me to surrender and save blood. Upon reporting this message to me, Yellow Bull said he wondered whether General Miles was in earnest. I sent him back with my answer, that I had not made up my mind, but would think about it and send word soon. A little later he sent some Cheyenne scouts with another message. I went out to meet them. They said they believed that General Miles was sincere and really wanted peace. I walked on to General Miles's tent. He met me and we shook hands. He said, "Come, let us sit down by the fire and talk this matter over." I remained with him all night; next morning Yellow Bull came over to see if I was alive, and why I did not return.

General Miles would not let me leave the tent to see my friend alone.

Yellow Bull said to me: "They have got you in their power, and I am afraid they will never let you go again. I have an officer in our camp, and I will hold him until they let you go free."

I said: "I do not know what they mean to do with me, but if they kill me you must not kill the officer. It will do no good to avenge my death by killing him."

Yellow Bull returned to my camp. I did not make any agreement that day with General Miles. The battle was renewed while I was with him. I was very anxious about my people. I knew that we were near Sitting Bull's camp in King George's land, and I thought maybe the Nez Percés who had escaped would return with assistance. No great damage was done to either party during the night.

On the following morning I returned to my camp by agreement, meeting the officer who had been held a prisoner in my camp at the flag of truce. My people were divided about surrendering. We could have escaped from Bear Paw Mountain if we had left our wounded, old women, and children behind. We were unwilling to do this. We had never heard of a wounded Indian recovering while in the hands of white men.

On the evening of the fourth day General Howard came in with a small escort, together with my friend Chapman. We could now talk understandingly. General Miles said to me in plain words, "If you will come out and give up your arms, I will spare your lives and send you to your reservation." I do not know what passed between General Miles and General Howard.

I could not bear to see my wounded men and women suffer any longer; we had lost enough already. General Miles had promised that we might return to our own country with what stock we had left. I thought we could start again. I believed General Miles, or *I never would have surrendered.* I have heard that he has been censured for making the promise to return us to Lapwai. He could not have made any other terms with me at that time. I would have held him in check until my friends came to my assistance, and then neither of the generals nor their soldiers would have ever left Bear Paw Mountain alive.

On the fifth day I went to General Miles and gave up my gun, and said, "From where the sun now stands I will fight no more." My people needed rest—we wanted peace.

I was told we could go with General Miles to Tongue River and stay there until spring, when we would be sent back to our country. Finally it was decided that we were to be taken to Tongue River. We had nothing to say about it. After our arrival at Tongue River, General Miles received orders to take us to Bismarck. The reason given was, that subsistence would be cheaper there.

General Miles was opposed to this order. He said: "You must not blame me. I have endeavored to keep my word, but the chief who is over me has given the order, and I must obey it or resign. That would do you no good. Some other officer would carry out the order."

I believe General Miles would have kept his word if he could have done so. I do not blame him for what we have suffered since the surrender. I do not know who is to blame. We gave up all our horses—over eleven hundred—and all our saddles—over one hundred—and we have not heard from them since. Somebody has got our horses.

General Miles turned my people over to another soldier, and we were taken to Bismarck. Captain Johnson, who now had charge of us, received an order to take us to Fort Leavenworth. At Leavenworth we were placed on a low river bottom, with no water except river-water to drink and cook with. We had always lived in a healthy country, where the mountains were high and the water was cold and clear. Many of my people sickened and died, and we buried them in this strange land. I can not tell how much my heart suffered for my people while at Leavenworth. The Great Spirit Chief who rules above seemed to be looking some other way, and did not see what was being done to my people.

During the hot days (July, 1878) we received notice that we were to be moved farther away from our own country. We were not asked if we were willing to go. We were ordered to get into the railroad-cars. Three of my people died on the way to Baxter Springs. It was worse to die there than to die fighting in the mountains.

We were moved from Baxter Springs (Kansas) to the Indian Territory, and set down without our lodges. We had but little medicine, and we were nearly all sick. Seventy of my people have died since we moved there.

We have had a great many visitors who have talked many ways. Some of the chiefs (General Fish and Colonel Stickney) from

Washington came to see us, and selected land for us to live upon. We have not moved to that land, for it is not a good place to live.

The Commissioner Chief (E. A. Hayt) came to see us. I told him, as I told every one, that I expected General Miles's word would be carried out. He said it "could not be done; that white men now lived in my country and all the land was taken up; that, if I returned to Wallowa, I could not live in peace; that law-papers were out against my young men who began the war, and that the Government could not protect my people." This talk fell like a heavy stone upon my heart. I saw that I could not gain anything by talking to him. Other law chiefs (Congressional Committee) came to see me and said they would help me to get a healthy country. I did not know who to believe. The white people have too many chiefs. They do not understand each other. They do not all talk alike.

The Commissioner Chief (Mr. Hayt) invited me to go with him and hunt for a better home than we have now. I like the land we found (west of the Osage reservation) better than any place I have seen in that country; but it is not a healthy land. There are no mountains and rivers. The water is warm. It is not a good country for stock. I do not believe my people can live there. I am afraid they will all die. The Indians who occupy that country are dying off. I promised Chief Hayt to go there, and do the best I could until the Government got ready to make good General Miles's word. I was not satisfied, but I could not help myself.

Then the Inspector Chief (General McNiel) came to my camp and we had a long talk. He said I ought to have a home in the mountain country north, and that he would write a letter to the Great Chief at Washington. Again the hope of seeing the mountains of Idaho and Oregon grew up in my heart.

At last I was granted permission to come to Washington and bring my friend Yellow Bull and our interpreter with me. I am glad we came. I have shaken hands with a great many friends, but there are some things I want to know which no one seems able to explain. I can not understand how the Government sends a man out to fight us, as it did General Miles, and then breaks his word. Such a Government has something wrong about it. I can not understand why so many chiefs are allowed to talk so many different ways, and promise so many different things. I have seen the Great Father Chief (the President), the next Great Chief (Secretary of the Interior), the Commissioner Chief (Hayt), the Law

Chief (General Butler), and many other law chiefs (Congressmen), and they all say they are my friends, and that I shall have justice, but while their mouths all talk right I do not understand why nothing is done for my people. I have heard talk and talk, but nothing is done. Good words do not last long unless they amount to something. Words do not pay for my dead people. They do not pay for my country, now overrun by white men. They do not protect my father's grave. They do not pay for all my horses and cattle. Good words will not give me back my children. Good words will not make good the promise of your War Chief General Miles. Good words will not give my people good health and stop them from dying. Good words will not get my people a home where they can live in peace and take care of themselves. I am tired of talk that comes to nothing. It makes my heart sick when I remember all the good words and all the broken promises. There has been too much talking by men who had no right to talk. Too many misrepresentations have been made, too many misunderstandings have come up between the white men about the Indians. If the white man wants to live in peace with the Indian he can live in peace. There need be no trouble. Treat all men alike. Give them all the same law. Give them all an even chance to live and grow. All men were made by the same Great Spirit Chief. They are all brothers. The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it. You might as well expect the rivers to run backward as that any man who was born a free man should be contented when penned up and denied liberty to go where he pleases. If you tie a horse to a stake, do you expect he will grow fat? If you pen an Indian up on a small spot of earth, and compel him to stay there, he will not be contented, nor will he grow and prosper. I have asked some of the great white chiefs where they get their authority to say to the Indian that he shall stay in one place, while he sees white men going where they please. They can not tell me.

I only ask of the Government to be treated as all other men are treated. If I can not go to my own home, let me have a home in some country where my people will not die so fast. I would like to go to Bitter Root Valley. There my people would be healthy; where they are now they are dying. Three have died since I left my camp to come to Washington.

When I think of our condition my heart is heavy. I see men of

my race treated as outlaws and driven from country to country, or shot down like animals.

I know that my race must change. We can not hold our own with the white men as we are. We only ask an even chance to live as other men live. We ask to be recognized as men. We ask that the same law shall work alike on all men. If the Indian breaks the law, punish him by the law. If the white man breaks the law, punish him also.

Let me be a free man—free to travel, free to stop, free to work, free to trade where I choose, free to choose my own teachers, free to follow the religion of my fathers, free to think and talk and act for myself—and I will obey every law, or submit to the penalty.

Whenever the white man treats the Indian as they treat each other, then we will have no more wars. We shall all be alike—brothers of one father and one mother, with one sky above us and one country around us, and one government for all. Then the Great Spirit Chief who rules above will smile upon this land, and send rain to wash out the bloody spots made by brothers' hands from the face of the earth. For this time the Indian race are waiting and praying. I hope that no more groans of wounded men and women will ever go to the ear of the Great Spirit Chief above, and that all people may be one people.

In-mut-too-yah-lat-lat has spoken for his people.

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VIII.

HARTMANN'S "RELIGION OF THE FUTURE."

THE earnest reader of Hartmann's latest philosophical work, "The Self-Dissolution of Christianity and the Religion of the Future," will be apt to feel that his bold and generous outline of a world-religion is far from satisfying to the intellect of every thinker. According to the most rational estimate, it must be many centuries ere the simple intellectual basis of popular faith will reach any philosophical refinement. Herr Hartmann proceeds, by the inductive method, to the conclusion that the future religion is to be a pantheistic monotheism. Undoubtedly, just this phase of religious life does already exist among the finest thinkers, among cultivated men of science, in the better class of artists, and in the mental structure of poets like Emerson and Browning, in whom emotion and thought are blended into a poetic completeness. When, however, the philosophy of life reaches this generous expansion, when men grow into the true pantheistic faith, and believe themselves essentially divine, and participators or actual constituents of the universal being, religion must surely cease to be in the present understanding of the word; for men capable of holding so grand a conviction would surely be incapable of giving formal expression to it. Can we conceive an organization of men uniting for the propagation of such a religion, or even for its exposition among believers? Can we conceive of it as an external religion, in any sense, with a *cultus* and distinctive symbols? Lofty spirits may breathe this fine ether, may exchange thoughts upon it, and feel their lives exhilarated by the contact, but such experience would be personal and informal.

As an inspiration of the human soul we can conceive nothing more powerful. The consciousness that we are indissolubly knit to the universe, nay, that we are utterly and absolutely part and parcel of that universe in all its phases, material, intellectual, and spiritual, gives a sense of claim and kinship that no other theory

could supply. It is hardly possible that such a conviction could actually find a lodgment in the brain without being converted at once into the most passionate and fervent emotion. Imagine the spiritual strength that must flow from such a conviction! but imagine also the spiritual pride which would follow the formal avowal of such a consciousness! Perhaps the most unfortunate feature of the Christian system is the spirit of conscious morality which it fosters.

Hartmann does not suggest any means for the spreading of this religious philosophy. It has already taken on form and substance in minds of fine texture, but, until this fineness of texture becomes general, human beings will not grow into an exalted pantheism by their own developing mental needs. Could so refined a faith be put into so crude a form that common intelligence could receive it as seed dropped from other minds? This seems to be answered by the fact that pantheism is the inherited and almost universal faith of all ranks of India; and this is the source from which Hartmann takes the idea of immanent deity which is to be fused into a new product with the Occidental unity in the creation of the new religion.

The European mind, however, conceives the universe as separate from the creating Deity, and this idea, both in the old and new world, has by transmission almost the power of an instinct. Especially the English mind, in which idealism is a minor force, would long resist the general admission of such a thought. The average American mind with its greater impressibility might take on such a creed and wear it gracefully as some new garment, but only a few would feel the full power of such a theory of life. "Pantheism," says Heine, "is the latent religion of Germany." It is not surprising that this discovery should be made by a poet, for all the great poets are unconfessed pantheists, i. e., in their best moods, they unconsciously attain the true pantheistic identity; and doubtless the Germans, with their strong subjective idealism and exaltation above the material, realize the poetic type oftener than others. The finest expression of poetic pantheism in modern literature is distilled from Goethe's brain in Faust's answer to Margaret.

Hartmann's conception of the future religion may be further epitomized thus: The gain to the world of a pantheism uncorrupted by polytheism would be immense. The idea of absolute unity is saved, and the abandonment of the personality of God makes it impossible for man to conceive of himself as outside of Deity. Man

is an expression of essential being, a manifestation of the divine reality. Brahmanism has avoided the fatal mistake of Catholic and Protestant philosophy, by assuming an impersonal deity in three modes of manifestation, while Christian thinkers have played around the logical contradiction of one personality in three equal persons for fifteen hundred years. We must utterly break with the idea of a personal God, and accept that of one impersonal essence behind all phenomena. This impersonal Being pervades the whole world of matter and man; the whole world is indeed a manifestation of this impersonal power. This cuts away for ever every root of polytheism and of anthropomorphism. The God made in the image of man with power to create and destroy by a personal will is for ever lost, and men gain a positive, scientific basis for the brotherhood of man and for the unity of human interests. This result, however, which Hartmann reaches by labored philosophic processes, is the same which has existed in Christ and others as *feeling*. The crude philosophy of Judaism and Christianity has given birth to a most exalted emotional experience. It is nearly certain that Christ did not think of the brotherhood of humanity as *in himself* in the usual interpretation, but that he dreamed of the diffusion among men of the fervent consciousness of love, good will, and aspiration which he felt.

Religions have a psychological and a material expression. Their psychological phase is the bundle of intellectual convictions (existing as thought and coined into language), together with the emotions which spring from them. Emotion grows out of thought as plants out of the soil; and emotions founded on intuition are the most intense. In families in which successive generations have been impregnated with moral enthusiasm, morality becomes automatic and conscious effort ceases. Morality is then thoroughly artistic and admirable. The material expressions of religion are the external objects and practices used for perpetuating it, as temples, services, missions, and literatures.

Geographically this philosophical scheme is made to cover the whole earth; but Hartmann draws no chronological lines. Monotheistic pantheism may come soon or in the far future, but it is sure to come. In him it is already fulfilled in the form of a lofty intellectual life, and if dignity, kindliness, and candor of voice and manner are true indices of character, it is also fulfilled in his affectional and spiritual life. But has he not conveyed his ardent subjective life into the objective world more fully than he ought? We long

for the invention of those delicate scales which shall weigh for us all psychological and historic forces with scientific nicety. But where are we to look for this discovery if not to inductive philosophy? But the brain which shall find out this new metric system must itself be of the finest. At present, the widest possible survey of facts authorizes no positively unalterable conclusion. "Protestantism," says Hartmann, "is the grave-digger of Christianity." But Christianity stoutly refuses to be buried alive, and countless data show that it is vigorously active: its blood circulates; its pulse is beating; its historic force is not spent; it has still a long lease of life. Science and modern culture may take possession of all the finer minds, but the fine minds are in a minority. Nature perpetuates her coarse forms as surely as her complex ones, and in greater multiplicity. It will take a long time to wear out the strength of modern spiritualism. Judaism can not disappear for many a century yet. Are there any reasons for concluding that Mohammedanism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism will be less tenacious of life? The trees of the forest stand together—pines, oaks, and hemlocks—in democratic fraternity. Diversity is the necessity of organic life. May it not be equally the necessity of intellect and soul? We are not wise enough with all our data to foresee a universal religion; we are not wise enough to deny the possibility of such a universal religion; but we are wise enough to see that the present diversity of faith must continue for many centuries, and generous enough to believe that such continuance will not be an unmitigated evil.

M. A. HARDAKER.

IX.

RECENT MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

1. Weisse's Origin, Progress, and Destiny of the English Language and Literature.
2. Holmes's John Lothrop Motley.
3. Conway's Demonology and Devil-Lore.
4. Mrs. Kemble's Record of a Girlhood.
5. Tyler's History of American Literature.

If Mr. Weisse's book were what it professes to be only, it would be accepted as a close and learned analysis of parts of its subject, laboriously written and rather laborious to read. A great part of it, however, is positively, it might almost seem purposely, *à propos des bottes*. It distinguishes nicely the component parts of English speech, and traces carefully their mode of introduction into the rude primal tongue of the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons. And in doing this the author explains that he "alludes throughout the work to thoughts, ideas, languages, literatures, and events that acted and reacted on the English language and literature." The explanation is hardly broad enough to cover nine pages in praise of women, from Eve down, ending with an argument for woman-suffrage. This is no more pertinent to the subject treated than is an elaborate laudation of the press or an outburst against the Turks.

This fullness may come from the author's purpose to illustrate actions and reactions on the English language. It is no doubt possible to show how governments can impress on the speech of their subjects marks of freedom of spirit or servility. Or it may be proved that a nation's chief pursuit, as commerce or war, gives a turn and character to many expressions of its language. But a course of reasoning and comparison would be needed for this. The accumulation of facts does not prove such a process unless they are brought to bear upon it.

The author justly regards the close of the sixth century, when the Christian doctrines, together with the Roman alphabet, numerals,

and calendar were brought into England, as the beginning of Anglo-Saxon progress. It is shown how much Alfred contributed to form his country's language and found her literature, and how greatly the decay of both was hastened by William's invasion. Within a century after that event, Anglo-Saxon ceased to be a written language. Its substitute, formed by mingling its relics gradually with Græco-Latin words, was polished and enriched in the fourteenth century by Chaucer, who deserves to be styled the father of the English tongue, as well as the father of English poetry.

So from century to century the author follows the development of the English language, pointing out the accretions to it from foreign sources. Each century-chapter is summed up by a table analyzing the proportion, in the works of the chief writers of the period, of Anglo-Saxon words and of Græco-Latin ones. In the sixth century, the proportion in a hundred words is ninety-four of the former to six of the latter. In the sixteenth, the strangers have usurped forty-eight places, leaving fifty to the natives. The proportion of the elements in English as now written is fixed, through a similar analysis, at sixty-eight Græco-Latin words to thirty Anglo-Saxon and two Celtic.

Mr. Weisse is by no means an Anglo-Saxon purist. He admits that three fourths of its original idioms have been replaced by foreign ones. The substituted and added words have increased its vigor and refined its aptitudes for the utterance of thought and the promotion of action. Its progress inspires the author with faith that it will at last rise to be the ruling speech of the world, and modulate itself into a perfect instrument for the use of the race.

A man unconsciously describes himself better than any one else can describe him. Delicate and firm as are the touches Dr. Holmes gives to the portrait of his friend Motley, they express his character less than do the extracts from his letters, which fill too few of the pages of this memoir. It is not their vivid descriptions, their subtile art criticism, or their story of patient toil, that holds the reader's attention in these letters. It is their passion of love for country and jealousy of her honor. His temperament made Motley just the man to represent our country in Europe at the crisis of her fate. He was no civil formalist, no cold phrase-maker. The equal of any among the diplomatic body in accomplishment and graciousness, he met them with a noble frankness, an intense zeal for right, which must have impressed on his associates his own conviction that our civil war could end only in one way. This effect is reflected in

the prescience of events, the just estimate of probabilities, with which he writes.

Motley portrayed himself in some of his works more consciously than in his letters. His growth out of an indifferent novelist into a consummate historian is something curious in the annals of literature. Scott, it is true, wrote a history later than his novels, but the novels were admirable and the history very poor. Voltaire was an historian after being a story-teller, but his works are only two kinds of fiction. Schiller wrote his "Thirty Years' War" after his "Geisterseher" (attributed in this memoir to Goethe), but his fame rests on his works of neither class. Motley soon learned, partly by failure, where his strength lay. His genius gave the historian's philosophic insight—his peculiar powers supplied the historian's method and style. If his individuality impressed the latter with too much warmth and fullness, the fault was an excess of richness, not a defect. His patient, conscientious toil in gathering and analyzing materials was admirable. Dr. Holmes does a service to the cause of letters in holding up this noble standard—commending the old classic *improbus labor* to those who rush impatient and unfurnished into what they are pleased to call a literary career.

The limits of this memoir forbid any detailed criticism of Motley's great histories. The author describes the pride without surprise with which the writer's friends received them, and the delight of multitudes of readers which welcomed them. The opinions of acknowledged censors in the literary world, too, are quoted—the notices of the great foreign reviews, and approving letters from famous men. But the highest tribute to his genius is yielded by the enthusiasm it roused in the phlegmatic bosoms of Dutch scholars.

An unwelcome task remains to the author, who must vindicate Motley from the aspersions and misrepresentations that attended his diplomatic career. The motives and the details of such persecution as befell Motley are usually shrouded in state secrecy. In this instance they come out in full light, revealing human infirmity among those highest in place, and striking upon the ugly features of personal spite and irritation. If vehemence is shown in the justification, it is that of ardent friendship, quickened by sympathy of nature. The Vienna history is simply that of a high-spirited, sensitive man, resenting the unworthy thrusting upon him by officials of a contemptible slander that should never have been noticed. The statement of Motley's retirement from the English mission is more involved. The author analyzes the case at great length, and,

we think, redeems Motley from all misconstruction, placing him in the position of an unjustly treated public servant.

This memoir is the simple expression of tender and fervid friendship, not without fair discrimination, by one who loved its subject for high and fine qualities, with which his own nature can sympathize. The author calls it only an outline, which may be of service to a future biographer. No other hand than his own should venture to complete it.

Mr. Conway appends to his name on the title-page of "Demonology and Devil-Lore" his degree-mark of B. D. of Divinity College, Harvard University. He omits a motto. We suggest "Parcus deorum cultor et infrequens." He would scornfully ask if it is not plain on every page that he worships no false gods? Perfectly so, and equally plain, for all the pages show that he worships no gods at all. Granted that he may have convinced himself that the religion of our day is a "creed outworn." Then, if he attacks it, it is his duty to commend a substitute. At least, let him not deal bitterly or sneeringly with "the fair humanities of old religion." For millions these are still the breath of life. If the writer really believes Christianity to be a superstition, he will not strive to scoff men out of it any more than he would wish to frighten them into it.

The double title of the book denotes a distinction between its subjects. Devils are not demons. They differ in age, demons being the eldest creation of human fancy and fear. They differ in character, the acts of demons being impelled by the necessity of their nature, while devils work with a malignant will. As the author states the distinction, the first personate the obstacles with which men have had to contend in the struggle for existence, as hunger, cold, destructive elements, darkness, disease. The latter represent the history of the moral and religious struggles through which churches and priesthoods have had to pass.

The idea of a personal spirit of evil is the correlative of that of a personal divinity. The primal thought of man that imaged the last as a source of good must have been driven by the evil in nature to shape the first as its cause.

One race copied or inherited the thought from another, and religion followed religion in adapting it to its needs. This principle of dualism is carefully traced out by the author through a varied series of legends and impersonations. We look in vain, however, for the ultimate statement of the matter, which is really this: The origin of evil has nowadays almost ceased to be discussed. Evil is

held either to be permitted by the Supreme Being as a discipline, or, less theologically and more scientifically, to be the clinging taint and weakness of the lower order of things out of which humanity has emerged. In either case there is no need of a personal evil spirit, and none the less need of a guiding divinity, for whom the author seems to find no place.

The author traces the modern idea of an evil spirit to the conflict of religions. Nothing is more normal, in ancient systems, he says, than the belief that the gods of other nations are devils. When the new religious system prevails, the old idol is treated with respect, and assigned some function in the new theologic *régime*. The logic of this theory does not recommend it; but it is ingeniously carried out through speculations too subtile to be even summarized. In the course of them many traditions of our religion, now conceded to be myths, are handled with the needless irreverence and obtrusive contempt which weaken the author's hold on the reader's convictions.

Ingenious, however, and elaborate, his book certainly is. Its researches present the story of every kind of goblin, imp, specter, dragon, and thing that walketh in darkness, that has made human life piteous since it began. It is rich in curious legends and myths of the darker sort, and it is a startling proof of the halting progress of mankind, that some of the most ancient and horrible of these superstitions, as the dread of the vampire and the were-wolf, prevail at this day in certain parts of Europe.

Few women could employ the evening of a life in tracing the remembrances of its early prime more agreeably than Mrs. Kemble does. Her story ends abruptly, dramatically, with the words "I was married at Philadelphia, on the 7th of June, 1834, to Mr. Pierce Butler, of that city." Scarcely more than a third of her conscious and active life is represented by those twenty-five years. Yet there is nothing immature in this girlhood. It is filled with little incidents, bright people, clever sayings. There is not much sentiment, but plenty of honest, hearty family affection. The whole memoir is so spirited, sunny, and confidential, that one reads it, twenty pages at a time, with the kind of interest felt in reading a play.

The book is a record in substance as well as by its title. Soon after her return to England from a French seminary, an acquaintance grew up between Miss Kemble and a Miss H—— S——, which on their separation was continued by correspondence. Her

own letters, together with others to Mrs. Jameson, the author of "Characteristics of Women," form the thread of this autobiography. The description of her friend H—— and the reflection of her letters in her own inspire regret that the other half of the correspondence does not exist.

The author confesses herself to have been a wayward child, from high spirits and freakishness only, and quite as much her parents' puzzle as their pride. Her girlhood soon sobered into quiet, under the pressure of the self-denials compelled by her father's part ownership of Covent Garden Theatre, a bankrupt, Chancery-ridden property from the beginning. If the engraved likeness prefixed to the book belongs to this time of her life, she must have been at least pretty, though she calls herself plain, and speaks of the thick outline of her features. Later, during her first visit to this country, her look was striking, from the fire of her eyes and the tropical richness of her color, at least when seen from a distance.

Hereditary tendency and the consciousness of genius might not of themselves have urged her to the stage. But the growing difficulties of her father's position forced her to think of some means of gaining a livelihood. Surrounded by a famous histrionic family, with the sense of dramatic capacities, it was natural that the stage should win her, even if it did not attract her. It certainly did not attract her. She speaks of it as a profession which honorable conduct may make respectable, and as an avocation which she neither liked nor honored. Of her own part in it she says that she certainly made a poor actress, not from want of talent, but for want of cultivating it with care and industry. Macready's opinion was that she did not know the rudiments of the profession; but that of the public on two continents seemed different. During this girlhood she acted in all the English and American capitals with success, applause, and profit. She was not a Siddons, it is true, but she was a great deal of a Kemble.

Those who personally knew Fanny Kemble on her first visit to this country, which fell in the days of a past generation, remember her as being absolutely veracious, wholly without humor, of a rigid, inelastic mind, and set prepossessions. These qualities are plainly displayed in her record. Those pages of it which relate to this country are just to its sky, its scenery, its autumn, and equally just, though far from being as complimentary, to its people. In her own land she is more interesting. Hundreds of persons and personages crowd her pages, hardly one of whom passes without

an anecdote or a clever turn of description. She has the art of giving a character in a sentence, and condensing a biography into a paragraph. One reads this animated and entertaining record of Mrs. Kemble's earlier life with the hope that she may intend to complete it by the memoir of the brighter and happier years, at least, among those that followed her spring-time.

The first and easier part of the task proposed to himself by Professor Tyler is well done. His materials fall naturally into the plan sketched out, without being so abundant as to confuse his choice. His general purpose is strictly adhered to—that of first marking the peculiar accent of literary production in each isolated group of colonies, derived from its special character, and then following the assimilation of these utterances as they blended and at last grew into protest and resistance against the control of the mother-country.

The author's labor in research and comparison, with his acute note of the differences in style and subject among the writers he passes in review, might lead us to rest content with his judgment of their respective merits. But he modestly completes the critic's function by submitting to the reader's examination liberal extracts from their performances. The book adds to its own merits that of being an anthology of early American literature.

Certain influences shaping it were common to all the colonies. They brought letters and traditions from the same home. With one exception they all inherited Protestantism. They were all settled on the sea border of a new continent, exposed to like dangers and hardships. But the moral differences were as great as the physical resemblances in their condition. Among the languid Carolinians, the pleasure-loving Virginians, the money-making New-Yorkers and the ascetic New-Englanders, literature was nourished by very diverse elements. To distinguish why this was so, and by illustrations to prove how it was so, is the purpose of these two volumes, which cover the period between the settlement of Virginia and the assembling of the first Continental Congress in 1765.

Virginia, that sheltered the first colonists, also produced the earliest writers of the New World. Captain John Smith caused to be published in London, in 1608, his "True Relation of the Early History of Jamestown Settlement"; a book, the author assures us, not unworthy to be the beginning of the new English literature in America. Free extracts from his writings justify this opinion, adding interest to the lively sketch given of "that extremely vivid and resolute man." William Strachey's account, written three

years later, of his voyage and wreck with Sir Thomas Gates, not only displays a power equal to De Foe's, but interests us also as the supposed source of suggestions for Shakespeare's "Tempest." But it is pointed out that the influences favoring the growth of a literary class in Virginia were mournfully weak and few. New York fares a little and only a little better, at least in her later days. The city is described as little more than a drowsy and prosperous Dutch village during the greater part of the colonial time, without any concentrated and continuous literary activity.

It is only when he reaches New England that the author finds a promising field and ample material for his researches. Theology of course holds the first place in New England literature. It does not exclude, however, much excellent work in political disquisitions, historical tracts, and natural history, with occasional attempts of less merit in poetry. From their position and profession the clergy naturally took the lead in letters in New England. In spite of their narrow and cruel theology, whose iron grasp cramped and wrenched even the noble intellect of Jonathan Edwards, they found in its treatment ample room for logic and eloquence. The "dynasty of the Mathers" is described at length, and the performances of "that vast literary and religious coxcomb," Cotton Mather, impartially criticised.

Among a crowd of other writers, John Wise, who has passed into utter obscurity, is characterized as the most brilliant prose writer produced in this country during the colonial time. The passages given from his works sustain this high opinion.

It is impossible in a brief notice to do justice to the merits of this remarkable book. Its range is so comprehensive, and its details so varied, that no epitome of it can be fairly presented. Even without the examples that fill so many pages, the author need not fear to be found vague or wearisome. It it much more than a history of literature, illustrating men and manners as it constantly does by clear side-lights. Its style deserves praise for clearness and dignity, though its use of epithets is sometimes a little *hasardé*. The succeeding volumes, treating of the more complex and difficult field of later American literature, will be looked for with interest.

A. R. McDonough.

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I.

OUR ELECTION LAWS.

A GOVERNMENT based upon popular suffrage can be successful in the best sense only to the extent that the popular voice is freely expressed, fairly and honestly ascertained, and fully obeyed. It is therefore of the greatest consequence that the purity and sanctity of the ballot should be guarded by the wisest and best legislation that statesmanship can devise. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this subject in a government such as ours, where the supreme power is vested only in the people, to be exercised by means of the ballot. Fairness and honesty in the conduct of elections will alone keep pure the sources of power in this Government, and thus promote peace and good order, and give stability to our institutions. Our election laws ought to be framed and executed with a view to securing these great ends, but truth compels the statement that our statutes are exceedingly imperfect in themselves, and, what is worse, are too often administered in the interest, not of purity and justice, but of party. It is not to be denied that many of the wisest and best of our citizens consider that our institutions are in peril from the fact that popular elections are so frequently controlled by fraud and violence. Wise and prudent citizens may well say that, if we lose faith in the machinery provided for the expression of the popular will, we must also eventually lose faith in

our form of free government, since it can be valuable only in proportion as it is in fact, as well as in theory, a government by the people. As our population increases and our great cities multiply, the problem of how to secure and preserve freedom and fairness in elections grows annually more grave and difficult. It is to-day a question of how to secure and record a fair and honest expression from nearly nine millions of voters. Within the lifetime of some of the present generation it will become a question of dealing with at least thirty millions of voters. To be assured that this problem has been solved is to know that our greatest danger has been removed, and therefore every citizen should be willing to contribute something toward its solution. These considerations have induced me to undertake the task of submitting, for the consideration of the readers of "The North American Review," a statement of some defects in our election laws, and of suggesting the remedies. Let me premise that the ends to be aimed at by legislation upon this subject are (1), to secure to all legal voters equal and ample opportunity to vote, and to exclude all others; and (2), to secure a fair canvass and an honest declaration of the result of every election. No difference of opinion can exist among honest men as to the propriety, nay, the necessity of securing these ends, which all will admit constitute the foundation upon which the fabric of free government rests. To render them secure, is to perpetuate our institutions and transmit them pure and strong to future generations. It would seem that no State should hesitate to provide the legislation necessary to secure ends so manifestly just, and so essential to the very existence of free government, and yet great frauds are annually perpetrated. Many of the laws upon this subject were originally enacted for the government of a largely rural and agricultural population, who needed few if any restraints, and they have been copied and applied to communities very differently situated from such a population, and, as a whole, by no means so well disposed toward law and order. Assuming that the ends to be sought are freedom and equality among voters, and honesty and perfect fairness in the count, and that these great ends are not always secured under existing laws, let us inquire how we may remedy existing evils by legislation. I maintain that plain, simple, and ample remedies are within our reach, the adoption of which would injure none, while, as nearly as human laws can do so, they would protect the rights of all.

First in importance as a means of securing freedom in elections,

are such statutory provisions as will prevent the crowding of the polling-places by large numbers of people. In some of the States all the voters of an entire county may vote at the county seat, and in all the large cities and in many of the smaller ones the crowds that assemble at the polls are large and often disorderly and turbulent. The evils that result from overcrowding the polling-places are apparent enough :

1. It delays the process of voting so that each voter waiting for his turn may be detained for hours. Many business men, who value time more highly than the right of suffrage, are deterred from voting by this consideration alone.

2. It makes it a difficult and disagreeable task for quiet, orderly people, and especially for the sick, lame, and infirm, to press their way through the throng, and many of these are thereby deterred from voting.

3. It makes it impossible to consider with deliberation and decide intelligently questions arising at the polls as to the qualifications of persons whose votes are challenged, and this leads to erroneous rulings. But, what is worse, it affords evil-minded persons the opportunity, by frequent challenges and by unnecessary discussion, to so delay the proceedings as to consume the day and exclude large numbers of legal voters, who by these interruptions are prevented from reaching the polls within the time required.

4. The practice of crowding the polls by the members of one party, who open the way for their friends and put all possible obstacles in the way of their opponents, is frequently resorted to as a means of defeating a full and fair vote.

All these mischiefs can be remedied by requiring a

Multiplication of Voting Precincts,

to such an extent that only a limited number of voters—say, not over five hundred—shall be residents of and voters in any one precinct. This, with a further provision requiring every voter to register and vote in his own precinct and in no other, would, if adopted in all the States, work a reform of vast importance and consequence. This very important subject of legislation is by no means the most difficult one with which our law-makers have to deal. The task of providing against the most crying evils of our system of election laws should be approached with the conviction that the people can well afford to be put to some pains and expense in order to protect the purity of the ballot, and, if thus approached, the problem will be

found very easy of solution. The multiplication of voting precincts will prove an effectual remedy for all the evils which result from overcrowding the polling-places, some of which are specified above. A properly guarded statute upon this subject would secure, as a rule, sufficient time and opportunity at each poll for the orderly, deliberate, and satisfactory transaction of the business of receiving and depositing the ballots of all legal voters, and for the examination and decision of disputed questions arising at the election. Let us suppose that a population containing five hundred voters be the basis upon which election precincts are to be organized, who does not see that, with only that number of votes to be received in the course of the day, the election could be conducted decently and in order? Contrast such an election with the attempt in a great city to receive the ballots of many thousands of voters, and pass upon hundreds of challenges!

In connection with the increase of the number and reduction of the size of precincts there should be provided a

Complete Registration,

and by this I mean an enumeration of the legal voters of each precinct, made with the utmost possible care. By requiring that each precinct shall be small in the sense of containing only a limited number of voters, and by appointing a board of registration for each precinct, it will be practicable and easy to enroll every voter. This process is especially necessary in the city precincts, and its application only to them would probably be entirely sufficient. If the precinct is not too large in the country, the judge of the election or the bystanders will be able to recognize the voters, with rare exceptions. But in the cities, where the registry must be relied on, provisions should be made to render it accurate, and none but registered voters should be allowed to vote. The persons preparing the list should be required, if necessary, to go from house to house, and by all reasonable means to make sure that no legal voter is omitted, and the voters themselves should be made to know that they must register if they wish to enjoy the franchise. Whoever neglects to enroll himself as a voter, can not complain that he is not allowed to vote. The registry list should be printed or written, and posted up at the most public places in the precinct at least ten days prior to the day of election, and corrections and additions should be made up to the day before the election. With these two requirements, namely, small precincts and complete registration, how easy becomes the

task of receiving and depositing in the box the ballots of all who are entitled to vote! There can be no objection to these provisions, except that they propose a multiplication of election officers, and some additional labor and expense. To this objection I reply that the end is so important that, in comparison with it, the trouble and expenses made necessary to secure it are not worthy of a moment's attention. If, however, the *cost* must be considered, it may be suggested that by having fewer elections a corresponding saving would be made. Let our officials be chosen for longer terms. This would save much in the way of expense, and at the same time benefit the people by relieving them from the continual excitement and agitation caused by the struggle of parties for office and power. Another great advantage would result from the adoption of small precincts. The voters would be very generally known to each other, and in no single precinct would it be possible for any considerable number of non-residents, or otherwise disqualified persons, to cast fraudulent votes without detection. Nor would it be possible for fraudulent voters to personate absent or deceased persons. In a precinct composed of only a small number of voters, generally known to each other, such frauds would be impossible.

It may be said that some of the worst frauds are committed with the assistance or connivance of the officers of election, and that therefore fraud in the election or in the count would be possible, notwithstanding the reduction of the size of precincts. This is very true, and the suggestion brings me to the next essential of an efficient election law, which is such provision as will prevent the selection of purely

Partisan Election Boards.

All parties in interest should be represented in each board of election officers, and by witnesses to be present. The officers of the election should be required to perform all their official duties in the presence of each other and in the presence of a limited number of witnesses representing the several parties to the contest. No considerable fraud can be committed by an election officer without the knowledge of all the members of the board; and therefore great security is to be found in a statute requiring all sides to be represented upon such boards. Add to this a provision requiring the admission to the room where the ballots are received, deposited, and counted, of at least one witness on behalf of each party interested, and great frauds with the knowledge or connivance of the board will become practically impossible. The witnesses should

not be clothed with authority to interfere (otherwise than as any citizen might through the proper judicial proceedings) with the action of the officers, but should be permitted to witness every step in the progress of the election and the count, and to verify the correctness of the same. Officers of the law who propose to do their duty, and nothing more nor less, can not reasonably object to the presence of witnesses representing the parties most interested, and officers who are capable of a violation of duty should not be permitted to object. It is a safe and sound principle, and one which ought to be applied in the preparation of election laws, that men are not apt to commit crime in the presence of witnesses. Let the law be so framed that every step, from the opening of the polls to the completion of the count and the announcement of the result, shall be taken in the presence of at least two intelligent witnesses representing opposing candidates, and the chances of successful fraud will be reduced to the minimum.

There is another mode of cheating which demands attention, and should be guarded against by legislation, and that is by

Tampering with the Ballots

after they are cast and before they are counted. This is generally done after the polls are closed. If the law permits, the board is apt to adjourn and its members to separate, for a time, during which a strict and honest watch over the ballot-box is not always kept. The only remedy is to require the votes to be counted immediately after the closing of the polls, and to strictly forbid the separation or adjournment of the board until the count is completed and the return signed.

It is of the utmost importance that the statutes of every State should imperatively require an

Immediate Canvass

by officers and before witnesses representing both sides.

What would the people of this country say to a proposition that Congress and our State Legislatures should sit with closed doors, excluding all witnesses from their presence, or that courts and juries should try causes in secret? The suggestion would, of course, meet with a storm of dissent and denunciation from all parts of the land. With equal, if not greater reason, may the people demand the utmost publicity in the proceedings of a popular election, whereby Congresses and Legislatures are made and unmade.

Legislation upon this subject should not be based upon the theory that officers of election will always do right. If that were the fact, no penal election laws would be necessary. On the contrary, the law should, if possible, be so framed that an election officer shall not, if he would, defraud the electors without exposure and punishment. In this connection is further seen the importance of the first-named essential of an efficient election law, namely, small voting precincts; for, if the number of ballots to be counted does not exceed five hundred, the time required for the canvass will not be great, and the work can be conveniently done without an adjournment or separation of the board.

It is scarcely necessary to say that no statute regulating elections can be complete without containing ample provision for the prevention of every species of

Intimidation

of voters, whether by violence, the exhibition of force, threats, or other means. In a well-ordered community this crime will be rarely committed, and in every such community public opinion will demand its prompt and severe punishment. The law should be so framed as to guard with scrupulous care the perfect freedom of the ballot, and every attempt to rob even the poorest and weakest elector of his free choice should be regarded as a high crime, since the rights of all are involved in the question of the protection of the rights of each.

Another mode of cheating at elections is that known as the

Tissue-ballot Fraud

and other kindred contrivances, by means of which one person may deposit in the box a number of ballots. For this a plain, simple, and effectual remedy will be found in the enactment of a law prohibiting altogether the employment of such ballots, and forbidding the election board to count them if cast. This can be accomplished either by fixing the size of the tickets to be used, or by requiring the voter to place his ballot in an envelope containing nothing else, and hand it thus to the officer authorized to receive it.

From what has now been said it will be seen that, in my judgment, every efficient election law must among other things provide:

1. For small voting precincts.
2. That an elector shall vote only in the precinct of his residence.

3. For complete registration, especially in cities, and only persons registered to be allowed to vote.

4. For representation of all parties on boards of election and registration.

5. For the presence with the officers of election, at all stages of the proceedings, of witnesses representing the parties in interest.

6. For a canvass of the vote immediately upon the close of the polls, and without an adjournment or separation of the board.

7. For the punishment of violence and intimidation.

8. For the prohibition of the use of tissue ballots and kindred fraudulent contrivances.

These, in addition to the ordinary directory provisions, are essential. Experience will doubtless show the necessity for other and further enactments.

I conclude this article with a reference to and a few reflections upon existing election laws, State and national, in order to show how far they are deficient if judged by these requirements.

In most of the States the statutory provisions regulating the formation and fixing the extent of election precincts are exceedingly imperfect. In probably a majority of cases the subject is committed absolutely to certain county officers—as, for example, in Alabama, Colorado, Florida, and Nebraska, to the county commissioners ; in Arkansas and California, to the county supervisors ; in North Carolina, to the board of justices of the peace ; and in Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia, to the county court. In at least twenty-four States neither the number nor size of precincts is fixed by law. In several States, towns or townships in the country and wards in the cities are constituted election precincts, which is a very excellent arrangement so far as the rural districts are concerned, but often works very badly in cities where the wards are generally altogether too large and populous for convenient election precincts. In two States only (New York and Oregon) do we find such legislation on this point as seems to be required. In Oregon it is provided that election precincts shall not contain more than three hundred voters, and in New York the maximum in cities is eight hundred voters. In those States where the matter is confided to local officers (and they include a great majority of the States) there is great temptation to partiality and injustice in the designation of precincts and of voting-places. Purely partisan considerations too often control the action of the local authorities.

In some instances it would seem that polling-places have been

arranged with a view to render it very inconvenient if not impossible for large numbers of electors to cast their votes.

All the States, except Indiana, Georgia, Kansas, Oregon, Tennessee, and West Virginia, have registry laws. Very few of them, however, contain provisions limiting the right of voting to registered electors, and for making the registry perfect and complete in advance of the day of voting. These, as we have seen, are very necessary provisions. Any statute that leaves open the question of the right of non-registered persons to vote, and devolves the duty of deciding in each case upon the election board, on election day, will prove a frail barrier against fraud. Let the registry list be prepared with the most pains-taking care by a board of registration composed of persons belonging to the different political parties, and let all persons not registered be excluded from the privilege of voting.

As to the place of voting, some of the States still continue the vicious practice of permitting an elector to vote anywhere in the county of his residence. Such seems to be the law in Arkansas, California, Georgia, Kentucky, and Oregon. It is, however, gratifying to be able to state that the tendency of legislation is very strongly toward the sound and salutary doctrine that each elector should be required to vote in the neighborhood of his residence, and where he is likely to be known to election officers and bystanders.

Several of the States have recognized the importance of providing for the presence with the election officers of witnesses representing the parties to the contest—a most important step in the right direction, and one which every State should adopt. For example, the law of Alabama provides for the presence of five of each party ; that of Florida provides for the presence of one representative of each political party that has nominated candidates ; that of Illinois, for the presence of two legal voters of each party to the contest ; those of Kansas and Oregon permit the presence of the candidates in person, or of not exceeding three of their friends. Similar statutes are also to be found in Pennsylvania and Virginia.

The very important requirement that the board of election officers should be composed of members of different political parties is omitted from the statutes of twenty-two States. Comment upon this fact is quite unnecessary.

The still more necessary requirement that there shall be a count of the votes immediately upon the close of the polls is, I am glad to say, to be found in the statutes of nearly all the States. A few, however, have omitted it. Thus, in Mississippi, if the canvass is not

finished by 12 P. M., it may be completed the next day. And in South Carolina it is provided that the board of managers may have three days in which to deliver to the commissioners of election the poll-list and the boxes containing the ballots, and that the commissioners of election shall meet *at the county seat* on the Tuesday next after the election and proceed to count the votes of the county. In this State there is no law providing for the count of the precinct vote at the place of voting, but both boxes and ballots are to be carried to the county seat and there canvassed by a board of commissioners nearly a week after the close of the polls. This statute reads as if it might have been framed with a view to provide ample opportunity for tampering with the ballots between the day of election and the day of counting.

The form and size of the ballot are regulated by law in but few of the States. In twenty-two States no law is found upon the subject. In several others it is provided that all ballots shall be printed or written on plain white paper. In California they are required to be four inches in width and twelve inches in length, and there is a similar statute in Nevada. Except in these two States there is no law to forbid the use of a ballot printed in the finest possible type, and on the smallest possible piece of paper. It is well known that the absence of this regulation has given rise to some very gross frauds in recent years.

Congressional Legislation.

This article would not be complete without some remarks upon the jurisdiction of the State and National Governments respectively over the general subject of elections, and a brief reference to Congressional legislation with reference thereto.

The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibits any abridgment by the United States, or by any State, of the right of citizens to vote, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and gives Congress power to enforce this provision by appropriate legislation. Subject to this limitation, the States respectively possess the exclusive power to prescribe the times, places, and manner of holding all elections, except those for Representatives in Congress, which latter they may also regulate, subject to the paramount authority of Congress. That the power of Congress over the manner of electing its own members is absolute and plenary, will be seen by reference to the provisions of Article I., section 4, of the Constitution, which provides as follows:

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

Under this very comprehensive provision Congress, if satisfied with existing State regulations, may abstain from exercising its authority ; but, if Congress shall deem the State laws upon the subject insufficient, it may at pleasure "alter" them. In like manner, Congress may set aside all State regulations and "make" new and complete rules of its own to govern Congressional elections. The power given to Congress is to make regulations concerning the *manner* of holding such elections—a very broad and comprehensive power. It clearly includes authority to provide all the necessary machinery for conducting the election as well as to provide suitable laws for the punishment of frauds against the freedom and purity thereof.

Acting upon this doctrine, Congress has from time to time dealt with the subject, and the principal part of its legislation upon it is embodied in sections 2,011 to 2,031, inclusive, of the Revised Statutes of the United States. The most material features of this legislation are the following :

1. Upon petition of citizens stating that they desire to have the registration or election in a particular place "guarded and scrutinized," the United States Circuit Court appoints two resident citizens "who shall be of different political parties, and able to read and write the English language, and who shall be known and designated as supervisors of election."

2. These supervisors are authorized and required to attend at the registration or election, with power to challenge any person offering to register or vote. They have the right to examine the registry list, and to make a copy of it. They have the right to be present during the voting, and also during the counting of the votes, and to be wherever the ballot-boxes are kept, from the opening of the polls until the count is completed and the returns made and certified.

3. The supervisors are also authorized to personally scrutinize, count, and canvass the votes cast for Representatives or delegates in Congress, and to make a certificate or return of the same to the chief supervisor.

4. If the supervisors are interfered with, or prevented from discharging their duties under the law, they are required to report the

fact to the chief supervisor, who is to make a thorough investigation, examining witnesses under oath, and report all the facts to the House of Representatives.

5. In cities of twenty thousand inhabitants, or more, the United States marshal is authorized, upon application, to appoint special deputy marshals to aid and assist the supervisors to verify the registry list and poll list, and to keep the peace, and support and protect the supervisors in the discharge of their duties. They are also to prevent fraudulent registration and fraudulent voting, and may arrest, with or without process, and either before or after voting, any person who commits or attempts to commit any of the offenses prohibited by the act, or any offense against the laws of the United States; but no person shall be arrested without process except for an offense committed in the presence of the marshal or some one of his deputies, or a supervisor of election; and any person arrested is to have a hearing forthwith.

6. One chief supervisor for each judicial district is to be appointed by the circuit judge from among the Circuit Court commissioners. He is to furnish all necessary books, forms, and blanks for the use of the supervisors, and have a general supervision over them.

7. Supervisors of election, appointed in counties or parishes outside of cities of more than twenty thousand inhabitants, have no power to make arrests or to perform other duties than to be in the immediate presence of the officers holding the election, and to witness all their proceedings, including the counting of the votes and the making of a return thereof.

These embrace in brief the substance of the national election law. That legislation by Congress upon the subject was both proper and necessary is shown, not only by the history of Congressional elections, but also by reference to the manifest defects in State legislation already pointed out. Until it can be made to appear that the States have provided all necessary guards for the protection of the purity of Congressional elections, it will remain the imperative duty of the United States Government to supply the omission.

The framers of the Constitution understood perfectly well that to contribute by fraud or other unlawful means to the defeat of the will of the majority of legal voters at a Congressional election is a wrong against every citizen of the Union, and a crime against the whole nation, and hence the power in question was reserved to the

National Legislature. It is a power which Congress ought to exercise with justice and wisdom. The national statutes upon this subject should be perfectly just, fair, and non-partisan, but they should also be made thoroughly efficient.

The true friends and advocates of honesty and purity in elections will endorse and applaud an effort to so amend these laws as to improve them and increase their efficiency, but all attempts to weaken or destroy them will meet with emphatic condemnation.

GEORGE W. MCCRARY.

II.

CAMPAIGN NOTES IN TURKEY—1877-'78.*

THE campaign naturally divides itself into three periods :

1. From the crossing of the Pruth to the passage of the Danube, April 24 to June 27, 1877.

2. From the passage of the Danube to the fall of Plevna, June 28 to December 10, 1877.

3. From the fall of Plevna to the signature of the armistice at Adrianople, December 11 to January 31, 1878.

Each of these periods has its own characteristics.

FIRST PERIOD.

The mobilization of six army corps, each to consist of twenty-four battalions of one thousand men, eighteen squadrons of one hundred and fifty men, and twelve batteries of eight guns, was ordered on November 13, 1876, and completed on the 27th. Two corps were scattered along the Black Sea coast, and the other four concentrated about Kischineff, in Bessarabia, fifty miles from the Pruth. Subsequently nine more army corps were ordered to be mobilized, but of these only three were destined for the "Army of the South," under command of the Grand Duke Nicholas. It was therefore contemplated to invade Turkey with seven army corps, or a maximum of two hundred and ten thousand men, which, by the usual sickness at the beginning of a campaign, details for special duty,

* The following article, as far as page 475, is in substance a reproduction of an official report, dated March 31, 1878, which I sent to the Government from San Stefano, where I was at that time attached to the Russian headquarters in the capacity of military *attaché* of the United States, having been sent abroad for the purpose of observing the war, and having been constantly with the Russian troops since the previous month of August. It is published with the permission of the War Department.

guards, etc., would be reduced to one hundred and eighty thousand before a single shot could be fired. The Turks subsequently put two hundred and fifty thousand effectives in the field in Europe; and it was this terrible mistake of under-estimating the strength of their opponents which, more than any other cause, contributed to bring about the reverses and checks which Russia sustained after crossing the Danube.

War was declared on the 24th of April, and, crossing the Pruth at three points on the same date, the Grand Duke pushed his army forward through Roumania; four corps to and beyond Bucharest, two corps following them in reserve, and one corps crossing into the Dobrudja. Moltke says, in his "History of the Campaign of 1829," that the Dobrudja would be the line of future Russian invasions, but the circumstances upon which this opinion was based were wholly revolutionized when the Russians lost control of the Black Sea in 1856. It still, however, furnished a ready outlet for an attack upon the Russian communications, and, in order to forestall this, it was at once occupied by one army corps.

The bulk of the army traversed Roumania, a distance of nearly four hundred miles by the roads, in forty days, and concentrated on the Danube opposite Nikopolis in the early days of June. There was but one line of railroad, and that one a single track, with insufficient terminal facilities, and of different gauge from the Russian railroads; it was used principally to transport material, the greater part of the troops marching by road. The spring was an unusually wet one, the roads were flooded, bridges carried away, etc.; so that, all difficulties considered, this march was as rapid as could be expected. Arrived in front of the Danube, a further delay was occasioned in constructing and transporting boats and rafts for the passage. But finally, after demonstrating at Nikopolis, the river was passed at Sistova on the 27th of June, in a very brilliant manner, and with a loss of only eight hundred men.

Second Period.

Relying upon the traditional Turkish mode of warfare for the last two centuries, i. e., the defensive behind fortifications of some sort, the Russian staff had formed the following plan of campaign, viz.: to post strong bodies of men on the lines of the Jantra and Vid, and to advance as between two walls over the Balkans to Adrianople. Accordingly, Gourko was immediately sent forward with an advance guard of ten thousand men of all arms, to seize

and hold a passage in the Balkans ; two corps were sent to the left flank (line of the Jantra), one corps to follow Gourko, one corps to the right flank (line of the Vid), and two corps in reserve to be used according to circumstances.

The line of the Jantra was secured without much difficulty.

The passage in the Balkans was secured by Gourko in a most brilliant manner ; the history of his movements from July 7th, when he left the Danube, to the capture of the Shipka Pass on July 17th, as well as his subsequent retreat before the vastly superior forces of Suleiman Pasha, forms a model example of an expedition of this kind.

On the right flank, the Ninth Corps, under Krudener, captured the fortress of Nikopolis with all its garrison on the 16th of July, and then immediately turned toward Plevna to secure the line of the Vid. But the advance guard arrived a few days after that of Osman Pasha, who was coming from Widdin, and it was badly beaten in the streets of the town on the 20th. The rest of the corps was then brought to Plevna, and, assisted by parts of the Eleventh Corps, on July 30th it attacked such fortifications as the Turks had meanwhile constructed outside the town. It was disastrously repulsed with great loss.

To attempt to continue the advance while Osman's army remained at Plevna was impossible ; yet, not enough troops could be concentrated to crush Osman without abandoning Shipka and the Jantra, against which course there were strong political reasons, viz., the fear that the Bulgarians north of the Balkans would be massacred, as so many of those on its southern slope had been after Gourko's retreat. It was then realized what a mistake had been made in under-estimating the strength of the Turks ; and the Guards, the Grenadiers, and five divisions of the Line (one hundred and forty-five battalions in all) were ordered to the Danube, and one hundred and eighty-eight thousand men of the reserve were called out to replace the losses already sustained and to be ready to supply those of the future ; and, as some time must elapse before these reënforcements could arrive, an appeal was made to Roumania for her army of thirty-five thousand men which was ready to cross the Danube.

For the next four months the whole campaign turned on the capture of Plevna, the troops on the left flank and at Shipka simply remaining on the defensive, sustaining most violent though ill-concerted attacks of the Turks, against which they succeeded in holding their ground, though with great losses.

By the 1st of September the Roumanians and two Russian divisions having arrived, and there being no prospect of more reënforcements for some weeks, another move was made on Plevna, where meanwhile the Turks had not only received reënforcements, but had worked incessantly upon their fortifications. The assaults were made on the 11th of September and resulted in a terrible repulse and the loss of eighteen thousand men. Having failed in three assaults upon Plevna, and having lost nearly thirty thousand men therein, the Russians now determined to sit down in front of it, to fortify their own positions, and then gradually to begin extending their right and left flanks so as to complete the investment. The Commander-in-chief having, with the Emperor's approval, determined to begin a siege of Plevna, General Todleben, the hero of Sevastopol, was summoned from St. Petersburg as the most competent engineer to direct the siege. With the arrival of the Guard in October, the redoubts in Osman's rear were carried, and a circle of investment was tightly formed. The place was finally starved out, and, after a vigorous sortie on the 10th of December, its whole garrison surrendered.

Third Period.

From the Fall of Plevna to the Armistice at Adrianople.—After Plevna had been invested in October, there were more troops in its vicinity than were absolutely necessary to hold the line of investment. A portion of the Guard had therefore been sent, under Gourko, toward the Balkans on the Sofia road, to oppose any force that might come to its relief. By a series of well-planned movements and hard marching, Gourko, with very slight loss, had manœuvred the Turks out of all their positions in the foot-hills, and had established himself in front of their main position on the crest of the mountains.

The fall of Plevna, therefore, found the troops on the left flank and at Shipka substantially in the same positions as during the summer, Gourko in front of the Turks on the mountains near Sofia, and seventy thousand men (Russians) disposable at Plevna. Winter had just set in, the roads were wellnigh impassable, the bridges across the Danube were sure soon to break with the ice, and there was not a great supply of provisions south of the Danube. The Turks had fifty thousand men in the quadrilateral, thirty thousand at Shipka, twenty-five thousand at Sofia, and a reserve whose numbers are not accurately known at Constantinople. If the Russians advanced,

military principles led one to suppose that the Turks would leave thirty thousand men in the quadrilateral, fifteen thousand each near Sofia and Shipka to oppose the advance as much as possible, and put fifty thousand men into the extensive fortifications of Adrianople—withdrawing to the same point their own supplies and as much as possible of those of the country. The Russians would arrive there in the dead of winter, with a line of communications almost if not quite untenable, over a high range of mountains, and Plevna could be repeated under circumstances tenfold more difficult for the Russians. The prudent military course was therefore advised, by a certain portion of the Grand Duke's staff, including General Todleben, viz., to put the troops in winter quarters at the northern base of the Balkans on the few chaussées, and to begin an energetic siege of Rustchuk. But various political considerations of the very highest importance (viz., to give the Turks no time to recuperate, and to prevent the war from falling into the hands of diplomacy and probable foreign intervention) induced the Grand Duke to resolve to carry on the advance at all costs, and in spite of all the difficulties of the season and of the topography. The force about Plevna was therefore distributed to Gourko at Orkhanie and to Radetzky at Shipka, and orders were given to advance at once. The Turks then hastily withdrew twenty thousand men from the quadrilateral, but, instead of posting them at Adrianople, sent them toward Sofia, where they shared the fate of those they came to assist.

Gourko passed the Balkans near Sofia in the last week in December, and, though owing to the depth of the snow he failed to capture the army in front of him, he pursued it with the utmost energy and finally captured all its artillery near Philippopolis on the 17th of January, and completely routed and dispersed it over the Rhodope Mountains toward the Ægean.

Radetzky crossed the Balkans on both sides of the Shipka Pass during the first week in January, and, after a brilliant assault by Skobeleff at Cenovó on the 9th, he bagged the entire Turkish force of thirty-six thousand men.

The whole Turkish defense, therefore, went down with a crash and at the end of January they signed an armistice, surrendering the Danube side of the quadrilateral of fortresses, and all the defenses of Constantinople, and allowing the Russians to advance to the gates of that city, and to revictual their army through the port on the Black Sea. The Grand Duke's resolution had attained the success to which its boldness entitled it.

I have thus indicated in outline the main features of the campaign in Europe, on which, in spite of the capture of Kars and other successes in Asia, the whole war depended. It only remains to state a few of the more prominent impressions which were acquired by personal observation of the campaign. The fighting material of both armies was excellent. Both the Russian and Turkish soldiers showed the highest bravery, patience, and obedience, and on the part of the Russians a stolid indifference to temporary disasters, and to hardships such as few wars offer. The Turkish regimental and company officers were ignorant and almost worthless, having the same bravery as their men, but being in no way superior to them. The Russian officers of the same grade were well instructed in their professional routine duties, but outside of the Guard they were somewhat lacking in intelligence and general education, as compared with the standard in our own service.

In armament the Turks had a slight superiority. Their steel breech-loading artillery from Krupp's factory is unsurpassed for lightness and accuracy, though its efficiency was greatly diminished by lack of reserve draught-horses (of which Turkey furnishes hardly any), and by the failure to provide a sufficient quantity of shrapnel. In small-arms the great body of their troops had the Peabody-Martini (made by the Providence Tool Company of Rhode Island), a most admirable weapon; and the Snider, which a few of their troops had, is a very serviceable arm, far superior to the Krenk gun of the Russians.

The Russian artillery, bronze breech-loaders, was heavier than that of the Turks for similar calibers, and the metal of many pieces was ruined by rapid firing; it is now being replaced as rapidly as possible by the Krupp system.

The Guards, Grenadiers, Rifle Brigades, and two or three divisions of the line of the Russian army were armed with the Berdan rifle. Like the Peabody-Martini it has a small caliber (·42″) elongated bullet (1·07″, weight 372 grains), heavy charge (78 grains) and flat trajectory, and it carries with deadly effect to eighteen hundred yards. Although its breech mechanism is somewhat complicated, there were no complaints of its getting out of order. Almost all the troops of the line were armed with the Krenk gun, a converted breech-loader. This is now quite an antiquated weapon, owing to its large caliber (60″), short, heavy bullet, and small range. Its extractor was fatally defective, and many a man lost his life from its failing to act.

In equipment the Turks had no regular transport service at all; and it is possibly due in a large measure to this fact that they failed to follow up their victories at Plevna, July 30th, and on the Lom in September. In either case a well-equipped army, energetically led, would certainly have destroyed the Danube bridge and placed the Russian army in a very critical position. The Turks accumulated their stores in large depots, and then distributed them by ox-carts, raised by requisition in the surrounding country, and they used the same means, with the addition of a few pack-horses, to transport their provisions and camp equipage on the march. Rapid movements in advance were therefore impossible, and in retreat only by the abandonment of great quantities of supplies. Gourko's column alone captured during the winter over eight thousand tons of rations, and about ten million rounds of musket-cartridges. Nor had the Turks any hospital department worthy the name.

In both these respects the Russians were very well equipped.

The Russians had the ordinary linen shelter tent, each soldier carrying one piece and one stick. The Turks had a conical tent with cylindrical wall eighteen inches high, and heavy pole; it accommodated ten men. This cumbrous affair also impeded their movements, and thousands of them were abandoned in their retreats.

The use of field signals was very limited on both sides. The Russians began the campaign with a fine equipment of telegraph parks, containing in all over four hundred miles of wire and its appurtenances; but it was used to connect the headquarters of the various widely scattered parts of the army, and in Bulgaria it was never put up on the field during an action. When winter came on not enough care was taken to prevent the men from burning the telegraph poles of the old established lines for camp-fires, and therefore the field wire had to be used on the high-road; there was naturally not enough for this purpose, and consequently Gourko's most active operations in January took place beyond the reach of the telegraph, which only reached the northern slope of the Balkans. On the other hand, the battle of Aladja Dagh, which decided the campaign in Armenia, owed the greater part, if not the whole of its success, to a field wire, about forty-five miles long, which was put up by General Lazareff's column while he passed completely around the flank of the Turks, and came up on their rear, remaining always in constant communication with the Grand Duke Michael and the bulk of the Russian forces in the Turkish

front. A simultaneous attack from both sides destroyed Mouktar Pasha's field army.

The Turks employed the telegraph constantly, but in the form of a heavy wire put up on solid poles by the aid of forced labor of the peasants. All the batteries of their intrenched camps were invariably connected by a wire. But they had no portable field parks, and of course the whole telegraph line was abandoned in their retreats.

Of signaling by flags or other similar means, no use was made, and its importance seems hardly to have been appreciated.

I remember, the morning after the principal assault of Plevna (September 11th), sitting with the deputy chief of staff near the Grivitza redoubt, which had been taken the previous day, and watching through our glasses for over an hour the fight which was still going on between Skobeleff on the left flank and the Turks opposed to him. It was a bright, clear morning, but, although we could distinguish individual men here and there, yet in the smoke and our ignorance of the ground we could not recognize which line was Turks and which Russians, and the chief of staff was in complete ignorance of what was going on in sight of him. The distance in a straight line over the heads of the Turks was six and a quarter miles; by the roads in rear of the Russian lines which couriers had to follow it was about twelve miles. Several couriers were at that moment on the road, but they did not arrive till afternoon, and then Skobeleff had been driven out. Had he been in constant communication with the Grand Duke's headquarters, either by wire or flags, though he probably would not have been able to hold the redoubts, he might have received his orders to retire in time to save fifteen hundred or two thousand out of the eight thousand men which he lost.

There were many other instances almost as prominent where field signals would have been of the greatest utility.

In tactics, the whole campaign consisted of the attack and defense of field fortifications. The limits of this article are not sufficient to enter upon any extended discussion of this most important subject. I can only here note the increased relative importance of the infantry arm of the service. The Peabody-Martini and Berdan rifles are as superior to the Chassepot and needle-gun of 1870 as were these latter to the Springfield muzzle-loader of 1863. Armed with these latest breech-loaders, the infantry is now *more than ever* the arm of the service upon which all the hard fighting

devolves, which inflicts the greatest damage, and to which all other parts of an army are merely subsidiary.

A simple illustration will make this clear: Four hundred men, garrisoning a little redoubt of one hundred yards on a side, and firing both from the parapet and from the ditch, can now, in twelve minutes, easily deliver twenty-four thousand shots—a veritable hail of lead—each pellet of which, if it strikes a vital part, is fatal *up to a distance of a mile and a quarter;* and, if but one in twenty of these bullets finds its billet, the defenders will have destroyed twelve hundred men during the time that the assailants are passing over this mile and a quarter, i. e., three times their own number; whereas, in 1863, the same number of men, in the same position, would have been armed with a gun which could only be fired, at most, twice in three minutes, and which carried but a third of a mile. This the assailants could have crossed in three minutes, and during this time the four hundred defenders could have delivered but eighteen hundred shots; and if one in twenty of these hit, they would have accomplished a loss among the enemy of only ninety men—less than one twelfth of the destruction possible in 1877. While, therefore, we need not conclude that the attack of a field fortification is now twelve times as dangerous as it was during our civil war (and in fact such numerical comparisons have little real value), yet the above illustration is sufficient to call attention to the great fact of modern tactics, viz., that *in the last few years the defense has gained enormously upon the attack*, owing to the improvements in small-arms; or, in other words, that any attacking force is now at a very much greater disadvantage than it was fifteen years ago.

Reasoning upon these unquestioned facts (which were very fully brought out in the able and accurate correspondence of the London "News" and "Times" during the war), many European writers, as well as a number of Russian officers who were present at Plevna and other assaults, have laid it down as an established principle of modern warfare that field fortifications defended by breech-loaders can not be carried in open assault. Of this sweeping assertion it can only be said that it is hasty and at least unproved. For, although the Russians were twice defeated in their assaults at Plevna, and each time with fearful losses, yet the cause of these defeats lay not so much in the inherent strength of the works as in the fact that the assailants were not numerically sufficient for their task, and that they did not direct their attacks upon commanding key-points, nor

conduct them with proper *ensemble;* while, on the other hand, at Lovtcha, Cenovo, and Kars, where their assaults were directed with the requisite skill and energy, they were in each case brilliantly successful.

As for cavalry, the Turks had barely enough for ordinary outpost service; and the regular cavalry of the Russians, although numerous (one tenth of the infantry) and well mounted and armed, was never energetically led except that which formed part of Gourko's first expedition over the Balkans. It was always kept very near the infantry, seldom passing a night out of support of it, and never attempting any of those independent movements known as "American raids," and which are greatly admired by the Russian staff professors. There were fine opportunities for such expeditions against the Varna-Rustchuk Railroad and throughout the whole month of August against the Plevna-Sofia road, but they were not taken advantage of. When, after the disastrous assaults of the 11th of September, the cavalry was collected and sent behind Plevna to intercept the supply-trains, the general in command manœuvred in such a way as to let all the trains slip through his fingers, being *afraid that he would be cut off from his base*—this, with twenty fresh regiments of cavalry in a country teeming with grain and hay! In the battles on the Lom, in September, there were several instances of hand-to-hand cavalry-fights, usually resulting in favor of the Russians by reason of their long lances. But these affairs never engaged more than one regiment at a time; they had but little influence on the battles of which they formed a part, and none whatever upon the general result of the campaign. Although the Russian dragoons carry a rifle with a thirty-inch barrel and a bayonet, the Cossacks a carbine, and the rear rank of the hussars and lancers also a carbine, yet there was no instance in all the war in which a thousand cavalrymen fought on foot.

On the whole, the cavalry played a very minor part. The Cossacks are self-reliant and intelligent, and make excellent scouts, but the cavalry in general accomplished but little, and more than once it lost the touch of the enemy.

The artillery arm was well served on both sides; yet, except when used with shrapnel, it killed and wounded but few, had very slight "moral effect," and was an endless source of trouble and delay in the muddy roads and in the mountains. Skobeleff stormed the lines at Cenovo, and thereby compelled the surrender of the Shipka army, *without* the aid of a single cannon. Against Plevna

there were fired from first to last not less than twenty-four thousand rounds of siege artillery, one hundred and sixty-four thousand rounds of field artillery, and ten million rounds of small-arms, or, in round numbers, two thousand tons of iron, one thousand tons of lead, and four hundred tons of powder for the artillery, and only three hundred and seventy tons of lead and seventy-two tons of powder for the infantry. Yet of the fifteen to twenty thousand defenders who were killed and wounded, probably not two per cent. were injured by the artillery ; and, as for the fortifications, they were stronger on the day of the surrender than at any previous time, although, of course, the original redoubts were more or less knocked out of shape. On the Russian side the loss from artillery wounds was not over half of one per cent.

In the more open fights, the long range of the muskets keeps the artillery at a distance of not much less than fifteen hundred yards, otherwise its horses will all be lost. At this or greater distances, the shells fall at an obtuse angle, and bury themselves so much in the ground before exploding as to produce but little damage. I have seen a 3¼-inch Krupp shell drop in the very midst of a column of troops and wound only one man. The only really effective service which was rendered by artillery in this campaign was that of the Russian shrapnel (case-shot). Mehemet Ali, Reouf, and Shakir Pashas, all told me that the effect of this was terrible, actually and "morally," while (as on the Russian side) the effect of the shells was little or nothing. There are no hospital statistics in the Turkish army, but I asked several of the English surgeons who tended their wounded to form an estimate of the proportion of shrapnel to musket wounds, and they said ten per cent. I can not believe that it is so large as this, but their opinion gives some idea of the effect of this sort of ammunition when well served.

But the great losses of the war were inflicted, and its battles won, by the invisible, almost noiseless and incessant *rain* of bullets, most of them fired without a pretense of aim. The artillery has greatly lost in its relative importance to infantry ; it inflicts little or no personal damage except when used with shrapnel ; it does not destroy earthworks, which can be repaired or extended in the night ; it does not "produce a moral effect by breaking up the enemy's masses"—because there are no masses in sight, the reserves are kept in some shelter, and the troops actually engaged can not live under the fire of the modern breech-loader in any formation except

successive lines of skirmishers. Considering the trouble and expense which artillery entails, the delay in the bad roads, the transportation of the ammunition, and the difficulty of forage for the horses, it is a question whether, under the conditions of modern warfare imposed by the breech-loading musket, the artillery can not safely be reduced to two pieces for one thousand men, or forty-eight pieces to an army corps of twenty-four battalions (which would be one half of the present Russian organization), and the money equivalent of shells and artillery material be put into small-arm cartridges, to be transported on pack-horses, which can accompany the troops anywhere.

One half the Russian artillery was left on the northern side of the Balkans, and remained there till the month of April.* Of mitrailleuses, I do not know that the Turks had any; the Russians

* While the Russian army was lying in front of Constantinople, previous to the Congress of Berlin, I had almost daily opportunities of seeing General Skobeleff, and discussing the features of the campaign with him. During this time I gave him my copy of this report to read, which he did carefully, noting on the margin whatever suggestions occurred to him. Almost the only criticism of consequence which he made was in reference to this question of the use of artillery, his note being, "In a fight nowadays, concentration of artillery fire on a decisive point is perhaps more important than at Friedland or Borodino. Never was Turkish artillery properly directed." In a subsequent conversation on the same subject he said that the campaign in Turkey afforded no criterion as to the value of artillery, since it was never properly concentrated, and the country was so broken as to prevent its having a fair field, as it would have in the flat, open countries of North Germany and France. The great service rendered by the Prussian artillery in 1870 is well known. On the other hand, it is a fact that, after the arrival of General Todleben at Plevna, the artillery *was* properly concentrated, and for a long while simultaneous volleys of over two hundred pieces directed on a single point were fired once or more every day. The numerical superiority of the Russian artillery silenced that of the Turks, but it accomplished very little damage to men or earthworks. The men constructed dug-outs near the redoubts, and remained in them all the time, so that the fortifications often had a completely deserted appearance, but the instant an infantry force showed itself within a mile of the Turkish lines their parapet broke out into a rattle at once. After the surrender, some of the Turkish redoubts and batteries were so knocked to pieces that they were mere irregular piles of earth, *but this earth was quite sufficient to afford a perfect protection to infantry.*

After reading the original of this report, General Sherman wrote on the back of it as follows: "The experience herein recorded is identical with that of our civil war—save that we used the bayonet but little. Field-guns were reduced to one gun to a thousand muskets. We also used a pack-horse to a company. Mobility, celerity, and good rifles are now the great object to secure victory, and to reap the fruits of victory."

W. T. S.

June 23, 1878.

had a few on the "Green Hills" at Plevna, where they did good service in repelling the Turkish efforts to regain possession of those hills. But with a small-arm which can fire six shots a minute, and kill at eighteen hundred yards, all other weapons of destruction are dwarfed in their proportions. Its only limit is in the heating of the metal (which equally affects artillery and mitrailleuses), and in the supply of cartridges. For the latter, any redoubt can easily have (as the Turks did at Plevna) five hundred rounds per man stored in it, and in the open field sixty rounds can be carried on the person, and one hundred and fifty rounds per man on pack-horses (fifty horses to a battalion).

There is one other feature which was specially characteristic of this war, i. e., the traditional fondness of the Russians for the bayonet. The bayonet was *always* carried on the gun, and in the principal assaults in which they were successful (Lovtcha, Grivitza, Gorni-Dubnik, Cenovo) the affair was finally decided by the bayonet, and very free use of it was made in several assaults in which they were repulsed. The percentage of bayonet to bullet wounds was of course very small, but in several cases where the affair came to a hand-to-hand fight it was decided by the bayonet. The Russian soldier is imbued from his first drills with the traditions of the prowess of his antecedents with that weapon, and carefully instructed never to use his gun as a club in a *mêlée*, but always to rely upon the bayonet.

The total losses of the Russians in killed and wounded in Europe and Asia, up to the date of the armistice, as officially reported by the War Office at St. Petersburg, were a little over ninety thousand. To this must be added the losses from sickness, which may be estimated at fifteen thousand, and from freezing in the Balkans, which were not less than ten thousand, carrying the total to one hundred and fifteen thousand. The Turkish losses in killed and wounded were probably ten per cent. less than the Russian; of their losses from sickness and freezing there are no data for an estimate. The Russians took one hundred and thirty thousand prisoners, the Turks less than five hundred. All the Russian losses were replaced, from time to time, by the system of regimental depots, and *ersatz* troops, which aims to keep the organizations always up to their normal strength. These reënforcements kept arriving in small bodies, without interruption, from the time of the second fight at Plevna (July 30th) up to the withdrawal of the troops from Turkey a year later. In a few regiments which suffered most severely there were

at the close of the war not more than fifteen per cent. of the original members, but by this system of constant accretions to existing organizations there was always a nucleus of old soldiers to leaven the mass of recruits, instead of whole regiments of raw recruits and untrained officers.

The Emperor of Russia, accompanied by the Minister of War and other important officers of the Government, was present with the army from the crossing of the Danube to the fall of Plevna. He did not, however, command the army, and abstained as much as possible from interfering with it, but remained there for the purpose of encouraging the men by his presence, visiting the wounded in the hospitals, etc., and of having the head of the War Department with him, so that the wants of the troops might be supplied as promptly as possible.

The command of the army was intrusted to the Emperor's second brother, the Grand Duke Nicholas, a man forty-six years old at the beginning of the war, and, like all the Russian princes, educated as a soldier from his early boyhood. While no one ever claimed that his military talents alone would have raised him to the position of commander-in-chief of a great army, yet, under the personal form of government which exists in Russia, and the great respect and allegiance which every subject in the military service has for the imperial family, it is almost certain that no general could have been found who would have performed his difficult task better than he did. Unfortunately, he chose a staff of mediocre abilities and retained them to the end of the war. But after the endless and almost senseless criticism of everybody connected with the war which now pervades society in St. Petersburg has passed away, it will be remembered that it was the Grand Duke Nicholas whose boldness and decision brought about the winter campaign and the brilliant termination of the war, instead of letting it drift into the hands of diplomacy and foreign intervention while his army was preparing to advance in the spring.

The Cesarevitch Alexander, the heir to the throne, aged thirty-two at the beginning of the war, was also with the army from the crossing of the Danube to the conclusion of the armistice. He commanded the two corps which formed the left wing of Nicholas's army and were posted to protect the army from any attacks from the Turkish forces in the quadrilateral. His *rôle* was purely defensive, and, although he was forced to relinquish part of his ground in September, yet he performed his arduous and somewhat thankless duty with success and ability. His chief of staff, General Van-

nofsky, was a man of fine talents and experience, but there is no reason to suppose that he was of any greater assistance than a good chief of staff always is.

The Emperor's second son, Vladimir, commanded one of the corps under the Cesarevitch; and the third son, Alexis, commanded the torpedo flotilla on the Danube. The two younger sons of the Emperor were present from time to time as spectators only. In all there were twelve princes of the imperial family holding commands in the army, one of whom, the Emperor's nephew, Duke Serge of Leuchtenberg, was instantly killed by a stray bullet in a reconnaissance.

The three generals whose military talents and energy brought the war to a final successful issue were Radetzky, Gourko, and Skobeleff. Todleben's great abilities as an engineer found full scope at Plevna, but he was ordered there only after the investment and siege had already been decided on, and he did not accompany the troops across the Balkans. The only battle at which he was present, or had official cognizance of, was the sortie of the Turks from Plevna on the day of their surrender.

Radetzky was a man of about fifty-five years of age, who had seen service in subordinate grades in the Hungarian insurrection, the Crimea, and the Polish insurrection. His character greatly resembled that of George H. Thomas; beloved by his men, whose wants and necessities were his unceasing study; utterly careless of his own safety or comfort, yet making no parade of this indifference; without brilliant military ideas and somewhat slow, yet loyal and faithful to duty in the highest degree, and full of great tenacity of purpose. His services were almost wholly at Shipka Pass, where, commanded on three sides by the Turks, and constantly attacked with superior numbers, he held on with bull-dog tenacity to the narrow, irregular line of rocks forming his "position," from the torrid heats of August through the rains of October and on to the snows of January; and then, reënforced by troops from Plevna, he captured the entire army in his front after one bloody but short battle.

Gourko was a man some seven or eight years younger than Radetzky, who up to the beginning of the war had seen no active service. At that time he commanded the Second Cavalry Division of the Guard, which was not mobilized at the beginning of the war; but he came to the army as a volunteer, and the Grand Duke Nicholas gave him command of the force which was sent ahead to secure

a pass in the Balkans. His conduct of this expedition was at once bold in conception and sufficiently prudent and skillful in execution to insure its complete success. His division having been ordered to the army, he resumed command of it ; but not long afterward it was seen that it was necessary to relieve the incompetent cavalry general, who was letting all the trains slip through his fingers into Plevna. Gourko was selected to replace him, and when the infantry of the Guard arrived soon afterward, and it was determined to carry the redoubts in Osman's rear and complete the investment, Gourko received command of all the troops destined for the purpose. He carried the redoubts and completed the investment, but at the cost of one hundred and forty officers and four thousand men. The officers being all of noble families, half the society of St. Petersburg and Moscow was thrown into mourning ; and this, combined with a certain lack of tact and personal suavity on Gourko's part, has given him an unpopularity which his really great military services have never been able to overcome—though the losses in this case were due much less to any fault of his than to the inexperience and over-abundant pride and impetuosity of the Guardsmen.

After this, Gourko commanded the force of about thirty-five thousand men sent in the direction of Sofia to prevent any relief coming to the succor of Plevna, and he not only checked the forces forming for this purpose but drove them back into the Balkans. With the fall of Plevna Gourko's force was increased to sixty thousand men, and became a semi-independent army. With this he climbed up through the snow, and turned the two flanks of the Turkish position on the mountains ; in this instance he handled his troops very tenderly, and one column, moreover, was overwhelmed in a snow-drift and turned back, so that the Turks escaped capture ; but they began a retreat which Gourko followed up for over one hundred miles ; and finally, in the battles about Philippopolis in the middle of January, he converted it into a rout, captured all their artillery and dispersed them in scattered, disorganized bands over the mountains to the Ægean Sea. Still the men did actually escape and the greater part of them were collected on the shore of the Ægean and brought in transports to Constantinople, where they formed the nucleus of the army which the Turks gradually formed for the defense of that city during the diplomatic delay between the treaty of San Stefano and that of Berlin—whereas the Turkish army of Shipka went to Russia as prisoners of war. Had Gourko attacked in the Balkans with the same energy that Radetzky and

Skobeleff did at Shipka, and lost five thousand men instead of five hundred, he might possibly have captured the army in front of him just as Radetzky did.

Skobeleff is the youngest and most brilliant of the Russian generals, his age being not quite thirty-four at the time of the assaults on Plevna. He began service as a boy, with his father, who was then a colonel, in the Polish insurrection of 1861. Disliking service in the Guard at St. Petersburg, he sought active duty in the Caucasus and in Central Asia, and passed the ten years preceding the war in those distant countries, almost constantly engaged in warfare, always distinguishing himself, and finally in 1875, at the age of thirty-two, being the major-general in command of the expedition which conquered and annexed the fertile province of Khokand and its two million inhabitants. He came to the army in Turkey as a volunteer without command, but at the passage of the Danube he accompanied the general commanding the division as a mere aide-de-camp, but gave such valuable service and advice as to insure him a command—the Caucasian Brigade of Cossacks. At Plevna, July 30th, he handled these with rare courage and skill. A brigade of infantry was added to his command, and at the assault of Lovtcha, September 3d, the success was principally due to his dispositions. At Plevna, September 11th and 12th, he commanded all the troops on the left flank, and made (according to orders) that heroic but ill-judged assault on the redoubts just south of the town, from which he brought back but four thousand out of twelve thousand men. He was then promoted to lieutenant-general and received a division, and commanded throughout the investment that portion of the line known as the "Green Hills," where he was twice wounded. After the fall of Plevna his division was ordered to reenforce Radetzky at Shipka, and it was his beautiful attack upon the rear of the Turks at Cenovo, just south of Shipka, which caused the surrender of the Shipka army—the Pasha surrendering to him in person. He then received command of the forty thousand men who were formed into the "Detachment of the Advance Guard," and with them, three weeks later, he was almost in front of Constantinople, when the armistice brought his troops to a standstill. He is still in Turkey, and now commands the army of occupation provided for in the Berlin treaty.

His character and career are strikingly like those of Sheridan during the civil war; he has the same dash and boldness, the same personal bravery, and the same profound knowledge of military

principles and their practical application to the case in hand. Should he live through the next thirty years, he will undoubtedly be the Commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in the wars which the present temporary settlement of the Eastern question will surely bring forth, and he will then in all probability establish his fame among the great generals of this century, alongside of Napoleon, Wellington, Grant, and Moltke.

On the Turkish side there are three men—Osman, Mouktar, and Mehemet Ali—who stand out as having, so far as lay in their power, relieved their campaign from the charge of utter incapacity; and a fourth—Suleiman—whose obstinate incapacity aggravated the evils of the system under which he was serving, and who was made the scapegoat for the sins of that system as well as his own, by being sentenced to degradation and fifteen years' imprisonment.

Osman and Mouktar strongly resemble each other, both being about forty-five to fifty years of age, both thorough Turks in race, belief, and looks, both full of honest convictions, and both poor and above suspicion of dishonesty in the midst of the most corrupting temptations.

Osman Pasha commanded the troops at Plevna, and by his skill in its defense brought the whole invasion to a standstill for four months, and inflicted a loss of over thirty thousand men on his enemy. But he thought the Russians would go on for ever assaulting him. Unlike Lee in Richmond, he allowed himself to be invested, and as a result he lost his whole army just before the winter came on.

Mouktar Pasha commanded the troops in Asia, and skillfully took advantage of the scattered condition of the Russian forces and their numerical weakness in the early part of the campaign, and drove them all back to their frontier, and brought the campaign to a stop for over two months until the Russians could bring up more men. Then he allowed a large force to pass clear around his right flank, and himself to be attacked on both sides and crushingly defeated; the *débris* of his army escaped to Kars, and was there assaulted and captured, he himself and fifteen hundred followers having escaped a short time previous.

Mehemet Ali Pasha was of a totally different character from these two. He was born in Magdeburg, Prussia, and was discovered as a stowaway on a Prussian bark, unloading at Constantinople, by Mehemet Ali, the Grand Vizier of thirty years ago, who was attracted by the boy's personal beauty and brightness and adopted

him in his own family, had him educated, and finally sent to the Military Academy. The favor and protection of the old Mehemet Ali, which continued during his life, pushed him forward until his own natural abilities were able to assert themselves. He was already a *Ferik* (division general) when the troubles broke out in Bosnia in 1876, and, in common with Suleiman and Mouktar, he was sent there to command part of the troops engaged in quelling the insurrection. He was serving against Montenegro when the war broke out. When the aged Pasha, Abdul-Kerim, who was commander-in-chief of the Turkish army at the beginning of the war, was relieved after the Russians had passed the Danube, Mehemet Ali was ordered to take command of all the troops in the quadrilateral. His army greatly outnumbered the forces of the Cesarevitch, who was opposed to him, and he drove the latter back from the line of the Lom to the Jantra; then his advance stopped and he retreated to his old positions on the Lom, and was soon afterward relieved from his command. It was the critical moment of the campaign: could he have crushed the Cesarevitch and destroyed the Danube bridge, the position of the Russian army would have been most seriously compromised and their invasion checked for the rest of the year—if nothing more serious happened to them. But Mehemet Ali did not profit by it. He was a man of versatile character, of very considerable ability, speaking three languages with perfect fluency, of ready wit and agreeable manners; but, as might be expected, without profound convictions of any sort. He never acquired the confidence of his army and never overcame the Turkish jealousy of him on account of his foreign birth; he was never able to keep proper discipline among his division and brigade commanders, and was hence unable to carry out his plans, though he had far more military knowledge and natural ability than any of the other Turkish commanders.

He was murdered in October, 1878, as is well known, by Mohammedan fanatics, in Albania, whither he had been sent to appease the inhabitants and compel their submission to the terms of the treaty of Berlin, of which he had been one of the signers.

F. V. GREENE.

III.

GERMAN SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.

PART II.

In a preceding paper we have considered the actual condition of the Socialist organization in this country. We now propose first to direct our attention to the great questions of Centralization and State Rights, which must ever play an important part in the consideration of Socialism in America.

Before the great Revolutionary epoch, the political forces of France were represented by a central government on one side and the people on the other. Between the Grand Monarque and the people there was a great gulf, until at last the homogeneity of the popular majority overturned the balance and constituted itself the supreme power to which centralization had led. On the other hand, no dualism, such as had characterized the English Government since the Revolution of 1688, could have brought about such radical changes in the structure of any society. Far less is it at first sight easy to conceive how changes, so revolutionary in their character, could be wrought under a government swayed by such equally balanced forces as the founders of our Constitution would claim to have bequeathed us. But it is questionable whether these forces can be preserved in a balance sufficiently nice to guard our nation from reactionary evils. Centralization, on the one hand, leads to the sacrifice of personal effort. The strict observance of State rights, on the other, so tends to weaken the power of the central Government that in moments of popular commotion the Administration is powerless to act. A remarkable instance of this weakness and ambiguity of our constitutional laws occurred during the late strikes, when a dispute arose as to the power of jurisdiction vested respectively in the State and in the central Administrations.

Much time was consumed in this discussion by telegraph, while the troops remained inactive. The same difficulties have been repeatedly encountered during the whole period of Southern reconstruction.

The extension of the suffrage may be considered the principal cause which gave rise to the earliest development of modern socialism. It conferred upon the working-classes a predominance of political power, and exposed the people to the promptings of self-seeking agitators such as Lassalle. Even in England, where, in Mr. Gladstone's words, "inequality lies imbedded in the very base of the social structure," the general clamor of the age has been yielded to, and, strangely enough, the suffrage was there, as in Germany, extended by the most conservative and bureaucratic of governments. It is from America, the nursery-ground of indiscriminate suffrage, that this most important and most operative of all modern social facts has spread its influence over the lands of the Old World. The political student of the future will note with interest the singular fact that universal suffrage should have found its most congenial home in two countries, the one governed by the most aristocratic, the other by the most democratic system of modern times. Nevertheless in their points of resemblance may be found the kindred causes which expose the American Union and the German Empire to identical dangers. And to these cognate influences may be partially attributed the origin of Socialism in both countries. It is, indeed, in the prevalence of bureaucratic principles in Berlin and Washington that we may seek and find many of the true sources of the modern evil. It is none the less remarkable that in both countries the very centralization which engenders Socialism forms, as we shall presently see, the most powerful bulwark against its spread.

In the struggle for national entity, the German people, by striving to provide the central Government with adequate means of insuring and compelling political unity, conjured down the storm which had been gathering and muttering since the days of 1848. The vast and unencumbered power of the imperial administration had a weakening effect upon the self-reliance of the people by imbuing many with a belief in the more effectual and universal application of the Federal forces. With us in America the late struggle for unity during the civil war lent many of the same characteristics to the Federal Government, and produced, though more silently, similar effects. The Government which arose at Washington after the rebellion was conspicuous for the concentration and responsibility of its powers, and that each fresh extension of the

principles of centralization put forth was a fresh check upon individualism can not be doubted. To this tendency must be attributed much of that reactionary receptiveness which has of late characterized the minds of our working-classes. For, while it can not be denied that protection, which Professor Fawcett regards as the main root of the whole evil in the United States, has carefully prepared our soil for the growth of Socialistic ideas, yet we are not inclined to believe that its influences have operated so powerfully as the champions of free trade in the Old World would have us suppose. To the foreign observer the shackles of protection in the United States must ever appear more confining and coercive than is revealed by a close study of our industrial and geographical development.

That the results of the civil war have brought about, and indeed compelled, many fresh extensions of the principles of centralization is a fact that can no more be denied than the increased reliance on state assistance resulting from these changes. Indeed, the powers which during the period of reconstruction have found their focus at Washington have by their acts far distanced any coercive measures ever adopted by the German Chancellor. The invasion of a State Legislature by Government troops would alone justify this assertion. For the last twelve years the dependence of our people upon the central Government has increased day by day. The power of patronage has grown apace, while bureaucratic principles have attained the highest development ever reached in this hemisphere. With each fresh extension of the principles of centralization confidence in individual effort has relaxed, giving place to state effort and state help. If there is anarchy in the South, the Government must suppress it. If a railway corporation is in difficulty, the Government can assist it. If the commercial interests of the country are paralyzed, Congress votes relief in the questionable form of "cheap money." If sickness, and suffering, and poverty prevail, the state can relieve them. If there is lack of work and widespread poverty, the Administration can bring relief. It is in this condition of mind that the Socialist refugees from Germany find certain classes in the United States, and it is due to these tendencies that it became possible to unfurl the red flag on our shores. But, although it is true that centralization in the United States and Germany has greatly contributed to the spread of reactionary principles, yet we repeat that wherever it has shown its face in either country this very concentration of power has saved society from the impending danger.

Thus, paradoxical as it may seem, centralization has proved itself at once the bane and the antidote of this Social epidemic. This fact is attested in Germany by the enforcement of the anti-Socialist bill, and in America by the employment of the Federal forces during the riots of 1877. So long, therefore, as elements subversive of the best interests of modern society continue to be fostered by certain portions of the community, so long will centralization, despite its attendant evils, maintain itself as the bulwark against the advancing foe. As such, its power must and will be extended before it can be curtailed. It may indeed be doubted whether the feeble forces now at the command of a national Administration would prove adequate against a well-organized and extensive uprising of the laboring classes; nor can the confused and undetermined condition of our laws respecting the autonomy of States tend to strengthen the hands of a Government already paralyzed by Congressional legislation.

None can fail to deplore the gulf which now separates capital and labor. While the intelligence of the country can not but lament the present complete separation of industrial interests, and must view with apprehension the aggregation of vast fortunes in the hands of the ambitious and unscrupulous, and while it should be the earnest aim of all to diminish the great sum of human misery, yet the most dispassionate must fail to see a remedy in the general upheaval of society for the furtherance of such mischievous and impracticable schemes as those advanced by German Socialism. There undoubtedly must come the time when, as Monsieur Louis Blanc once said to the writer, "the relations between governors and governed will find some final adjustment." Time, the great umpire, must decide this grave problem. In no wise, however, can the whole web of social life be unraveled and woven anew, nor can state management be ever brought to permanently and universally supersede individual effort. Such a system of servitude and restraint is alike impracticable and impossible. The actual movement has perhaps in it the seeds of successful and disastrous revolution calculated to destroy all law and liberty. Yet its outcome can never, in the opinion of the wisest economists, the most humane statesmen, and the first philanthropists be anything but chaos. Far from being akin to Socialism, coöperative associations have proved most effectual against the progress of revolutionary principles. This fact has been recognized by the most despotic rulers of the age. Prince Bismarck has on all occasions encouraged the formation of such societies, even so

far as to propose assistance from state funds, and by removing every obstacle which might impede the acquisition of capital for the establishment of the new industry. In the same manner the late Emperor of the French appointed a commission of distinguished economists and statesmen charged with the founding and encouragement of coöperative associations in France.

Experience has abundantly shown that this new industry may be brought to a perfection which will go far to insure the workman an industrial independence. The coöperative credit banks established with so much success in Germany by Herr Schultze-Delitsch, and opposed so violently by Ferdinand Lassalle, have tested the practical value of such combined organization. The number of these banks in Germany is now nearly a thousand, and such coöperative banking societies would furnish excellent substitutes for those inhuman institutions termed savings-banks in our own land. Each member of the bank is jointly and severally responsible for the debt of all. The security thus afforded is so complete that the sums annually advanced often exceed $100,000,000.

Equally encouraging and anti-Socialist in their character have been the coöperative stores organized with such success in England and other countries of the Old World. Modern industrial society has known no greater improvement, and none more likely to extend its beneficent influences over the whole surface of civilization. It is the first step pregnant with practical results which may tend to raise the poor to self-help, intelligence, and competency. The development and encouragement of such organizations in this country would without doubt do much to stay the spread of Socialism in the United States. Indeed, the aim of all capitalists should be to assist the progress of such associations, as being directly opposed to the organic dogmas of modern Socialism, as well as to the perpetration of such rascalities as have been recently practiced upon our people by the corrupt management of savings and other institutions.

In touching the subject of corruption in this country, it would in this article be out of place to yield to the temptation of investigating the grave charge that the American trustee is the most dishonest man ever placed upon this planet. We will not examine a question so foreign to our purpose and so distasteful to our people. More than sixty years ago Daniel Webster spoke the words of truth, if not of practice, when he said :

> These, then, are the evils which threaten the duration of our Government, and against which all the well-meaning and all the wise men should

unite their efforts: the assiduity and impudence of office-seekers, the licentiousness of the press, the abuse and perversion of the right of suffrage, and, above all, the violence of party spirit, which has shown itself in the hands of demagogues the most tremendous engine of mischief ever wielded against the liberties of a free people.*

If during this long lapse of years we have not instituted reform, it has been because the American people have set their face against reform. The Union can never be reformed by an administration, as some would have us believe. It is the administration which must be reformed by the people. But, if the people of the United States prefer organized corruption to honest government, it would seem at least expedient, even from this standpoint, to take timely measures for the preservation of society from the evils so graphically foreshadowed by Lord Macaulay, in a characteristic letter written two years before the civil war to a citizen of Pennsylvania, and of which we feel justified in giving the following extracts :

I have long been convinced that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty or civilization, or both. In Europe, where the population is dense, the effect of such institutions would be almost instantaneous. What happened lately in France is an example. In 1848 a pure democracy was established there. During a short time there was reason to expect a general spoliation, a national bankruptcy, a new partition of the soil, a maximum of prices, a ruinous load of taxation laid on the rich for the purpose of supporting the poor in idleness. Such a system would, in twenty years, have made France as poor and barbarous as the France of the Carlovingians. Happily the danger was averted; and now there is a despotism, a silent tribune, an enslaved press. Liberty is gone, but civilization has been saved. I have not the smallest doubt that, if we had a purely democratic government here, the effect would be the same. Either the poor would plunder the rich, and civilization would perish, or order and prosperity would be saved by a strong military government, and liberty would perish. You may think that your country enjoys an exemption from these evils. I will frankly own to you that I am of a very different opinion. Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is deferred by a physical cause. As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population of the Old World, and, while that is the case, the Jefferson politics may continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity. But the time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as Old England. Wages will be as low, and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and Birminghams, and in those Manchesters and Birminghams hun-

* See article by Daniel Webster, in "North American Review," October, 1816, p. 107.

dreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be sometimes out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. Distress everywhere makes the laborer mutinous and discontented, and inclines him to listen with eagerness to agitators who tell him that it is a monstrous iniquity that one man should have a million while another can not get a full meal. . . . Through such seasons the United States will have to pass in the course of the next century, if not of this. How will you pass through them? I heartily wish you a good deliverance. But my reason and my wishes are at war, and I can not help foreboding the worst. It is quite plain that your Government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority. For with you the majority is the government, and has the rich, who are always a minority, absolutely at its mercy. The day will come when in the State of New York a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose a Legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of a Legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith. On the other is a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne and to ride in a carriage while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessaries. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a workingman who hears his children cry for more bread? I seriously apprehend that you will, in some such season of adversity as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning; that you will act like people who should in a year of scarcity devour all the seed-corn, and thus make the next a year not of scarcity, but of absolute famine. There will be, I fear, spoliation. The spoliation will increase the distress. The distress will produce fresh spoliation. There is nothing to stop you. Your Constitution is all sail and no anchor. As I said before, when a society has entered on this downward progress, either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth, with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions.

These are strange and ominous words—the more ominous, indeed, since a few years have in part tested their truth and wisdom. In an age where the events of a whole year of our fathers are often crowded into the narrow compass of a month, sometimes of an hour, we have seen the shadow of Macaulay's prophecy come upon us with a rapidity that would have astonished the great historian himself. The sails of the Constitution are still set with the stars and stripes streaming at the fore, the mizzen, and the peak. But the

anchor is still wanting, and we are drifting carelessly and swiftly onward to the unseen rocks ahead. No Cæsar or Napoleon has yet seized the reins of government, but who can tell the day or the hour when the safety of civilization in this hemisphere will call for one? In that dark hour he will appear as surely as Napoleon succeeded Robespierre, or our civilization will perish. One legislative act alone on the part of Great Britain exasperated by commercial depression would bring unexampled distress upon our people. A retaliatory tariff enacted by the British Parliament could for a time paralyze all the industries and agricultural interests of the United States. And, when it is considered that about seven tenths of our population are engaged in agricultural pursuits, it seems difficult to predict the future which a few years hence awaits this preponderating portion of our people. England, to the detriment of her own agricultural interests, now consumes two thirds of our agricultural products. American wheat and corn are at present sold in Liverpool at lower prices than they can be produced at in England. The demand in England for agricultural products can certainly not increase in the same ratio with our rapidly growing supply. And, when it is considered that the agricultural supply of the rest of Europe by far exceeds its own demand, it is not easy to foretell the fate which awaits the landed interest of this country.* With the dangers which even a temporary depression of industrial interest would threaten, shall we calmly and inactively await the complete fulfillment of Macaulay's words, or shall we seek such antidotes as will avert the day of danger?

The political pharmacopœia should prescribe such remedies before the disease is past cure. These lie as much in the jealous protection of the rights of society and government as in the mitigating influences which may be brought to the assistance and protection of the poor. All conspiracies against the body politic should be more zealously detected and punished than those against individuals.

* This paper was in print previous to the recent indications of a return to protection in England and in France. In the recent debate in the House of Lords on the commercial depression in England, Lord Beaconsfield acknowledged that the depression of agricultural interests was unprecedented, and that the depression was anticipated when protection was abolished. He declared that the estimated loss of the public wealth had diminished by £80,000,000 sterling, and that the area of land under cultivation had diminished by one million acres. On the 30th of March last a delegation from agricultural committees, in sixty departments of France, called on President Grévy with resolutions against the renewal of the treaties of commerce, and in favor of the protection of wheat.

Plots against the life of the Government and existing society should call for the same legal limitations that are enforced against any plots designed to assail the life or freedom of individuals. Destitution should be reduced by coöperation in its best estate, by an extensive organization of industrial institutions, providing temporary work for the workless of every class, and facilitating the readjustment of vocations. If necessary, such organizations should be encouraged, though not absolutely supported, by the State or Federal administrations. By preserving a proper balance between centralization and State rights, the central Government should rigorously extend its protection to those who have no power to protect themselves. Thus legal limits should be imposed upon the length of a day's work for children. The indigent poor should be relieved by a system of charity based upon the French plan, which is ever prepared to meet even unforeseen emergencies, and which is to-day the only one approaching perfection. It is not calculated to weaken individual or national character, nor does it incur such waste as is common in our own charitable distributions. Through lack of a perfect, permanent, and general system, our own benevolent institutions effect comparatively little good. The Federal powers, while preserving supreme authority in supreme emergencies, should, however, vigorously repel all assaults upon individual responsibility.

But even at the risk of slightly extending its functions the Government should set its face against certain monopolies which are calculated to disturb the peace of the country by aggregating into single hands gigantic fortunes. Indeed, this country, ever distancing in magnitude the precedents of other lands, boasts fortunes which can be matched neither by the proudest peer of England nor the richest of the Rothschilds. Twenty years hence these fortunes, already overgrown, will in the ordinary course of events have at least quadrupled, and none can tell for what effects they may be responsible unless wielded by men of unexampled wisdom and unflinching justice. At the same time the rights of property should be jealously asserted both in the Legislature and in the court of justice. We have recently seen the Legislature of a great State, despite the protestations of property-holders, grant to certain elevated railway corporations rights possibly ruinous to many private interests. Such acts prepare the way for further decisions of a marked communistic character. Not less so were the Granger decisions given by the Supreme Court some years since. It is impossible to overstate the magnitude of the peril thus handed down by tribunals

from which there can be no appeal. No intelligent property-holder, no thoughtful mar of business, can view it with composure, indeed hardly without terror.

It is true that, with the advent of free trade, and the rapid reduction of the national debt, some of the present dangers may vanish. Nor can it be doubted that colonization, coupled with an enforced but limited protection against creditors, after the manner of the homestead law, would go far to relieve the busy centers of the Union. But all the antidotes that the mind of man could devise would not silence the seditious tongues that are daily pouring their venom into the souls of the people. An end should be put to all plots against society. The man of capital, and the man whose only capital is his labor, should alike wish it. Let Congress, by investigating the principles and proceedings of the Socialistic Labor party, first assure themselves of its pernicious nature, and then let it proceed to destroy by legislation this network of conspiracies. Let our legislators next assure themselves that the organization is led and inspired by German agitators, and, if they are true to their trust, they will proceed to a general revision of the immigration laws. A thousand Chinamen can not bring to our shores the mischief that is brought by one apostle of Lassalle. The time has come when America should cease to be the "dumping-ground" of Europe. Horde-like immigration, with its collateral consequences, if it ever was a blessing to the United States, has ceased to be so now. It has become the curse of an answered prayer. Not only has it reduced to one half the population of pure and genuine descendants of the choicest race that in modern times has dwelt upon the earth, but it has peopled our soil with the worst refuse of other lands. It would indeed seem high time that legal limitations be at once imposed upon indiscriminate immigration.

No one can blame Prince Bismarck for the sagacity with which he secretly encourages the emigration of German Socialists to the United States. The application to this purpose of the enormous sums supplied by the secret-service fund and of the revenues derived from the confiscated estates of the Crown of Hanover, is a fact well known to many statesmen of Europe, though ignored by our own. Our daily papers are constantly announcing the fresh arrival of Socialist leaders driven from their own country by the recent repressive measures. It is not to the German Chancellor that we must look for protection against these importations. It is to our own Government, which is highly censurable for not taking notice of such arrivals, as

vas done by Secretary Fish, though unfortunately but on one similar
ccasion. In Germany the Imperial Government, supported by the
hurch of Rome, is straining every effort to drive the Socialist from
is native soil. Count Cavour once predicted an Ultramontane alli-
nce with the Socialist movement, and for some time the tide of
vents seemed to turn in that direction. But, whatever the ultimate
esults may be, the bull lately issued by the Roman Pontiff against
he German Socialists plainly indicates that the astute mind of the
man of blood and iron" has enlisted on his side the powerful in-
uence of Leo XIII. Every nerve is strained to eradicate the evil
pirits by proceedings before which some of the persecutions of the
iddle ages must pale, and which invoke emigration as a blessing.
he two millions of human beings recently disfranchised by the
erman Reichstag are indeed in a plight which must excite the
ity if not the sympathy of their direst enemies. For them there
re "no judges at Berlin"—none of the peaceful and unmolested
unions in which the German heart delights—no meetings with
losed doors—no common purse—no journals or publications advo-
ating their own views—no printer, no publisher, no bookstand, to
ive their writings to the world—no tavern to offer an asylum—no
cial chat over the accustomed "lager"—no singing society, no
aritable association, no reading club, not even a prayer-meeting.
he police is everywhere omniscient and omnipotent. All meet-
gs, unions, or associations, either guilty or open to the sus-
icion of being guilty of encouraging socialist opinions or theo-
es subversive of the existing order of society, are declared to
e illegal. No opportunity is afforded to the Socialist for proving
is innocence. Not even the public law courts are left to deter-
ine whether an offense has been committed. The *lois des suspects*
acted in France by the Second Empire was in principle mild com-
ared with the measures attending Prince Bismarck's crusade. The
on will and hand of the police alone have jurisdiction over millions
German citizens, and the steps by which suppression is enforced
e of a character so drastic and arbitrary that exile becomes a
oon compared with the suffering to be endured under the ban of the
ew law. And America alone offers to these outcasts the hope of
molested combination. With these facts before them, will the
ople of the United States persist in their usual course of apathy
long as their apparently immediate interest is not affected? Then
t them consider that not only the best interests of society, but the
st interests of property, are at stake. On the eve of grave events

our people are ever more sanguine than those of other countries. It was so before the great war of secession. It was so before Black Friday. It was so before the strikes of 'Seventy-seven. No sooner did the danger become visible, than all marveled how it could have come so suddenly upon the country. Yet, in the case of the strikes, we had had our warning on the day succeeding the Christmas of 'Seventy-six.

The part of Cassandra is ever an ungrateful one. We are far from disposed to predict that the Commune will rage or reign here to-morrow or next day. In the history of a people a few years count as nothing. The industries of the country wear for the present an improving aspect; but the dark hour of commercial depression must come again, so surely as the night succeeds the day. The plant which has found root in our soil must be killed before it bursts upon us full-blown. The powerful and growing organization which now honeycombs the country must be laid low before we have forgotten the smoldering fires of Pittsburg and the insurrection which extended through fourteen States of the Union —an insurrection which destroyed millions of property and hundreds of lives, in many cases successfully defied the local authorities, and for the first time in American history revealed its power to an organized mob.

No thoughtful man can dwell upon our defenseless future without fear and apprehension, although the great mass of our people close their eyes to dangers past and coming. With that same tranquillity and inward satisfaction with which honest Lucretius gazed from the land upon the wrecking ship, does the average American mind view the mighty struggle now waging in the German Empire.

Yet never since the rebellion did a graver question present itself for legislation. The Administration or the man therefore that will call the attention of Congress to the necessity of suppressing all conspiracies against the Government and society, as well as to the necessity of radically revising the immigration laws, will have deserved well of future generations. Continued ignorance of the true condition of the social substrata which are showing themselves in our own land can only lead to lawlessness or force, and perhaps to the fulfillment of Mr. Carlyle's spiteful epigram, which declares the United States to be but "an anarchy plus a policeman."

IV.

ABSENT FRIENDS.

It is the purpose of this paper to recover the forms of half a ozen men, distinguished in the annals of the country, and closely ssociated with the "Review." Men of letters were they all; men f letters by both predilection and practice; men of letters, in all ut two instances, by profession; and in these two the literary lement was probably the most enduring title to fame. Bryant, ıough a journalist, will owe to poetry his immortality; and Cush-ıg, though a lawyer, will be longest remembered as a man of great ıtellectual versatility, a brilliant writer, talker, and speaker, a de-ourer of books and thoughts. Hillard was a lawyer, too, by pro-ession; but his legal career is so completely eclipsed by his literary chievements that scarcely a trace of it remains. Dana, Motley, nd Taylor were men of letters purely.

Richard Henry Dana, who died in Boston on the 2d of Febru-y last, in his ninety-second year, was one of the founders of the Review," which amounts to saying that he was one of the pio-eers of literature in the country, one of the inaugurators of the terary life. He was then in the practice of the law, about twenty-even years old. His passion for literature thus early prevailed ver the uncongenial habits of professional life. His connection y marriage and kindred fostered this predilection. Washington llston, who married his sister and lived near him in Cambridge, as a man of genius, and, had he been less famous as an artist, ould have been eminent as a writer. Dr. William Ellery Chan-ing, the philosophical—rather, one would say, the imaginative—reacher, who took theology up into the region of the higher intel-gence, and suffused the questions of religion, as well as all other uestions, with the luminous atmosphere of thought, was his cousin. dward T. Channing, scholar, writer, and critic, was his intimate

associate and fellow laborer in the work of establishing the "Review." It is not to be wondered at that influences so powerful as these, coinciding with strong individual tastes, should have diverted the young man from pursuits for which he had no keen relish. It is not to be wondered at that the preparatory studies for the Boston and Baltimore bar were productive of little professional fruit, or that the office in Boston was soon closed. Nor is it to be wondered at that a brief course of politics was enough for his ambition, that even membership in the State Legislature did not satisfy the cravings of his mind. He had no hunger for wealth, being moderately provided for by his patrimony, and being by disposition unworldly no passion for power, no desire for popularity. His manliness, and he had a good deal, of a rare kind, appeared under other forms, in the shape of individual opinions on the questions that addressed themselves to the intellect. He was one of the foremost to recognize the claims of the new school of poetry represented by Wordsworth and did his part to revive an interest in the great writers of the classical epoch of English literature. As one of the editors of the "Review" he protested against the dominion of didactic writers like Alexander Pope, whose star was then in the ascendant, and with uncompromising vigor defended the higher standard, which was excessively unpopular in England and had no reception in America. In this task he was an educator of his countrymen, a prophet of the better future, which the "Review," under the management of his successors, was effectual in establishing. His first pieces were written for its pages; the "Essay on the Old Times" was printed here; here appeared his article on the poems of Washington Allston, not at that time related to him by marriage. Whatever he wrote was characterized by a conservative purity of diction free from quaintnesses, affectations, and novelties, as well as by a kindling force of intelligence which compelled attention. He was felt in the quality of his work, which was interesting and significant, but not much in conformity with the prevailing standards of taste. His friend Bryant, speaking of "The Idle Man," which came out in numbers, in 1821–'22, and met with a cold reception from the general public, said: "One reason why it took so little at its first appearance was probably the hardihood with which its author slighted the venal arts of attracting the public attention and conciliating the public favor." . . . . And these forbidding peculiarities were not, the critic thought, relieved by the charms of imagination, by descriptive power, or by expressions of feeling. The tone was

severely intellectual. The author, to use once more the language of Mr. Bryant, "loves to describe a peculiar and unhappy mood of the mind, cherished, as if by a kind of fatality, instead of being healed by the succession of events and the lapse of time; drawing into its vortex all the lesser and feebler emotions, and making them its own nourishment." With all these qualifications, the critic calls the writer a man of genius, and ascribes to him the highest literary qualities, a pervading and hallowing delicacy of the moral sentiment, and a rare susceptibility to the influences of external nature.

A similar judgment the same friendly critic pronounces on Mr. Dana's poetry: "There is the same propensity to deal with strong and gloomy passions, with regret, remorse, fear, and despair; with feelings over which present events have no control except to aggravate them, and which look steadily back to the unalterable past, or forward to the mysterious future." The style is pronounced occasionally abrupt and harsh, with now and then an unpleasant homeliness of expression. On the whole, the praise is not exuberant; and if so indulgently disposed a critic as Mr. Bryant must have been is grudging of plaudits, the modern reader, having no personal predilections, and educated in a very different school, may be pardoned for admitting a much qualified gratification from the perusal of "The Dying Raven," "The Husband's and Wife's Grave," and "The Buccaneer." To tell the plain truth, these poems are not at present easy or delightful reading. The occasional beauties of expression, a few musical lines, here and there a graceful description of some natural object, do not redeem the somber monotony of sentiment. A course of lectures on Shakespeare, eight in number, prepared at the instance of Dr. Channing, and read with great acceptance before cultivated audiences in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, but never printed, are spoken of with much enthusiasm as precious contributions to the literature of the subject. The study of Shakespeare was one to call into action his best powers as critic, expositor, and poet. There was an unlimited field for his genius and his grace. His enthusiasm was always kindled by the classic authors of England, and it was not readily stirred by any others. Mr. Dana was no sentimentalist. His taste was exacting, his judgment austere; and, however limited his own domain, he could enjoy a wide range that was opened for him by others. Perhaps he enjoyed this the more because his own range was so narrow.

It is a favorite theory that Mr. Dana's fastidiousness restrained him in the exercise of his creative genius; that, preferring quality

to quantity, he was content to produce a very few pièces of prime excellence. But this explanation can hardly be received as final. To say nothing of obvious defects in the quality of his work as far as it is accessible to us, the natural constitution of his mind, as exhibited in other ways, accounts both for the limited quantity of his intellectual production and for a certain dryness and thinness in its substance. He had no craving for expression, literary or social. He was a silent man, for the most part. His thoughts did not readily come either to his pen or his lips. He was deficient in the sense of humor, and consequently in the feeling of sympathy with other minds, which prompts communication. He was deficient in wit, and consequently was never a delighted spectator of the nimble achievements of his own mind. He observed and reflected. He read, too and much; but it was in foreign literatures, and in the works of the elder bards. His acquaintance with the English classics was intimate. He was well versed in the politics of the mother country, was familiar with the attitude and the career of her statesmen, and could talk well on the current topics of her society. He was, moreover, conservative in politics and religion. His only appearance in home politics was as a champion of the Federalist party, and it was a general impression that in mature life his predilections were for the monarchical form of government. When the divisions arose between the Unitarians and the Trinitarians, Dr. Channing was on the one side and Mr. Dana on the other. He was then a Congregationalist. Subsequently he joined the Episcopal Church, and was a quiet representative of high-church principles.

The passion of his soul was for Nature. He loved her unadorned. He adored her in silence. In his summer home, at Manchester, a secluded, remote, weird, and lonely place on the seashore far from the public road, distant from human dwellings, in extreme simplicity, the poet loved to be alone. The touch of art was nowhere visible about him in field or wood. Before the square house, designed, we believe, by Allston, at the foot of a steep declivity of rock and sand, stretched a wide, long beach, terminated at either end by jagged masses of stone, and shelving so gradually that at one point, when the tide was low, there was a broad, dry passage to a wooded island which lay at a little distance from the coast. There the poet, with form erect, his flowing hair and beard blown about by the wind, would walk up and down, absorbed in thought and emotion. He loved to be alone; he desired no companion. The friend, if he had one, was some literary guest whose most accept

able speech was his silence. Last summer, the old man, thin and weak, but bright of mind and eye, sat on his little piazza and looked out on the ocean; but he could no more walk the beach. His mind had gone into itself.

William Cullen Bryant was introduced to Mr. Dana through the medium of "Thanatopsis," which was published in the "North American Review," anonymously, in 1817. Its extraordinary character stimulated the editor's curiosity, and led to a friendship which lasted through the years of a long life. The two men were in most respects strikingly dissimilar in temperament and intellectual convictions. Neither in politics nor in religion were they sympathetic. But their literary tastes were in accord. Both were purists in the matter of style, and conservatives in the matter of sentiment. Both loved the classic authors. Both were contemplative and interior. Both were more inclined to silence than to speech. Both had the adoration of Nature, and were observers of her moods. By the seashore or in the country, they would be together, without conversation, each communing with his own thoughts. It is not improbable that Mr. Dana's admiration for "Thanatopsis" was aroused by the deep reverence for Nature that pervaded its stately lines.

This solemn veneration for Nature is, indeed, the characteristic of the poem. It was the first of those studies which disclosed the real bent of Bryant's mind. When first printed, it was preceded by four stanzas, commonplace and conventional to an extraordinary degree, which read like a farewell to the somber associations of the hard New England life and the grim New England theology. The last stanza runs thus:

> This bitter cup at first was given
> When angry *Justice* frowned severe,
> And 'tis the eternal doom of Heaven
> That man must view the grave with fear.

The lines are a fitting introduction to the poem which follows, and it is not surprising that the editor printed them together. The longer poem was calculated to change the mood suggested by the dismal verses, which correspond in sentiment to the lines afterward added to "Thanatopsis" in later editions. Nature, the poet would say, is not under the curse. This idea is directly expressed in the "Fragment," afterward called "Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood," which was published along with "Thanatopsis," and immediately after it:

. . . . The primal curse
Fell, it is true, upon the unsinning Earth,
But not in vengeance. . . .
Hence, these shades
Are still the abodes of gladness.

The "Fragment" is warmer in feeling than "Thanatopsis," which was written earlier, but the key-note is the same. Both are poems of reflection, passionless and colorless. "Thanatopsis" is the more colorless and passionless of the two. It is neither melancholy nor gloomy; it is simply stately and grave.

The piece, as originally published, was much shorter than our version. It began at what is now the seventeenth line—

Yet a few days and thee,

and it ended sixteen lines earlier than our form, with the words—

And make their bed with thee.

The Greek spirit of the poem is disclosed in the title and in an occasional phrase like the "all-beholding sun," which suggests the poets whom the elder Bryant loved. The writer himself thought so little of his production that he threw it into a drawer instead of hurrying away with it to the printer. It was apparently with him a product of reflection rather than a work of creative genius. "Thanatopsis" is a meditation.

Bryant was a lover of Nature, and a keen observer of her forms. He caught the sentiment of the woods, the birds, the flowers, and he possessed a happy gift of expression, not always poetic, but accurate, smooth, and graceful. He was not a man of strong emotions; not a man of many words. His observation of Nature was more remarkable for accuracy than for insight. His perception was less sympathetic than clear. It is interesting, in this connection, to compare Lowell's poem "The Bobolink," published in his first little volume, "A Year's Life," and beginning—

Anacreon of the meadow,
Drunk with the joy of spring,

with Bryant's "Robert o' Lincoln," one of his last and most delightful effusions. Bryant describes the bird, his plumage, his habits, his domestic and home life, giving a charming imitation of his note and a pretty picture of bird-existence. Lowell attempts nothing of

this kind, but makes one feel the thrilling glee, the heedlessness and overflowing joy of the little songster. Similarly contrasted are the two poems on "The Fountain," published by the same men. Lowell expresses the soul of the leaping water, Bryant moralizes on the lapse of the running stream.

The temperament of Bryant was pensive, inclined to sadness. At the close of his essay on "The Happy Temperament," printed in an early number of the "Review," occur the following sentences, which contain the key to his poetry as well as to his life: "In short, the melancholy feelings, when called up by their proper and natural causes, and confined to their proper limits, are the sources of almost all our virtues. The temperament of unbroken cheerfulness is the temperament of insensibility." This philosophy may be a favorite one with the workers and fighters who perform the drudgery of the world, and take the blows that are aimed at reformers; but it is not congenial with poets or men of letters, who have faith in sunshine, and who believe that in order to be good they must be happy. The radiance in Bryant's poetry is like the gleam of sunlight upon a snowy landscape, like the music of a brook singing a cheery tune beneath the ice. His verses usually end with a thoughtful moral which connects their melody with the tender experiences of a chastened soul. An autumnal wind sighs through the woods. The foliage is touched with frost.

Bryant was a man of reflection—grave, serene, patient. He "meditated his Muse." In a letter to a friend, written in March, 1871, Mr. Bryant thus described his habits of life: "I rise early, at this time of the year about half-past five; in summer half an hour or even an hour earlier. Immediately, with very little incumbrance of clothing, I begin a series of exercises, for the most part designed to expand the chest, and at the same time call into action all the muscles and articulations of the body. These are performed with dumb-bells, the very lightest, covered with flannel, with a pole, an horizontal bar, and a light chair swung around my head. After a full hour, and sometimes more, passed in this manner, I bathe from head to foot. . . . My breakfast is a simple one—hominy and milk, or, in place of hominy, brown bread, or wheaten grits, or oatmeal, and, in the season, baked sweet apples. Tea and coffee I never touch at any time. . . . My drink is water, yet I sometimes, though rarely, take a glass of wine. I am a natural temperance man, finding myself rather confused than exhilarated by wine. I never meddle with tobacco, except to quarrel with its use. . . . I abomi-

nate all drugs and narcotics, and have always carefully avoided everything which spurs nature to exertions which it would not otherwise make."

None but a calm, equable, self-poised, self-contained man, patient, regular, not subject to moods, unvexed by "nervousness," unexcitable, cool, deliberate, can pursue for years a regimen like that here described. We doubt if another poet or creative mind in the world does or ever did it. We say nothing against the rules themselves, which are excellent, and must have an admirable effect on the person who can put them in practice. The ability to put them in practice is the marvel. The man who has the patience and perseverance for that already possesses the virtue which the regimen confers. He has the prudent disposition of the sage, hardly the burning temper of the man of genius.

This quality of calm persistency stood Mr. Bryant in good stead as a literary man. Through the force it gave him he was enabled to begin, continue, and finish his translation of Homer, that admirable performance which sustained and consoled him in years of severe affliction. The translation has not the ring and roar of the original; it shows us Homer chastened and subdued; but it is faithful, musical, refined, and is, on the whole, the best of the English versions. All there is is Homer. The translator had the modesty as well as the judgment to stand behind the original and reproduce as much of it as he could. If he could not reproduce the whole, he would at all events forbear to eke out his deficiencies with his fancies.

Mr. Bryant's contributions to the "Review" extended over a long course of years, and numbered in all sixteen pieces. Thus, during the greater portion of a protracted and busy career, he fed the fountain of good letters, and aided the cause of elegant scholarship in the country. The service he rendered in this way was of the most enduring and valuable kind. To rank him with the mighty bards of the world—with Homer, Dante, Milton, Goethe—would be to cast on him the reproach of satire. To rank him with his great contemporaries in English verse would be extremely injudicious. A place will hardly be assigned to him by posterity on a line with the Victorian poets or the authors of the highest mark among his countrymen. But, as a steadfast friend of pure literature, he stands preëminent. None put so modest an estimate on his performances as he. Posterity will add this grace to the wreath that is placed on the head of the man who never allowed

the discords of the worldly life to disturb the harmonies of his spirit.

John Lothrop Motley was an infrequent contributor. Only three articles came from his pen; but they indicated original powers, clear and strong convictions, independent research, and literary capacity of a high order. His three topics were "Peter the Great," "Balzac," and "The Polity of the Puritans"—three topics as well adapted to exhibit an author's intellectual qualities as any that could be selected. In his treatment of them there was nothing commonplace or conventional. The historical papers were not bald summaries of books under review, but fresh studies by a thoughtful student of affairs; and the judgment on Balzac was not merely the impression of a reader of the Frenchman's novels, but the opinion of an intelligent man on the true province of art in works of fiction. Bright glances are thrown upon other writers, which exhibit a remarkable affluence of mind. Of Goethe he writes, in 1847: "We have always considered him a great naturalist. His pursuit is always truth, natural truth, which he delights to track through all its external manifestations up to its living principles. He was no moralist, but a student of universal nature, both physical and metaphysical, who watched the sprouting of a hyacinth or a passion, the combination of an alkali and an acid, and the conflict of the affections, the efflorescence of a carnation, the revolution of a people, the eruption of a volcano, all with equal attention, and classed them all as natural phenomena, each as worthy to be studied as the others. It is for this reason, among others, that many people have discovered that he is a very immoral writer. The same persons should denounce the immorality of Professor Agassiz, because, for instance, he informed the respectable people of Boston that, in a certain family of the *Radiata*, every female always marries her grandfather."

Of another distinguished author he writes: "George Sand is no doubt a philosopher, and her style is better than that of any modern French writer; but she always reminds us of what Yorick told the Count de B——, in the 'Sentimental Journey,' 'The only fault I have to find with your nation is that you are too serious.'"

Of Balzac himself he says: "As for his philosophy, his principles, moral, political, or social, he seems to have none whatever. He looks for the picturesque and the striking. He studies sentiments and sensations from an artistic point of view. He is a physiognomist, a physiologist, a bit of an anatomist, a bit of a mesmeris',

a bit of a geologist, a Flemish painter, an upholsterer, a mineralogical, misanthropical, skeptical philosopher; but he is no moralist, and certainly no reformer."

And this, Mr. Motley thinks, is to the writer's credit as an artist in fiction. Mr. Motley reads novels first of all to be amused. He declares himself "a little fatigued with the reforming tendency of writers of fiction, the authors who are for changing everything, abolishing everything, and who have a radical objection to everything in existence."

This is the true literary spirit. It is not at all inconsistent with moral earnestness, only the moral earnestness must not be introduced in the wrong place or in the wrong manner. One may have a profound respect for the conscientious and untiring zeal by which abuses are attacked and overcome, and yet dislike to see novelists devoted to the work. "No doubt," says Mr. Motley, "the country needs reformation—the world needs it; but in the mean time let us occasionally be amused, and let novel writers think less of reforming and more of amusing." If there must be a large infusion of French novels into American literature, he would prefer more of Balzac and less of Sue or Sand. For Balzac, too, takes the world as it is. He is essentially an artist who accepts the materials which society affords. If they reveal a vicious or disorderly condition of society, society, and not the artist, is responsible. Mr. Motley's historical works show no lack of moral conviction; his enthusiasm is always for the really noble in character and achievement, and his reprobation falls inevitably on the mean and base; but he is never a dogmatist or sectarian. Of Puritan stock and nurture, he clearly perceived and frankly criticised the defects of the Puritan character, and would not be betrayed into unjustifiable eulogium of men because they happened to be the historical predecessors of principles that he admired. He has little patience with writers who exalt Puritanism, because democracy, unintentionally, as he thinks, grew out of it. "The New England fathers," he says, "had no notion of establishing a democracy. . . . The real reason why the democratic principle prevailed was because it is a true principle, and because it never before had so fair a chance to develop itself. . . . The virtues of the Puritans were many and colossal; their vices were few but formidable, for they were intolerance, cruelty, tyranny, and bigotry. . . . They came here to establish not liberty of conscience, but the true Church. The people, as such, had no rights at all. . . . A true picture of those early times would present this quaint, sol-

emn, arbitrary government keeping the people as tight as a drum, prying about, and thrusting its primitive and patriarchal nose into everybody's business, and meddling with the most minute and trifling matters." Bancroft's history is described as a work of genius rather than of laborious detail, which owed its success to a "vigorous imagination and a crisp, nervous style."

There is an impression that Mr. Motley was an aristocrat, exclusive and exalted, a defender of anti-democratic institutions. The paragraphs with which the article on "The Polity of the Puritans" concludes would remove that impression, if any labored attempt at its removal were called for. He counts it an advantage to America that she has no past, and consequently is untrammeled by traditions. "America has no past, but she has a future. The possible future of this country is as exciting to the imagination as the vague and fading past of other lands." This sentence is followed by a brilliant passage, too long for quotation, portraying the splendors of the period when the States, confederate and compact, numbering three hundred millions of freemen, will be "distinguished for progress in those beautiful arts which embellish life, and appeal to the higher parts of a nation's character, as well as for those useful ones by which the happiness and comfort of the citizens are secured."

Mr. Motley was an intellectual man, of high attainments. His associations with wealth and refinement only added grace and dignity to a nature of rugged nobility, and made him a prophet of humane ideas among people whom Matthew Arnold describes as "barbarians," namely, the so-called upper classes of society. It is so unusual for intellect and conscience and noble art to be associated with opulence and social position that such an example as Mr. Motley presented should be held in special honor. His place in American literature is his own. It is pleasant to find in the pages of the "Review" so clear a presage of his fame.

Of the six men we have chosen for our portrait-gallery, Caleb Cushing was the most copious and varied. The index mentions thirty-five articles from his pen. His subjects were of great diversity: law, civil and criminal, in principle and practice, national, international, municipal; history; biography; education; botany; fiction; discovery; the civil and legal condition of women; coal; romantic adventure; in fact, almost everything that was of interest to his contemporaries, from Perri's "Roman Nights" to the civilization of Central America. He always wrote with a free hand and

with fullness of information. His interest in Mexican and South American problems was particularly keen. He was perfectly at home with Spanish affairs, and seemed familiar with the vast range of subjects connected with them. His papers were not remarkable for brilliancy of style or richness of suggestion. They contained few touches of surprising talent, none of genius; but they abounded in good sense, and were never deficient in learning. There is never the least approach to levity; the tone is high, the thought is grave and weighty. Even such a theme as "Boccaccio's Decameron" does not tempt him to depart from his usual decorum.

This versatility of mind was in part answerable for a common impression that Mr. Cushing was superficial and even shallow. The generality of men find it hard to believe that interest in many subjects is compatible with thoroughness, accuracy, or depth. Still less are they disposed to think that interest in many subjects is compatible with moral sincerity. Earnestness is usually associated with narrowness of some kind. Intensity of conviction, and even heartiness of conviction, goes, it is conjectured, with monotony of opinion. The prejudice is countenanced by many facts of common experience. It is true that in most cases steadiness of moral feeling and fixedness of opinion are found together. The current is strongest in the stream which is most confined between precipitous banks. When the banks are removed the water spreads out into a still marsh, and soon becomes stagnant. All-sided people are prone to be moral skeptics. They can not give themselves to a single cause—they can not attach themselves to a party or be devotees of a creed. It is by limiting the gaze to one view that the will becomes fixed and the emotion centered. Largeness and openness of vision are almost always attended by fluctuation in the moral sense. Partisanship is peculiar to the fanatical. Men like Goethe, whom Matthew Arnold calls "the greatest critic perhaps that has ever lived," are, according to Mr. Motley, neither moral nor immoral. An ordinary power of conscientiousness would have been out of all proportion to the inordinate versatility of an intellect like Mr. Cushing's, who should have been endowed with a prodigious moral sense to balance the vigor of his mental processes. The examples of men who have been greater in intellect than he was, and correspondingly great in conscience, are scarcely to the point; for these men have, for the most part, been attached to a fixed system, political or religious, which confined their genius within certain speculative limits, and forbade any wide excursions of their faculties.

They were shut up to a view, though their vision may have been far-reaching and their glance penetrating. Mr. Cushing belonged to the least restricted of the learned professions, and lived in a community which countenanced the widest diversity of opinion on all subjects. That he was an able man as well as a versatile one was proved in many public and extra-professional ways. That he was an enlightened and humane man is evidenced in many of his writings. That he was capable of large views appears abundantly in the papers we have described.

The question of the legal and social condition of women is one that calls forth strong opinions on either side, and, perhaps more than any other, tests the independence of disputants. Two of Mr. Cushing's articles treated this matter. The article on "The Legal Condition of Woman" was printed in April, 1828; that on "The Social Condition of Woman" in April, 1836. In neither paper does the writer take the position of the modern reformer; he does not, that is to say, advocate the extension of the franchise to women; but he does make distinctions and lay down principles which strike at the heart of much popular prejudice. The technical opinions are conventional, but the general course of argument is humane. "We do not propose to ourselves," he remarks in the first article, written, it must be remembered, fifty years ago, "to set up for the female sex any extravagant standard of legal privilege, nor to lay lance in rest for the support of quixotic pretensions, in her behalf, to political or municipal rights adverse to those of the male sex. The constitution of nature, ordained by no human conventions, recorded in no fundamental charter of government or petition of rights, but written over the face of the universe, and stamped indelibly upon the very organization of our race, has, we conceive, settled the question whether the female sex should exercise political franchises equally with men." On the next page he writes: "We do not esteem it any hardship, as some have done, that the property of an unmarried female is taxed without being represented. Taxation procures for property the protection of the body politic; and neither the alien friend who claims the safeguard of our laws, nor the unmarried female, nor the minor, whose estate the government guarantees against domestic pillage and hostile invasion, has just cause to complain of exclusion from elective privileges." He protests against the "pernicious facility of divorce," and doubts whether any nation will ever renew the experiment, which was tried in France during the Revolution, when marriage was reduced to a union so

loose and transitory that it was described as "the sacrament of adul tery." But he contends that, even with all the benefits conferre on woman by the irregular interposition of the courts of chancery "her legal condition is honorable neither to the generosity nor t the good sense of that sex which alone exercises the right of estab lishing laws." In particular he takes exception to the iniquitou disposition of married women's property, and to the absurd mixtur of masculine and feminine responsibility in cases of complicity i crime. Not only are the writer's views on these topics exceedingl liberal and reasonable, but the causes of the iniquity complained o are indicated with a sagacity which reminds the reader occasionall of the investigations of Sir Henry Maine. He alludes to the deifi cation of woman in primitive Greece—to the female deities, Rhea Juno, Proserpina, Venus, Minerva—as indicating the respect paic to the sex by these people, and cites Andromache and Penelope a beautiful examples of conjugal truth and virtue. Of course, h affirms that "Christianity proved infinitely efficacious in elevating the character and condition of woman"; but the drift of his ex position is to show the prevailing influence of intelligent custom under rational civilization.

The attentive study of these two articles has impressed us deeply with the essential earnestness of Mr. Cushing's mind. In quality as well as in quantity, in depth as well as in fluency and swiftness he was remarkable. Had he been less universal, he would hav been more famous. The variety of his gifts was against his popu lar influence. The old New-Englander can not easily disabuse him self of the belief in Mr. Cushing's alleged tergiversations and polit ical infidelities; but local prejudices are temporary, after all, an substantial qualities of mind stand vindicated at last. If wha Faraday said is true, that "in knowledge that man only is to b contemned and despised who is not in a state of transition," Cale Cushing has nothing to fear from the judgment of posterity.

Of the six men our space allows us to describe, the most copiou contributor to the "Review," next to Mr. Cushing, was GEORG STILLMAN HILLARD. His articles number twenty-two, and are o diverse themes—law, education, history, literature in many branches Literary subjects were clearly his favorites. He was essentially literary man, and a literary man of a rare mold—cultivated, schol arly, elegant, studious, hospitable, sympathetic, a lover of book accomplished in language, enthusiastic yet clear of appreciation his place is among the refiners of American taste. From the firs

e gave promise of intellectual distinction, as a student at the Bos-
on Latin School and at Harvard College. His mental accomplish-
ients admirably qualified him to teach at the Round Hill School
t Northampton, and dictated the choice of him as the first Dean
f the Boston Latin School. His associates were, from first to last,
ie most brilliant intellects of his day. His Phi Beta Kappa ora-
on, in 1843, on "The Relation of the Poet to his Age," was an
vent in the history of academic addresses. We recollect well the
fect produced by the finished periods, the graceful delivery, and
ie fine intellectual enthusiasm, on the throng that crowded the
urch in Cambridge when the effort was made. In 1847 the genius
gain broke forth in twelve lectures on Milton, delivered in Tremont
emple, before the audience of the Lowell Institute.

Though educated for the law, the companion of lawyers, and to
me extent a practitioner, his taste was for elegant letters. His
ctensive acquaintance with books and his loving appreciation of
iem came out on all occasions, and in every form of expression;
affluent and brilliant conversation, correspondence, newspaper
id magazine writings, interest in young authors, and veneration
r the classics of all nations. He was a diligent reader and an
curate master of style. A sensitive organization rendered him
licately appreciative of the finer aspects of all questions, confin-
g him rather to the æsthetic side of problems. That he was no
former, in the harsh, aggressive sense, need not be said. He was
t born to thunder and lighten, and beat evils down to the ground,
t his nature revolted against inhumanity, and his heart was always
the side of mercy. In the terrible days of the Fugitive-Slave
aw excitement, when the opinions to which he was most sensitive
ere on the side of what was deemed oppression, fugitive slaves
und refuge and shelter in his house. The situation of the African
ce in America excited his deep commiseration, and, though he
ruck no blow in their behalf, he did his part to create the humaner
ntiment which ultimately decreed its emancipation.

We have not space to dwell on Mr. Hillard's literary perform-
nces. We can not even name the works of his diligent hand. His
iographical sketches were vivid and lifelike. His edition of Spen-
r had a high reputation. His "selections" from Landor gave to
at powerful but eccentric writer a certain vogue, and revealed to
heedless world some of the wonders and beauties of his style. The
Six Months in Italy" was for many years the very best work of its
ind, and still holds a place among the most valuable. Numerous

literary and official addresses attest the extent of his mental reac and the richness of his mental endowment. School-books, containin choice gems of literature, raised the standard of rhetorical excellenc in the places of public education. His fine touch may be felt every where, in illustrative record and criticism. But what we desi especially to note is the unerring sagacity of his literary judgmen as displayed in the pages of the "Review." Two contributions, i particular, show this—a review of Lowell's "A Year's Life," i 1841, and an article on Mrs. Browning's "Prometheus Bound" an "Seraphim," in 1842. It may seem a thing not at all remarkab that a critic of the smallest pretension should discern the meri of poets so striking in power as Mrs. Browning and James Russe Lowell, whose fame has penetrated to every class of readers. Bu to pronounce a verdict on writers entirely unknown by literary r port, writers of a new school, and a school of marked peculiarities, no easy task; and to pronounce a verdict which subsequent judg ment will sustain, implies perception of no mean order. And th is what Mr. Hillard did. His recognition of the newly reveale genius is as hearty as could be desired; and his criticism is as fir as it is frank.

Mr. Hillard was one of the earliest scholars in German. It is surprise to read, in 1842, so nice a translation as the following Heine's "Pine and Palm":

> Where polar frosts are sharp and long,
> A single pine-tree grows.
> It sleeps; and winter round it weaves
> A robe of ice and snow.
>
> Its dreams recall a lonely palm
> That, far in Eastern lands,
> By crags that glow with tropic heat,
> In mourning silence stands.

The contributions of Bayard Taylor, the last of our friends, d ceased, number but two, and these short literary notices merely; o a review of Swinburne's "Laus Veneris," the other of the poems Fitz-Greene Halleck. They are characterized by the manly, heart honest, rather bluff qualities of the writer's mind, and give evi[illegible]en of his homage to the literary art, but otherwise are not remarkab Mr. Taylor was a workingman in letters; not a genius, not an a ist of high rank; but a patient, persevering, loyal, and devoted st dent in literature; ambitious and self-asserting, but single-minde

re-hearted, and lofty of aim. From the beginning to the end, vays and everywhere, he was the man of letters, consecrated to e task of putting into literary form the observations, experiences, otions, and aspirations of life. His ideal artist was Goethe, whose mness he sought to attain, whose universality he aspired to emue. He never forgot that he was an author—author by profession, t from necessity, but from love of the craft. As a traveler, he d a thought to note down what he saw, in letters and books, and was untiring in his diligence to master everything that went to ke his letters and books worth reading—languages, historical ts, local peculiarities, national traits, antiquities, arts, the influe of institutions and men. His method was rather the method painstaking labor than of quick insight. On one occasion, after tening with great interest to a lecture on Moscow, a hearer said him that his method recalled a visit he had made, a few days be-e, to the studio of Church, who had on his easel the celebrated ture of Niagara. The painting was considerably advanced, and e visitor put to the artist the obvious question, "How soon will e work be finished?" The artist measured the canvas with his e, and quietly said that, at the rate of his proceeding, so many ys in the week, so many hours in the day, the picture would be mpleted in about two weeks. He worked steadily, gaining ground h by inch, and was certain that, if each detail was conscientiously ecuted, the final result would be harmonious to the eye and true nature. Mr. Taylor was struck and gratified by the comparison. Yes," said he, "that is the way. Put the parts together, and you ake the whole." But this is not the way of genius; and genius, it commonly allowed, Mr. Taylor had not. He may have had what is more serviceable, but he had not that.

The translation of "Faust" tells the story. It is a remarkable erary achievement, a wonder of accomplishment. The second rt of the poem, especially, is a miracle of patience, fidelity, and valty to the original master. He might have evaded the respon-bility of turning it into English. He might have pleaded the fficulty of the task, its unprofitableness, its thanklessness. He ight have echoed the disrespect in which that portion of the poem as held by critics and admirers of Goethe, in his own country as ell as elsewhere. But no; the task of translating the drama had en undertaken, and must be performed unflinchingly, cost what it ight in time and toil. Goethe had written it and sent it forth, nd no loyal friend of Goethe would slight it.

For reputation, influence, support, happiness, Mr. Taylor resort ed to literature. It was the occupation of his time, his recourse i strength, his solace in loneliness and depression of spirits. Hi books were his joy and his crown. He lived in and by literature literature, in whatever form it presented itself—journalism, lectu ing, poetry, fiction, the making of books. Though resolved to d his full and exact duty to the Government that sent him as ministe to Germany, his deep-seated purpose was to write the life of the ma whose genius he so much revered. The literary ambition filled hi heart, and made him all but insensible to the public honors tha were heaped upon him.

He was not an aristocrat in literature; he was, however ambi tious and soaring, content to be a door-keeper at the house of tha supreme monarch of art. He was a servant, often a day-laborer doing drudgery, unwillingly but still proudly, lamenting that th vocation of the man of letters was no more respected, but deter mined, for his part, to hold it in supreme honor. He would hav appreciated, had he been alive to witness it, the tribute paid by th printers of Leipsic to the man who had himself been a printer.

He had the conservatism and the radicalism of the man of let ters. He knew how slow and toilsome was the progress of literar art, and, from reverence of soul, forbore to smite the creations o the human intellect, which represented so much patient labor. Bu none knew better than he the force of thought to pulverize systems and the necessity of opening a way through institutions for nev thought to flow. His "Masque of the Gods" and "Deucalion" were attempts to express in poetic form philosophical ideas at onc destructive and constructive—ideas born of the most audaciou speculation, and yet fraught with reconciling and healing virtue.

Such, in our judgment, was Bayard Taylor. Unlike any of thos that have been spoken of in connection with the "Review"—s unlike them, one and all, as scarcely to belong among them—ye their brother in spirit and in labor, one of the men who have give dignity and beauty to literature in America.

O. B. Frothingham.

V.

A PLEA FOR SPORT.

THAT exercise is the primary condition of vigorous health, ıether of body or of mind, is a truth underlying every rational ıeme of physical or intellectual culture : the most valuable acqui- ion of a course of schooling is, not the knowledge that we gain, t rather the mental discipline, and the development of our facul- s ; and the greatest good to be derived from bodily exercise is, t so much the increased strength and agility, as the improved ne of the whole system. Further, our physical and our mental ıtes have a reciprocal action upon one another, and a man can not said to possess *mens* perfectly *sana* unless he at the same time joys *corpus sanum*. The ancient Greeks and even the Romans, wever defective their knowledge of physiology may have been, pear to have had a singularly clear conception of this truth ; and e importance attached, more particularly by the former, to bodily ercise as a necessary part of a youth's education, shows that they d a truer and a more adequate idea of the nature of man than ost of our modern educators.

We hear a great deal of declamation about the dignity of labor. e propose to say something about the dignity of play. And, as e social position of a man is oftentimes determined by his sup- sed descent from some historical or legendary personage, it will rhaps dignify our modern games and sports if they can be shown trace their pedigrees back to the games of ancient Greece and ome. The Latin biographer, Cornelius Nepos, would fain apologize his Roman patrons for mentioning, in the life of Epaminondas, ıong the accomplishments of that great general, that he was a aceful dancer, and that he excelled as a player of the flute. What ıy in one country be perfectly decorous, will in another be con- lered unbecoming, says the historian ; we make the same apology, apology is required, for tracing back to Grecian antiquity the

child's play of "riding a stick"—a form of amusement which Agesi laus and Socrates did not disdain to practice. Whether the boys game known to the Greeks under the name of *chytrinda* was "ho cockles," as Strutt contended, or "frog in the middle," as Arbuthno held it to be, is of little importance, though the two scholars very nearly came to blows in discussing the question. It is sufficient fo us to know that these familiar plays of modern English boys had a least an analogue among the ancient Greeks. We have it on n less authority than that of the father of history that ball-playing was practiced by the Lydians before his time. In Homer we se the Princess of Corcyra and her handmaidens beguiling their idl moments with this sport. Indeed, there are few of our popula games and sports which have not their more or less exact counter parts in classic antiquity; of many of them traces are said to hav been found even among the relics and monuments of prehistori man—in the cave-dwellings of France, the lake-dwellings of Switz erland, and the mounds of our Western States.

Our holidays, too, have their counterparts in the ancient time The observance of New-Year's-day and many of the usages con nected with it are reminiscences of the Saturnalia of the Romans which occurred at about the same period of the year. The licens of All-Fools'-day is also a survival of the extravagance permitte during the Saturnalia, when all social distinctions were for the mo ment in abeyance. The observance of May-day, the Roman *flora lia*, or festival of Flora, is another link connecting our modern civili zation with that of ancient Rome. And it is worthy of note ho intimately associated with religion were all those festivals of anti quity. Christianity preserved this association of popular amusemen with religious observance, simply substituting for the gods an heroes of Greek and Roman mythology the hardly less mythica worthies who figured in its own early history. Too often thes semi-religious festivals degenerated into occasions of debaucher and licentiousness,* but for all that we must recognize the wisdo of the ancients in seeking to dignify with religious associations th sports and pastimes of the lower orders of society.

From Rome we derived the original of our civic jurisprudence So, too, the religious institutions of Rome have had a potent influ ence in determining the historic development of Christianity. Bu Greece was the birthplace not only of the fine arts, but also of sy

* 1 Corinthians xi. 21.

matized physical culture. Athletic exercises were always held in
ie highest honor in Greece ; the different games, as the Isthmian,
ie Olympic, etc., were events of the highest national importance, as
evidenced by the custom of reckoning time by Olympiads, that is,
ie intervals of four years between the regular celebrations of the
lympic games. It is as though we were to reckon time according
the occurrence of our international industrial exhibitions.

What a contrast to all this is presented by Egypt, that land of
icks without straw, over which the rock-hewed Sphinx, staring
ernity out of countenance, keeps watch and ward as she scornfully
oks down upon human desire and pitilessly mocks at the vanity of
man wishes ! Baptized in the blood and bathed in the sweat of
avery, she is a monument of unrecompensed labor, and with her
nderous weight has effaced all semblance of joy from the land
er which she broods. Whatever the cause may have been, whether
e propinquity of the bleak and silent deserts, or some baleful
ain of melancholia in the race, or some unexplained climatic influ-
ce, it so happens that Egypt has ever been a land enshrouded in
oom, knowing nothing of the joy of life.

The Olympic games, first instituted in honor of a local deity, in
e course of time drew to themselves competitors eager to enter
e lists from all the surrounding states of Hellenic origin. That
ree of the most illustrious champions in these games had altars
ected to their memory in the Olympian Plain, and that worship
as paid to them as to gods, is evidence of the high estimation in
ich athletic prowess was held among the Greeks. Athens showed
r approval in the more practical shape of an award of five hundred
achmas to her successful athletes ; while Sparta rewarded her
ympionikai by assigning them to the post of danger and of honor
battle. They were her Legion of Honor.

No man was permitted to contend for the prize in the Olympian
mes unless he was of pure Hellenic blood, a freeman, and of good
ort. Athletes flocked to enter the lists from the distant colonies in
ia, northern Africa, and the West. Our modern contests of marks-
nship may serve to give us some idea of the emotions excited
the *quadrennial* recurrence of the Olympic festival. The arts
—architecture, sculpture and painting—contributed toward mak-
g the scene of these games in every way worthy of its world-wide
own. Of the many temples erected in the sacred grove of Altis
s one designed by the architect Libon ; it was a fitting shrine for
idias's masterpiece—the seated statue of Zeus Olympius wrought

in ivory inlaid with gold. This temple, ornamented with the finest sculptures and paintings of that day or any day, and rich in votive offerings from states and individuals, must eventually have become a veritable museum of Grecian art.

With the decline of Greece consequent on her subjugation by the Romans came the downfall of her national games. Her noble statues, her venerable temples, her ivory gods, remained standing for a time, as though in mockery of her fallen state. Her priceless treasures of art were carried as trophies to Rome, and henceforth Greece was only a memory. Grecian ideas, however, were immortal, and quickly leavened the Latin mind. Grecian philosophy, Grecian sculpture and painting, Grecian poetry, found sincere admirers and imitators among their less gifted conquerors; and to this day the influence of that wonderful Hellenic civilization is felt throughout the world.

Transplanted to Rome the fine arts found no congenial soil, and the same is to be said of the gymnastic art of the Greeks. The inborn lust of magnificence peculiar to the Romans, their love of barbaric display, no doubt led to greater splendor of decoration in their amphitheatres or gymnasia; but the gymnastic exercises of the Greeks were never fairly naturalized among them. A bull-fight, a death-struggle between a man and a wild beast, a bloody encounter between gladiators—such were the scenes which delighted the Romans; slaves, condemned malefactors, the offscourings of the population, were the combatants in the Roman arena. The successful combatant was never honored, nor indeed deserved to be honored, as was the winner in the Olympian games. Instead of being a means of developing physical grace and strength, these contests in the amphitheatres served only to brutalize the Roman people. So far indeed were these exhibitions from diffusing among the people a love of gymnastic exercises, or developing manliness and self-reliance, that they in fact became in time one of the principal instruments of their enslavement. When, by largess of their emperor, they had provided for them "panem et circenses"—food and show—they cared for nothing else, and suffered their most precious liberties to be taken away. The amphitheatre ministered to the debasing passions of the multitude, and instead of being an agent of civilization, as it undoubtedly was in Greece, became a means of still further developing the natural ferocity of the Roman character. Nor was it the ignorant populace alone that enjoyed the wholesale slaughter of the arena; the highest order of society, the magi-

acy, the senators, the patricians, the men and women of the fash-
nable world, thronged its benches and stalls, and by their presence
d their plaudits encouraged the butchery. The limits of this
ticle will not permit us to give a detailed account of these Roman
mes, nor indeed would such account in any wise serve to add
rce to our plea for sports. From the outset these games had been
nducted on erroneous principles, and in their time of decay they
ntributed in no mean degree toward the disruption of the Roman
npire itself.

On the invasion of Italy by the barbarians, the amphitheatres of
me suffered a fate analogous to that which had befallen those of
eece under Roman domination. The Romans adopted as their
n the national games and sports of the Grecian states, and car-
d away to their homes whatever was portable in the shape of
rks of art. The barbarians, to repay a long score of wrong suf-
ed at the hands of the Romans, wreaked their vengeance on the
phitheatres, but the games and sports, being congenial to their
le and martial natures, they preserved. From the Romans, whose
pire they swept like a destructive tidal wave, the barbarians re-
ved their first lessons in art, science, and polity ; but surely these
re not their earliest acquisitions. They would be more apt to
opt first those usages and customs which they could most readily
derstand and appreciate. And, if the barbarians, from a natural
linination in the first place, adopted the sports and games of the
pire they had overrun, they would retain them and introduce
m into every province which yielded to their victorious arms.

Undoubtedly the love of sport is innate in the human breast,
e the love of glory, supremacy, ostentation, and other passions ;
t these passions are capable, on the one hand, of being nurtured,
d, on the other hand, of being checked or suppressed by the ac-
n of individuals or nations. Did not the French Revolution—
eat and beneficial as were its results—encourage, during its con-
uance, the love of license, and was not that disorderly passion
nsformed by the overmastering individualism of Napoleon Bona-
rte into the love of glory ? Again, the Turks, if they have not
dicated from their race the love of alcohol—a propensity so
eply seated in the human heart—have at least checked its general
dulgence within their realms.

Whithersoever Roman domination extended, at least wherever
roughout the vast empire they established *coloniæ* or *municipia*,
ere also we find the ruins of their amphitheatres, which are even

more conspicuous than are the traces of their admirable road These provincial amphitheatres were simply copies, some of them o a grand scale, as that at Nîmes, for instance, of the great amph theatre in Rome. Hence, wherever the barbarians settled they ha almost invariably thrust upon their notice the Roman games, as Verona, Puteoli (Pozzuoli), Pola, Arelate (Arles), Augustoritu (Limoges), and other places too numerous to mention.

Even before the barbarians came as conquerors, their ancesto had had experience of these same amphitheatres by having ofte "served to grace a pomp or deck a Roman holiday"; consequentl our rough sports, such as bear-baiting, cock-fighting, prize-fightin tilting, and the like, as well as the now obsolete joust and tourn ment and other knightly amusements, believed by some to be the pro uct of the middle ages, are in reality only barbaric modifications the sports of the Roman amphitheatre, while these Roman games we themselves only a very rude copy of Greek originals. The midd ages—the outgrowth of the barbarian invasion of the Roman Em pire—simply transmitted these games in a modified form; they di not originate them. The Spanish bull-fight is an instance of th adoption and modification by the barbarians of a Roman game, an here we can distinctly trace the Roman origin in spite of the pure Gothic *mise en scène*. But Latin sports are not restricted to th peoples commonly but erroneously designated as of Latin bloo Beyond a doubt a clearer pedigree could be established for most our present pastimes, and they could be traced back to the Norma invasion of Britain with far more certainty than could many a patr cian family in England, whose boast is that their founders can over with William the Conqueror. This was an indirect acquisitio of Roman games, but, for all that, it goes to confirm what has a ready been said, namely, that our modern games are mostly deriv from the ancients. Probably, too, the games brought in by th Normans gave a new impulse to many which may have remain after Britain had ceased to be a Roman province.

And the same reasons which made the Roman games so accep able to our barbarian ancestors availed to commend to their imag nations Roman art. Grecian art was too refined, too ideal, to ma a strong impression upon the barbarian mind; Roman art was n altogether beyond their comprehension, and so it became a pote agency in the work of civilization. The masterpieces of the o Italian sculptors and painters, headed by Michael Angelo, pro that they too copied more the trained Roman pugilist or gladiat

an the symmetrical Greek athlete ; for, in piling great masses of uscle on every available square inch of their subjects' frames, they ow that they were impressed by power rather than by beauty ; d herein they offer a striking contrast to the masters of Hellenic .

Again, our political institutions and our discriminations of social nk retain many plain evidences of the barbarism of the middle es, and possess too little of the graceful simplicity of Greece. e very names by which modern Europeans designate the differ- orders of the social hierarchy indicate their Roman origin ; for the titles of *princes*, *dukes*, *counts*, and the like, the roots of the rds are unmistakably Latin, and argue much for the birth of system. The form of despotism known as *Cæsarism* needs no nment ; while in literature, fiction, under its earlier name of *ro- nce*, plainly indicates its Roman source. In our punishments, , until very recently, a Roman severity was most conspicuous. tice even to-day the unspeakable horrors of a capital execution, l compare it with the account of Socrates calmly drinking the nlock, and peacefully gliding into the great unknown. But, since vast political and social convulsion of the last century, the rights man have superseded the rights of kings, and in the larger hu- nitarianism of the day our rough and cruel customs are being aside, or at least toned down. This influence, we think, has n especially felt in our amusements, and it will continue to ex- d. The French Revolution taught us to look back to antiquity, we have so far improved by the lesson that we are no longer sfied to look only to Rome for inspiration.

With the growth of a purer civilization we are becoming more cian in our ideas and sentiments. Our every-day life, while it ws more complicated in its relations, is assuming more and more Grecian simplicity in outward forms, as in government, style of ss, and modes of living. We are becoming more austere, Puri- cal in externals, but more catholic in the complexity of our mu- relations. We have ingrafted on classic times the steam-engine, telegraph, and the telephone, whose result is the progress of the eteenth century. All our inventions have for their end economy ime—rapid transmission, whether of speech or of body, of mat- or of mind. Dispatch, not exquisite artistic finish, is the de- nd of the hour ; and in this respect, perhaps, do we differ most ntially from all preceding ages. But nevertheless our power of cution, increased though it is a thousand fold by our innumer-

able mechanical contrivances, is laggard compared with our eage
ness to overmaster space and time. We demand of the enginee
that he transport us from place to place with the instantaneousnes
of magic. The sensor nerves of the telegraph must connect us wit
every remote point on the habitable globe, and we must be hourl
informed of every trifling occurrence that takes place all over th
earth. But, in the bustle and excitement of our multitudinous co
cernments, little time is left for recreation or relaxation of any kin
though the necessity for relaxation is greater the more engrossin
our occupations become.

How are the demands of our physical and mental constitutio
to be reconciled with the exactions of modern life? Here the i
ventor again presents himself with his time-saving devices. Th
preservation of health and the rapid acquisition of physical vig
are made the subject of scientific experiment, and Indian club
health-lifts, and patent rowing apparatus have been introduce
which, if their contrivers are to be believed, will, by a few minut
of daily practice, do more to develop muscle and give healthy to
to all the bodily organs than would as many hours devoted to le
scientific forms of exercise.

But these modern patent appliances for concentrating the gre
est possible amount of physical exercise into the fewest possib
moments of time are open to very serious objections indeed. Fir
they are extremely monotonous—they are of the treadmill ord
Even if they were beneficial in their results upon the developme
of the muscles, the daily use of them must be as distasteful as
daily dose of Epsom salts or castor-oil. But the same objection li
against "condensed exercise" which lies against condensed articl
of food. Neither is quite wholesome. When the article can not
had in the natural state, the concentrated preparations may ser
as a substitute for a time, but continued use of them will infallib
derange the system. So, if a man can not have the natural for
of physical exercise—a brisk walk, a ride on horseback, an hou
rowing on the water—the Indian clubs or the "pocket gymnasiu
will be better for him than nothing; that is all that can be said
their favor. Another objection which has been urged, and we thi
very justly, against certain "patent" modes of exercise is, that
crowding the maximum of exertion into the minimum of time th
subject the organs of the body—the heart and the various blo
vessels particularly—to undue strain, and hence are highly dang
ous. These methods of exercise may be shown to be fallacious

ıe *reductio ad absurdum*, for, if they are correct in principle, then, y employing a chair as a hobby, and by leaping over tables, we ›uld derive all the healthful and pleasurable excitement to be had cross-country riding.

The sports of the field, in spite of all that can be said in their ‚vor—and they have always deservedly been held in the highest ‹timation—seem to be inevitably doomed by the gradual exterminaon of game before the steady advance of civilization. Game laws ay tend to preserve it; but will the encroachments of democracy low those laws themselves to be long preserved? The wide doain over which the American bison used to roam is said to be conacting at the rate of over one hundred miles of area per year, hile the wholesale slaughter of smaller game is rapidly extermiting the feathered inhabitants of our woods and prairies. Laws ıve indeed been enacted for their protection, but practically they e a dead letter, and so in all probability are destined to remain.

Sports of the field in old and populous countries are a privilege the aristocracy; requiring artificial means and restrictive meares for their indulgence, they can be enjoyed only by the comparaely wealthy few. The case is different with games of competi›n. These are inexpensive, and naturally as little subject to the eration of the law of preserves as the air of heaven itself; hence eir eminent fitness for popular amusements. It is for this reason at, as our political and social institutions become progressively ›re democratic, popular games will usurp the throne vacated the sports of a privileged class. Muscular Christianity will in is way be developed from the muscular heathenism of antiquity. ıese games of competition are as yet practiced only by comparaely few, but we hope that before long their benefits will be recnized and enjoyed by all. Relaxation should be not the privige of the few but the right of the many. Like many of the minor xuries—such as tea, coffee, tobacco, which not very long ago were costly as to be obtainable only by the comparatively wealthy—althful physical exercise, which is of prime necessity for health, ust be placed within the reach of all classes of the people. The ıte now insures to all children within its jurisdiction a sound eleentary education; and this it does because it recognizes in ignonce one of the more serious menaces to its own integrity. But of less importance is it to the state that all of its citizens should be ıysically vigorous, for on physical power depends its security ;ainst the attacks of foreign enemies. For this reason the state

should in every available way encourage all forms of health-givin bodily exercises among the people ; and we confidently look forwar to the time when the toilers in the mines, as well as the mechanic in the cities, will daily exchange the polluted air of the scenes c their labor for the invigorating atmosphere of heaven. Then wi his hours of toil become not only less irksome to the workingmar but even more remunerative to his employer. We live in an ag of sharp competition ; and, if we would achieve more work tha others, it behooves us not to disregard this truth : so shall we b better workers, and, what is no less important, happier men.

The direct, immediate benefit derivable from physical exercis in the open air will be readily understood when we consider a fe elementary facts of physiology. If we suppose the amount of a taken into the lungs during a given time while the body is recun bent to be represented by unity (1), then by simply changing th recumbent for the erect position the quantity rises to one third mor (1·33). Walking at the rate of one mile per hour adds but little t this last quantity (only 1·57); but walking at the rate of four mile per hour involves the inhalation of air exactly five times as great a that inhaled in the recumbent position.

Of course the amount of impure air inhaled by those whose oc cupations lie indoors can be calculated with equal accuracy. Th quantity increases in proportion to the physical exertion which the employments require. It is for this reason that the open playgroun is to be preferred to the inclosed gymnasium, though the latte class of institutions have much to commend them. In Germany since the great revival of gymnastics early in the present century and since gymnastic exercises were made obligatory in the army not only has the stature of the soldier been visibly raised, but lor gevity has been materially increased. The benefits of regular gym nastic exercises are forcibly expressed, and the errors to be avoide distinctly pointed out, by Dr. Austin Flint, Jr., in the followin passage: "If properly directed," he writes, "gymnastics will en large and strengthen the various muscles of the trunk, neck, arm and legs, will expand the chest so as to facilitate the play of th lungs, will render the joints supple, and will impart to the perso grace, ease, and steadiness of carriage, combined with strengt elasticity, and quickness of movement; but an injudicious mode c exercise will frequently confirm and aggravate those physical impe fections for which a remedy is sought, by developing the muscul system unequally."

It is even yet often urged that in the athletic rivalry of our colges a man's muscles are trained and developed at the expense of is brains, and we are invited to look at the professional athlete for n illustration of the results which this devotion to physical culure is likely to produce. The professional athlete as he exists toay is, we admit, very far from the ideal standard of manhood as egards mind, but a sufficient reason for that fact is found in the ressure he is under of bestowing all his efforts on the development f the merely animal side of his nature. He is a specialist, and ne specialist is *ipso facto* always unequally developed. Nevertheess, even the mere athlete has his uses, and the chief one is this, that e shows us to what a height of perfection our bodily powers may e carried. But we know that even the professional athlete is not f necessity *only* "a splendid animal." Among the ancient Greeks, s we have seen, the athlete was held in very high honor, and we ay be sure that so highly intellectual a race as the Greeks would ot bestow such eminent distinction on men who had nothing to ommend them but their muscle. Indeed, we know that men of the ery first note among them—philosophers, poets, artists—were victoous athletes. If Chrysippus and Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, and lcibiades did not disdain to "contend for the mastery" in the Greian games, the youths in our colleges need not fear that by folwing those illustrious examples they will be doing anything inonsistent with the character of a student or of a philosopher. Our niversities and colleges are, indeed, only conforming themselves to ne practice of similar institutions in ancient Athens, when they stablish gymnasia within their precincts, for it was in the gymnasia f the city that the Athenian philosophers were wont to deliver neir lectures to their pupils. Hence the origin of the name to nis day applied in Germany to the high schools—gymnasia.

Plato and Aristotle were both of the opinion that no republic ould be deemed perfect in which gymnasia, as a part of their naonal establishments, were neglected. Of course, under the term ymnasia, we must understand all sorts of healthful physical exerise. The *sanior pars populi*—the cultivated minds of a nation—ill be but ill fitted to exert any powerful influence on the less enghtened minds of their fellow countrymen, unless they possess a ertain degree of physical vigor. Unless their nerves and muscles ave been hardened and trained in the school of bodily exercise, the nore will they lack the energy that is needed to govern men, and hat consciousness of strength without which no one can be a leader

of men. If our best citizens are dyspeptics, our worst subjects wil rule the republic. Hence it is the dictate of patriotism that w should encourage such popular games as tend to develop a vigorou *physique*.

Let us, therefore, have provided in every educational establish ment in the land ample facilities for out-door exercise, where th youth of our country may not only acquire muscular vigor, bu where also they may be trained in the practice of the manly virtue of truth, honor, and fair play. The physically weak have to resort t *finesse*, chicanery, duplicity, to hold their own against their stronge competitors; the physically vigorous are wont to assert and main tain their rights after a more manly fashion, and the latter are alway the victors in the end. The avoidance of all unnecessary physica exertion—the result in a great measure of enervating climatic influ ences—may be assigned as one of the principal reasons why Asiatics when opposed to Europeans, have invariably gone to the wall, fron Xerxes' time down to the present day. The inhabitants of moun tainous districts appear to be superior, both in morals and in bodily development, to those dwelling in valleys, mainly because they hav a sharper struggle for existence. They are, by the very necessity of their situations, more active, more self-reliant, more austere i their mode of life, more inured to hardship. It is in such habits a these that the highest and most heroic virtues have their root.

Having thus far endeavored to point out the physical and mora benefits accruing to the individual and to the community from th practice of open-air sports, it remains to consider the matter in it political aspect.

From and even before the day when Menenius Agrippa likene the agrarian uprisings at Rome to the rebellion of the differen members against the stomach, society has been agitated by fears o communism in one form or another, and all sorts of repressiv measures have been tried against it, from the bludgeons of Pisistra tus to the bayonets of Napoleon. Argument, too, has been tried but with no better results. Since logic and force have proved una vailing, we venture the suggestion that perhaps a more general in dulgence in some species of national games might go far to lesse if not quite to nullify the danger, for these games appear well fitte to act as safety-valves of the governmental machine. They migh become effectual antidotes to the subversive theories put forth b mad enthusiasts, whose disordered imaginations are only the natura result of living in a poisoned physical and moral atmosphere. Th

rue medicine for a mind diseased by having been inoculated by
is moral poison is sunlight and abundance of pure air! Conspir-
cies against the commonwealth are not planned in the cottage of
ie peasant; they are hatched in the crowded tenements of great
ities, for they are the homes of glaring vice and abject poverty,
hose legitimate child is Discontent. Paris cherishes the viper of
evolution in her bosom, and, though it often stings her, she still
osters it; while the great capitals of Europe are the nests of insur-
ection. Paris rules France, but England governs London, and it
no doubt by reason of this fact that in the latter city communis-
c or socialistic theories have as yet made little progress.

As a means of uniting the different classes of society in bonds
f friendship, of reconciling the poor to the apparent injustice of
ocial order as it exists, and of exorcising the demon of discontent-
ient, exercise, in the shape of popular games, is of the greatest ad-
antage. In their open competition they teach a man to respect his
eighbor's efforts. They show him that there is no such thing as
uck or fate, and that what a man is to be depends very largely on
is own strenuous industry, watchfulness, and self-control. Surely,
the general introduction among the people of games and sports
ould inculcate that lesson on the mind of every man, they would
onfer an inestimable benefit upon society.

And that these games of competition have this effect is undoubt-
d. In every British regiment it is customary for "scratch teams"
f cricket-players to be formed indiscriminately of officers and pri-
ate soldiers, perfect equality being maintained in the field. British
ilitary discipline has not suffered by this temporary effacement
f the distinction of rank. College menials at English universities,
n like manner, contest with undergraduates in a common ground.
he result in both these instances is, a better feeling between the
ifferent classes. We may be sure that aristocratic arrogance and
ontempt for men of inferior social rank can not long survive under
uch conditions. On the other hand, the menial or the private
oldier finds his self-respect increased, his ambition stimulated—in
hort, he comes to see that indeed

> The rank is but the guinea stamp,

nd that, unless intrinsic worth underlie it, rank only makes a man
nore contemptible.

The stability of England is insured by her liberal peers and her
onservative commoners, and she is the only country in which this

seemingly paradoxical state of society exists. Is not the healthy tone of English political life in a great measure the result of the cultivation of sport by the upper classes, and of the competition of the different classes on a common ground, whether it be the hunting-field or the cricket-green? Had Bismarck guided the restless spirit of the German nation out of the path of war into the peaceful channels of competitive games, there would be less occasion for the present restrictive measures against the Socialist Democrats. If the Russian student were encouraged to devote his superabundant vitality to physical exercise, he might become less of a political visionary, and then there would probably be no need of closing the universities; while, if the entire people had some form of national games, they might cease to be the "empire of the discontented."

As a means of bringing the family of nations into more friendly relations, international athletic contests have within a few years proved to be very effectual. The Anglo-American boat-race, it may safely be affirmed, contributed in a greater degree toward inspiring both nations with mutual respect, and dissipating petty jealousies, than did the much-lauded principle of arbitration, as exemplified in the settlement of the Alabama claims, or in the fisheries award. And like manifestations of good will, mutual regard, and high courtesy have been made in every one of these international contests, whether held here or in the mother country. The proposed polo-match between England and America can only tend, though in a limited degree, perhaps, to strengthen the amicable relations between the two countries. And when the assured victor in the last international walking-match "coached" one of his antagonists, and encouraged him to persevere, he set an example which diplomatists and plenipotentiaries would do well to imitate. Surely our modern public games are not unworthy of their descent from the games of ancient Greece; nor is it altogether visionary to expect that the time will come again when the successful competitor in these contests will receive honor from his fellow citizens comparable to that paid to the Olympian victor "whose native city was considered as ennobled by his success, and who was himself considered sacred. He entered the city through a special breach made in the walls; he was supported at the public expense; and when dead was honored with a public funeral." We are far from thinking it desirable to revive these customs of the ancient Greeks; we simply recommend the spirit in which these high honors were conferred.

If in these few pages we have not proved that the Godolphin arb's progenitor was tethered in Diomede's stable, or put in train-g for the Olympic course ; if we have failed to show that the merican trotter's sire was ever harnessed to a Grecian chariot, we ust we have at least demonstrated that games and sports are of ry high importance, morally, intellectually, and physically. Of e thing there is no doubt, that they are a means of bringing the fferent classes of society amicably together, and of affording to e masses a welcome holiday with rational and healthful amuse-ent, and this is one of the greatest needs of the time.

LLOYD S. BRYCE.

VI.

NOTES ON RECENT PROGRESS IN APPLIED SCIENCE.

The science of to-day, like everything else, material or intellectual, is the child of the past, and our latest discoveries owe their very being to the old and almost forgotten labors and achievements of the earlier ages; just as the earth of to-day owes its present condition and capacity for sustaining the complex existence of modern civilization, with all its refinement and beauty, to the long history of change and development beginning with the original chaos and passing through the periods of monstrous vegetable and animal life of tree-ferns and of saurians, and the other eras of geologic change and coming down through the dark ages of barbarous human development to our own time.

As one of our poets very beautifully expressed this idea:

> What fiery fields of Chaos must be won,
> What battling Titans rear themselves a tomb,
> What births and resurrections greet the sun,
> Before the rose can bloom!
>
> And of some wonder-blossom yet we dream
> Whereof the time that is infolds the seed,—
> Some flower of light, to which the rose shall seem
> A fair and fragile weed.

In consequence of this, it is hardly possible to describe any new development without large reference to the old foundation on which it is built, or the old material out of which it is formed.

Progress in Electric Science.

Thus the most remarkable and striking developments of late have been in subjects involving the principles of electric induction

st brought to light by Faraday in 1831. The Bell telephone and e electric light of to-day are the direct applications of the prin-ple first announced by Faraday in 1831.

A few words as to this principle and its connection with these plications will, then, come in good place, not only to make clear e latest developments in these directions, but also to prepare us r the next steps which may perhaps be taken before this present iting can reach the eye of its readers ; for so rapid is this prog-ss that it even outstrips the marvelous rapidity of the compositor d the power-press.

In brief, then, this important principle is this : Whenever a nductor, such for example as a copper wire, is moved near a mag-t so as to cut those directions in which iron filings arrange them-ves about the poles of a magnet, and which are often called ines of magnetic force "—whenever, we say, a conductor cuts these es, a current of electricity is caused to flow through such a con-ctor. It is evidently immaterial whether the conductor is moved ross the lines of force of a magnet at rest ; or, the conductor being rest, the magnet with its lines of force is moved in reference to e conductor ; or, lastly, whether, both conductor and magnet being rest, the lines of force are caused to move in reference to both gnet and conductor. In either case lines of force will be cut by onductor, and a current will be developed as long as the cutting relative motion between the conductor and lines of force con-ues. It is this simple principle which is at the foundation of all e electric-light machines and most of the telephones now in use.

Coils of wire are made to revolve rapidly near to powerful mag-s, and by this means electric currents are generated which are n used, in one way or another, for the production of light. It st not, however, be forgotten that here, as everywhere else, the at doctrine of "conservation of energy" is maintained—that trine which found a prophetic expression in the proverb, one of ose homely forms was, "You can not *have* your cake and *eat* it ." In other words, and with special application to this case, you n not have an electric current and also the power required to gen-te it.

When the current begins to flow in the conductors or wire coils, develops in them a powerful attraction for the magnets near ich they are moved, and to continue the motion a great force st be continuously applied and expended.

Thus it comes about, that to produce electric currents with these

magneto-electric machines, as they are called, a large amount o mechanical force must be applied, as for example the power o a steam-engine; and thus we get the electric current only by givin for it so much as its equivalent, of energy, which is derived fro the fuel consumed in the furnace of the steam-boiler.

We are, therefore, getting the electric current at the expense o the coal consumed (making no allowance for losses), and, thoug this is very much less expensive than any method before known o obtaining an electric current, we would make a serious mistake we forgot or neglected to include it in making any calculations to the practicability and economy of electricity as a source of ligh or other effect.

Bearing this in mind, however, we find that recent improvemen in the structure of magneto-electric machines have so develope their efficiency, that in the best forms as much as eighty per cen of the energy applied to them is converted into electric current.

In other words, for every hundred horse-power expended i turning the machines, eighty horse-power is converted into electr force, and only twenty horse-power is wasted or lost in doing usele work, such as heating the machine itself.

Compared with other machines, this is a very wonderful pe formance. Our best steam-engines almost exactly reverse the figures; that is to say, our best steam-engines give us an availab power of about twenty per cent. of the energy given out by th fuel burned in their furnaces, and waste eighty per cent. in he thrown up the chimney and otherwise dissipated.

While, therefore, there is an immense margin for improveme in the economy and efficiency of our steam-engines, the magnet electric machines have nearly reached the maximum possible effectiveness, and any one who proposes to double their performan in this respect, either does not know what the good ones now accor plish, or does not understand the subject.

In applying the electric currents which these magneto-electr machines develop to the production of light, two principal mea have been employed: first, the electric arc; second, the incande cence of a heated conductor.

The *electric arc* was first shown by Sir Humphry Davy in 180 and is produced by interrupting a powerful electric current betwe two points of carbon. To accomplish this we have two pieces carbon in contact with each other, and so connected with a ga vanic battery or magneto-electric machine that the current flo

rough them; then, on separating the pieces of carbon gradually om each other, the electric current springs across the gap, carrying with it particles of carbon and carbon vapor, which make a ing bridge by which it continues to travel across.

In thus tearing off particles from one side and hurling them ainst the other, intense heat and light vibrations are occasioned both poles or points, and in the flying fragments, and this is at constitutes the electric arc.

Such an arc may develop a light equal to that of five hundred or twenty thousand candles, and is so far, much the most efficient d economical means by which electric force can be converted into ht.

The best results as yet obtained show that for each horse-power pended in turning the magneto-electric machine a light equal to at of two thousand candles (or one hundred and twenty-five gas-rners) can be obtained.

A first-rate engine should not need more than three pounds of al per horse-power per hour, so that in every case where a light some hundreds of gas-burners in one place is required the light the electric arc would be very economical. The difficulties which present limit its use in this connection are the result of its great ensity and more or less unsteadiness, and the inconvenience of ving a steam-engine in certain localities. Multitudes of ingenious ventors are busy devising electric lamps to overcome the former these difficulties, and without doubt the electric-arc light will ily extend its field of illumination among our factories, work-ops, and public buildings generally.

Electric incandescence, as a source of light, made its appearance about the same time and in the same place as the electric arc, but was first reduced to a practical shape about twenty years ago by de Changy in Paris, and by Mr. Moses G. Farmer in Salem, Massachusetts. Both of these gentlemen seem to have developed electric mps operating by the incandescence of a metallic wire, and having efficient automatic regulator by which their constancy of action s secured; but the great cost of electricity, produced at that time the galvanic battery, caused the abandonment of all efforts to ke any practical use of such apparatus. Now, however, that a atively cheap source of electricity is found in the magneto-elec-c machine, these old plans have been revived, and we find in Mr. ison's English patents a redevelopment of the same thing.

They all operate on the fact that when a powerful current of

electricity traverses an insufficient conductor, as a wire or narro strip of platinum, for example, the same is intensely heated, and becomes luminous. Coils of wire, strips of platinum, or the like, a therefore so arranged that a current shall pass through them, an so make them luminously hot or incandescent. As this incande cence is greatest near the fusing-point of these substances, and the fusion would of course interrupt the action, various ingenious co trivances are adopted by which the current is automatically shut o or diverted if it approaches too near to this disastrous result. Thu for example, the strip of incandescent metal itself so operates a lev that as soon as its expansion reaches a certain degree it closes a ci cuit, which diverts part of the current into another conductor.

There are a multitude of these contrivances, and almost eve day sees new ones added to the list, but so far they have all be very elaborate, often complicated, and, as a rule, expensive instr ments.

Another plan is to use, in place of a metal which *may* be fuse a thin rod of carbon, which can not be fused, and whose tenden to burn is overcome by inclosing it in a glass vessel filled with son gas which can not combine with it, nitrogen for example. Lam of this nature have been largely experimented with, and invento are still laboring upon them, but as yet the success obtained is n such as to warrant their practical introduction into actual use.

In all plans of obtaining light by electric incandescence so f published, the cost of the light has been many times greater th with the electric arc.

On the other hand, by incandescence, lights of moderate pow equal for example to one or two gas-burners, can be produced, a this would be of course a property of essential importance in a general use of electricity for domestic lighting.

It is on these subjects that several of the most ingenious min of the day are now working, and what we have above stated n only gives the present state of the problem, but will prepare t reader to comprehend the new developments as they appear.

The next application of Faraday's discovery of magneto-indu tion is found in the Bell telephone. In this instrument a series electric currents is developed by the movements of a thin plate iron in front of a steel magnet, around whose end a wire is coile As the thin iron plate vibrates to the impulse received from t voice of one speaking near it, the lines of force about the magn are caused to move, and so cut across the coils of wire, and con

ıently develop in them electric currents. These fluctuating elec-
ic currents, carried by a telegraph wire to a distant place, modify
they vary, the attraction of a similar magnet for a like thin iron
ate, and thus this plate repeats the motions of the first one, and
ves to the ear of the listener the motions which constituted the
unds in the spoken words uttered against the first iron plate.

Modifications in form or arrangement of parts have been made
r various experimenters and inventors, but the same principle
rvades all the telephones of this class.

Two other fundamentally different principles, however, have
en and are now used in other classes of telephone :

First, the fluctuation of a current by the change in perfection of
ntacts by variations of pressure. This is found in Edison's car-
n telephone, and in the microphone.

It was long ago shown, by Dr. Robison,* that what we com-
only regard as contact between different bodies is very far from
ing absolute ; that, for example, one plate of smooth glass resting
another did not touch the first by about one five-thousandth of
inch, and that, to bring two pieces of glass an inch square into
en approximate contact, a pressure of one thousand pounds must
exerted. Thus, if two conductors rest on each other, and a current
sses between them, it must leap over this space and experience
sistance to its passage in so doing. Any increase of pressure be-
een the two surfaces will diminish this distance and increase the
w of the current by rendering its passage easier. This principle is
plied in Mr. Edison's carbon telephone by using a little button of
npblack and a plate of platinum as the surfaces of contact between
ıich an electric current is made to flow. If we speak against an
ıstic plate which presses these surfaces together, the vibrations
mmunicated by the voice will vary this pressure, and correspond-
gly vary the current flowing. This varying current carried to a
stant place will modify the action of a magnet on a thin iron disk,
d so repeat the motions, sounds, or words which were the original
use of the fluctuations in the electric current. In place of this
rbon button and platinum plate as a variable contact, we may
ve one piece of metal loosely resting on another, as, for example,
e iron nail laid across another, and thus produce one of the most
rprising forms of the microphone ; for, with such a rough com-
ıation as this, what we say to the loose nail will be heard by our
end miles away.

* "System of Mechanical Philosophy," Edinburgh, 1822, vol. i., p. 247.

The other principle applicable to telephonic communication wa no doubt involved in some of the early experiments of Mr. Elish Gray, although first distinctly announced by Mr. Edison. It is this

When an electric current passes between certain substances, i greatly modifies their friction. Thus, if we pass a current from piece of platinum into a strip of paper moistened with potash solution and try to draw the platinum along the surface of the paper whil the current is being varied, we can not move it steadily, but it will g by jerks, because the friction will so vary that the platinum now drag and now slides. It is easy to see how this can be applied to th transmission of sound. Let the current be fluctuated by the voice by the use of the carbon and platinum contact, for example, an then, at the other end of the line, make the same current pass fron a platinum brake, connected with a sounding-board, into a rolle covered with prepared paper, and kept constantly turning so as t draw the brake forward by friction. As the current varies, the fric tion varies; and thus the sounding-board is variously pulled an made to vibrate, or, in other words, to sing.

It is just now announced that Mr. Edison has, by the use of thi principle, produced a talking telephone which speaks louder tha any other heretofore made, and can, in fact, be heard all over a larg room.

Progress in Molecular Physics, or the Mechanics of the Atoms.

Among the most interesting developments in recent scientifi research are those which seem almost to give us a view of the ulti mate constitution of matter, and to be on the point of introducin us face to face with the original atoms or molecules out of whic material substances are built.

The remarkable researches of Professor William Crookes, o London, which we may best indicate in a word as those groupin themselves about the "radiometer," are already old, but they hav been followed up by the same investigator on a new line, with th most admirable results. Here, however, as elsewhere, we must g back to the older foundation in order truly to appreciate and com prehend the later superstructure.

Crookes's radiometer and related experiments showed essentiall the following facts about the behavior of the atoms or molecules o gases and solid substances:

When a heated solid is surrounded by a gas, like air at its usua density, the rapid molecular vibrations of the hot solid, which cor

itute its heat, cause it to dash off or strike off those atoms or olecules of the air which run against it. For it must be remembered that the whole mass of air is believed to be made up of inute particles or molecules, perfectly elastic, and vibrating with reat velocities, but so crowded together that no particle can travel ar before it strikes against another, and so reverses and exchanges s motion. Indeed, if we could see the molecules or particles in a ass of air, the whole would shimmer, as it were, with the eternal, stless, back-and-forth motion of the innumerable flying particles.

Now, suppose that we have a body hot on one side and cold on e other, surrounded by air at ordinary density, what will happen?

The vibrating air-particles which strike on the hot side will be riven off with a greater velocity than they had on arriving, and ose striking the cold side will only rebound with the same velocir they had before, and the difference in reaction between these vo sets we might perhaps suppose would make the hot body move ackward away from the hot side where it was kicking off the airarticles so violently. But, on further reflection, we will see that ch a result ought not to follow; for, though the hot surface of e body would drive itself back by its violent striking off of the r-particles, yet this action would be compensated by another, amely, the air-particles so driven off would, by reason of the reater motion they had received, fly farther, and carry off with em more of the surrounding air-particles than they would if they ad only moved at the common rate. The result of this would be at they would be longer in coming back to strike again against e hot body, and would also have delayed the arrival of other parcles which would otherwise have struck the hot body, and this tion will exactly compensate and counteract the other so that the ot side of the body will have no tendency to cause motion in it. ow, however, let us suppose that we inclose this body hot on one de but cold on the other in a vessel and begin to pump out the r from around it.

As we exhaust the air the cloud of flying particles will get inner and thinner, and each particle will move farther and farther efore it reaches collision with one of its neighbors, and the parcles dashed off by the hot side will keep back the general crowd moving air-particles to a greater and greater distance. As long, owever, as there *is* such an outlying and surrounding crowd of articles, in whose mass the heat-repelled molecules expend their rce, the reaction produced in the hot side of the body, by driving

these last-named particles violently off, will be exactly compensated by the corresponding diminution in the blows it would receive from this crowd of normally moving particles which are thus held off by the others.

When, however, the exhaustion reaches such a point that there are no longer particles enough to form this outlying crowd, then the struck particles, which are violently repelled, will encounter no others, but will fly all the way in a free path to the surface of the inclosing vessel.

Moreover, it will also be true at the same time that the air-particles which strike on the cold side of the body will likewise move in free paths, without other than occasional collision, until they strike on the surface of the containing vessel—for of course the whole interior of the exhausted vessel must be equally rarefied, and the particles equally scattered in all parts.

Now, then, it is evident that under these conditions a new set of results will follow. The hot side of the body, repelling or striking off the air-particles violently, will thereby drive itself back as a rower drives his boat forward by pushing the water back; while, on the other hand, the cold side of the body would not repel or drive off the air-particles striking it with any such energy, and would not therefore cause in itself any such reactionary motion as would balance that developed by the hot side. The unequally heated body would therefore move, its hot surface retreating and its cold side advancing, as we might say.

Yet further: The particles violently thrown off from the hot side would strike the opposite side of the containing vessel more powerfully than would those more gently thrown back by the cold side; and consequently, if the unequally heated body were fixed, and the containing vessel were free to move, it would move away from the hot side and toward the cold side of the interior body.

To prepare a body hot on one side and cold on the other is not difficult. Dr. Crookes first did this by taking a little package of sheets of mica, and coating this package on one side with lamp-black. When this was exposed to sunlight, the black side grew hotter than the other. Such little packages of mica, mounted like the paddles of a wheel, made the motive power of his radiometers, and moved round as though the black or hot side was backing away from the air in front of it.

By floating the glass vessel which contained the little wheel on water, and then preventing the wheel from moving by an appro-

iate use of magnets, he showed that the glass vessel would then rn round, as if driven away from the black or hot sides of the ddles.

By another arrangement, he also caused the current of repelled -particles to turn round a sort of propeller-wheel.

By these and countless like experiments, we were for the first ne introduced to air under such conditions that we could observe e behavior of its individual particles or molecules when they were ting not in mass, but each on its own account like elastic balls ing about between the cushions of a billiard-table, only without ss of motion and without rest.

Now, using the same highly rarefied air or other like gas as the aterial for his experiment, Dr. Crookes has shown what is its havior when electricity, in place of heat, is the exciting cause of e motions studied.

He finds that just as a hot body caused violent motion in the -particles which came in contact with it, so one electrically ex-ed produces similar motions in the adjacent air-particles. As a sult of these motions, the air-particles immediately around the ex-ed body seem to drive away the mass of the air, and, by their ntinual bombarding or pommeling of the rest, keep them at a dis-nce, which varies with the degree of electrical excitement, the rare-ction of the gas, and other conditions.

The limit of this "clearing," kept open in this way, is marked a luminous area, whose light is supposed to be produced by the ows of the flying molecules upon the relatively stationary outlying owd.

A house on fire, surrounded by a disorderly crowd, kept off to a rtain distance by the clubs of an active police force, is an imagi-ary picture which might be, perhaps, in some sort suggestive of e state of affairs here supposed, only among the air-molecules the olice keep off the crowd by "butting" at them.

When the exhaustion is carried to such an extent that the out-ing particles, which constituted the crowd, are all removed, the xcited ones run all the way to the walls of the vessel before they ncounter anything to restrain their motion, and then, running their eads against this solid wall, they develop by the blow a very beau-ful and peculiar phosphorescent light.

The motions of these particles are very accurately directed in raight lines at right angles to the excited surface, and thus they an be cut off from any part of the interior of the vessel by a screen

of glass, mica, or other body, transparent or opaque. Moreover they are capable of producing mechanical motion.

Thus, if a little paddle-wheel is hung in the interior of one of these vessels, in such a position that the storm of flying molecules is shaded off from half of its paddles, it will be driven round just as is an undershot water-wheel in a mill-race.

To describe all the remarkable experiments which have been made in this connection would fill this entire Journal, and we must therefore, here leave this remarkable investigation, which seems to introduce us, like the microscope, to a new and wonderful world of the indefinitely minute.

HENRY MORTON.

VII.

LAW AND DESIGN IN NATURE.

Prof. Simon Newcomb. Rev. Noah Porter, D. D., LL. D.
Rev. Joseph Cook. Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D. D.
Rev. James McCosh, D.D., LL. D.

rofessor NEWCOMB.

The object aimed at in the present discussion is to take a first ep toward securing a better understanding of each other's position etween two conflicting schools of thought respecting the course of ature. One of these schools we may call that of the scientific hilosophy, because it is for the most part represented by investiga- rs or students of science. The other is that of the religious phi- sophy, but in designating it thus we do not mean to imply that it necessarily unscientific, any more than that the scientific school necessarily irreligious. Perhaps it would be better to call it the eological school of thought, because it seeks in Nature to find proof a directing Mind, while the other school studies Nature solely to arn her phenomena, and to draw such philosophic conclusions as ay be founded on their study.

Whether there is a necessary conflict between the views of the vo schools, we shall not pretend to say; we are concerned only ith the fact that a conflict does exist, and that it turns on certain estions respecting what we may call the fundamental methods of ature. It is assumed on both sides that there is some sort of uni- rm plan and method in the course of Nature, but there is not only agreement, but no mutual understanding as to what that plan d method are. To the scientific school the other presents itself as iticising its fundamental position, and yet in no case directly deny- g it. So far as can be understood, the theological school refuses express any opinion on the fundamental proposition on which the hole discussion turns, but appears equally ready to admit or deny according to the bearing of the argument to be founded on such dmission or denial. It is not pretended that this is a fair state- ent of the position they mean to occupy, but only that it is the anner in which their position presents itself to the other school. We need not discuss the question which side the fault is on, since

any party which does not understand the other has a right to state his difficulties, and to ask the other for explanation. The first step toward clearing the ground for a mutual understanding is, to state and explain the position taken by the scientific school, and to inquire of the other whether this position is entirely untenable. The fundamental postulate of the scientific philosophy is a principle founded on a limited series of observations, and extended by induction to the whole course of Nature. It may be expressed in the following words:

The whole course of Nature, considered as a succession of phenomena, is conditioned solely by antecedent causes, in the action of which no regard to consequences is either traceable by human investigation, or necessary to foresee the phenomena.

The sole question presented for discussion in the present series of papers is the following: To what extent is the above postulate consistent with sound doctrine?

The somewhat vague term "sound doctrine" is used purposely in place of a more specific one, in order to give the representatives of the opposing school the widest range of position from which to express acquiescence or dissent. We might have inquired whether the doctrine is consistent with the action of a Supreme Will in the processes of Nature; whether it can be reconciled with the doctrine of final causes, or with any other doctrine respecting the relation of the Creator to his works which one might think proper to propound. But, by doing so, we should narrow the field of inquiry in such a way as to make the result indecisive, and therefore unsatisfactory.

It must also be noted that we do not inquire whether the hypothesis is itself sound in doctrine, but only whether it is consistent with soundness. It would be vain to expect in a single discussion to reach any result respecting its absolute truth or falsity, or even to argue its truth in its widest extent. The question of its truth enters in this indirect way: that, if it is inconsistent with any admitted or observed fact, it will be allowable to demonstrate the inconsistency. So also if it may be accepted within certain definable limits, but is not admissible beyond those limits, that fact ought to be clearly understood. And we may remark, at the outset, that if one admits that the postulate may, for aught we know, be true for the whole field of phenomena, he admits all that the scientific school claims in this connection. The postulate is, in fact, presented as a scientific and not as a theological principle, and the question whether it is valid as such must be settled before any conclusion in a field higher than that of phenomena can be founded upon it.

In order to confine the discussion as closely as possible to the :act points of real or possible differences, we shall briefly explain e postulate in such a manner that there shall be as little room as ssible for misunderstanding it. In doing so we shall make no tempt to argue its truth or falsity, but only seek to make known meaning and scope. The difficulties which have heretofore arisen ve their origin partly in a misconception as to what the scientific ilosopher means when he speaks of reducing phenomena to gen- al laws, or explaining them by the operation of natural causes, d partly from a failure to distinguish clearly between phenomena such and the abstract ideas with which they may be associated. is worthy of remark that the difficulty of understanding the stulate arises not from its complexity or the abstract character the ideas involved in it, but from its extremely simple and con- ete character. It involves no ideas but such as are familiar from ildhood and really understood by children, though they may not able to express them in language. We are indeed in a difficulty nilar to that which might be encountered by a rustic when called on to define what he meant by a loaf of bread before a Professor Logic, and to word his definition in such a way as to stand good ainst all the Professor's analysis. If our own attempt fails to nd analysis, we shall repose on the same hope that would sustain e rustic—namely, that, after all, his interlocutor understood what oaf of bread was just as well as he did himself.

The first point to be explained is, what is meant by considering e course of Nature simply as a succession of phenomena. The ason for this restriction is, that we must agree about phenomena fore we can have any intelligent discussion respecting what lies hind or above them. The meaning of the restriction is, that we minate from our discussion all those abstract conceptions which e frequently associated with phenomena, but which do not serve assist in defining phenomena. Among these conceptions are the posing ones of potentiality and necessity, which several schools of ilosophers persist in trying to impose on phenomena. These con- otions have no place whatever in scientific investigation, and are erefore not to be in any way brought into the present discussion. r instance, the scientific philosophy does not assert that gravita- n "must" act, that a stone "necessarily" falls, or that the course Nature "can not" do otherwise than conform to mathematical ws; it only asserts that as a simple matter of fact gravitation es act, and events in Nature do occur in conformity with defina-

ble laws. If we admit this, the question is settled without discussing the question of necessity. Nor is it any argument against the postulate to maintain or show that things may, might, could, or would be, different from what they are, because the postulate considers things only as they are and not as they may be. The only modifications of a proposition which it admits are: The fact is so; the fact is not so; I do not know whether the fact is or is not so. The latter, it will be remarked, does not express anything respecting the fact, but only a state of ignorance confined to our own minds.

Another class of conceptions associated with phenomena, but entirely excluded in the present discussion, are those of the invisible forces or causes which may lie behind the visible course of Nature. Respecting this every one is at liberty to hold any opinion without coming into conflict with the scientific philosophy, provided only that he draws no conclusion inconsistent with what the other believes to be a legitimate induction from observation. For instance, it is not objectionable to the postulate to say that all things are determined by a Divine Will, because the postulate assumes nothing respecting such will, and has nothing whatever to do with its supposed immanence in the whole course of Nature, unless conclusions inconsistent with observed facts are founded upon it. So long as the religious school admits that stones fall, water runs, and storms move, according to the scientific postulate, they may place any occult causes behind those phenomena which do not lead to results incompatible with it. For the same reason there is no objection to maintaining that things were designed to be as they are unless such design is considered to be a physical cause which can be traced by studying such things.

We now reach the main proposition, that the course of Nature is conditioned solely by antecedent causes, in the action of which no regard to consequences can be traced. We use the word "conditioned" instead of "determined," to do away with all conception of necessity, and to avoid being understood as saying that things must be instead of simply saying that things are. We also use the very ambiguous word "cause," susceptible of being pulled to pieces, and shown to mean everything, anything, or nothing, at pleasure, in its ordinary every-day sense, which everybody understands, and which therefore need not be further defined. If it be replied that this every-day sense is vague, and susceptible of minute subdivision into different meanings, we reply that any meaning consistent with ordinary ideas may be assigned to it.

The further distinction of what is meant can be better under-
ood by example than in any other way. Let us take the case of
e destruction of a theatre by fire, and inquire why it occurred.
'e can give three answers:

1. That the fire was the work of a Higher Being, who desired
attain some end. Perhaps there were bad people in the theatre,
10 were to be punished or prevented from further crime; or per-
ps the theatre was injuring the morals of the community, and
is therefore burned for the public good.

2. That the cause was entirely inscrutable, and therefore such
to elude all human investigation.

3. That it occurred in one of the many ways by which every
e knows that fires may occur, and that the character of the thea-
or the intentions of the wicked people had nothing at all to do
th the matter.

Of these three possible modes of occurrence of the fire, only the
rd is admitted by the postulate of the scientific school as afford-
g an explanation. By an explanation we mean the statement of
general principle covering all cases of the origin of fires, and of
ne special facts showing the fire to be the combined result of the
t and the principle. For instance, whenever a match is rubbed
a certain way and in a certain position relative to a piece of
apery, a fire will be the result. In this case the required condi-
ns were fulfilled by an actress treading upon a match. The fire
ll always result when these same conditions are fulfilled, no mat-
what the character of the play or of the audience. But, accord-
g to the scientific postulate, we could make no such general asser-
n respecting the first explanation, which is therefore inadmissible
an explanation.

As another example we may take the motions of the planets.
assuming that these motions take place in accordance with the
v of universal gravitation, the astronomer is enabled to predict,
ars or centuries in advance, that the moon's shadow will pass over
rtain regions of the earth at certain stated times. Why can he
t predict every natural occurrence—the earthquakes, the storms,
e floods, the plagues of the future—with equal certainty? The
swer of the postulate is, that it is only on account of his want of
owledge and want of reasoning power. A mind capable of ex-
essing in language the necessary data, fully acquainted with cer-
in laws, and possessed of a calculus of sufficient power, could fore-
e the end of all things from the beginning by a process the same

in kind as that by which the mathematician foresees the celesti motions. The celestial motions, phenomenally conditioned by t law of gravitation and by the initial circumstances of the motio are supposed to symbolize the whole course of inanimate Nature, far at least as the phenomena are concerned.

We have presented an antithesis between the theory present for discussion and the theory of final causes which assumes th things have been arranged with a visible purpose. But the grou is frequently taken that there is really no antagonism betwe these two theories, and that the doctrine of a course of Nature pr ceeding in accordance with invariable laws is entirely consiste with the doctrine of final causes. But, notwithstanding this occ sional assertion of consistency, every advance of the scientific ph losophy toward presenting a complete theory of the course Nature in accordance with their doctrine is vigorously contest Now, if theologians find the doctrine alluded to not inconsiste with their views, they have no right to contest it in the mann that they do ; and the scientific philosopher has a right to presu that their seeming inconsistency is founded on some failure b tween the two schools to give the same meaning to the term, la of Nature. An understanding on this point can be best reache not by an abstract definition, but by concrete examples of t meaning of the scientific postulate, like those just given. Just far as the theologian can reconcile the motions of the planets the burning of the theatre with final causes or with a directi hand, so far is he at liberty to reconcile the whole course of Natu in the same way.

We have stated the scientific postulate in the widest and mo general terms. Had we been disposed to narrow the inquiry, might have substituted for it a statement of the doctrine of evol tion, because it is here that the dispute is at present raging wi most bitterness. But, since the doctrine of evolution is itself foun ed on the postulate, our discussion is more complete if we inclu the more general proposition. The theory of evolution maintai that certain forms formerly supposed to be the result of spec creation are really the product of natural causes of precisely t same character with those which cause the movement of stor and the chemical changes going on in the world around us. Hen a consideration of the theological tendencies of the one will inclu the same thing for the other.

SIMON NEWCOMB.

E. PORTER.

PROFESSOR NEWCOMB, it will be observed, opens the discussion y giving his views of the antagonistic positions taken by the ientific and theological schools respectively in regard to the urse of Nature. So far as the last school is concerned, I am mpelled to say that he evinces more candor and desire to be just an success in stating what he conceives this school to hold. hat he criticises it for holding, and implies that it does hold, is mething like this : The theological school conceives final causes be coördinate with efficient or physical causes, holding that ey are manifested by similar indications and are tested by similar periments. In the example cited of the burning of a theatre, e scientific school recognizes only physical agencies or causes ; e theological discerns a final cause, or the purpose of "a Higher eing who desired to attain some end," i. e., a moral effect, and rectly produces it, as the torch causes the physical conflagration.

I can not accept this as a correct statement of what is taught or plied by any school of thinkers which holds that design or final use is manifest in the course of Nature, or must be assumed to ex-ain it. The arguments which Professor Newcomb arrays against is view seem to me as uncalled for as the fiction toward which he rects them is imaginary.

Leaving this point to return to it again, I pass to his view of the fundamental postulate of the scientific philosophy," as it is ated by himself. "The whole course of Nature, considered as a ccession of phenomena, is conditioned solely by antecedent causes, the action of which no regard to consequences is either traceable human investigation or necessary to foresee the phenomena." his statement, it will be seen, is divided into two portions, an firmation and a denial. The affirmation seems to me defective for s omissions, the denial to be false, and the postulate itself to be erefore inconsistent with sound doctrine. By sound doctrine I ean truth of any kind, whether it pertains to the science of Nature, e science of man, or the science of God. I do not argue from the ferences or consequences to theology that might follow from the stulate that it is therefore untrue, but that it is unsound in what omits and denies, and for this reason is inconsistent with "sound octrine." I have no favors to ask and no appeals to make as a eologian, but write only in the interests of science and the truth.

The defects of the affirmative part of the postulate are made ore obvious by the author's subsequent explanations of his mean-

ing. He tells us that, in asserting that science concerns itself with the succession of phenomena, he desires to get rid of those abstract conceptions which are often associated with phenomena—particularly "potentiality and necessity." We are tempted to inquire whether these conceptions are any more abstract than the conception of "succession"? We also inquire whether the assertion in the postulate, that this succession of phenomena is "*conditioned* solely by *antecedent causes*," does not imply the presence and validity of these very conceptions of potentiality and necessity? If the author denies causation with potentiality and necessity, he must limit science to inquiries respecting "succession," and assign to it a narrower sphere than the positivists who recognize the relation of similarity and succession.

He proceeds to assert that the only question with which science concerns itself is what can be established as *a fact*. We wait to be informed what he means by a fact or phenomenon. Does he mean that science concerns itself with facts or phenomena as such, or with facts and phenomena as *related?* If the latter, is not the question open whether the relations of *design* may not as properly be called facts as the relations of *time* or *causation?*

He adds, all "invisible forces or causes" which "lie behind the visible course of Nature" must be excluded, and again, all "occult causes." But why are relations of design, or the facts or phenomena which they explain, any more invisible or occult than the relations of succession or causation? Perhaps by "invisible" and "occult" he means spiritual as contrasted with physical, and thus would limit Nature to material forces and phenomena, excluding spirit from holding any place in Nature or any relations to Nature, or any agency in its phenomena, which science is bound to recognize.

Whatever view we take of the affirmation of this postulate, it unwarrantably narrows the conception of the course of Nature as the subject-matter of science. We would widen that conception as follows:

1. The course of Nature includes the phenomena and facts of spirit as truly as those of matter. Scientifically considered, the one are no more "invisible," "occult," or "abstract" than the other. Of the two, the agency of spirit is more visible, manifest, and concrete than any agency of matter in the production of that effect which we call science.

2. These facts or phenomena, these forces or agents, are connected by various relations, as of time and space, involving number and geometry; also of likeness or analogy, cause and effect, and pur-

ps others. These are the materials from and by which science is nstructed by the rational spirit, as it determines the properties, rces, and preëminently *the laws* of both matter and spirit. That ofessor Newcomb should fail to emphasize the preëminence of ws as the subject-matter of science may well occasion surprise.

3. Laws are affirmed of the action of forces as "conditioned" modified mathematically in the production of effects by relations tine or space; also as conditioned by one another when two or ore forces act together in the production of any constant or regu- effect. In the discovery of forces, properties, or laws, science is t, however, shut up to the use of mathematical tests or verifying periments. Some sciences of matter, even, e. g., physiology, do t admit these criteria. Even those which do, recognize very gely the facts and analogies, the interpretations and probabili- s, which precede and follow such tests. Every one of them kes the most liberal use of facts and relations, which must be as- med as the preconditions of the experimental element in induction.

4. A universe of law is, *ipso facto*, a universe of design. A ourse of Nature" the phenomena of which occur in regular succes- n, much more a course of Nature conditioned by causes, is nei- er thinkable nor explicable except by antecedent and controlling rpose. Professor Newcomb says it is assumed that there "is me sort of *uniform plan and method* in the course of Nature." t plan and method imply design, or at the least are best explained design. Design is objective thought—"a plan or method," "the *ndamental* method of Nature," as Professor Newcomb elsewhere ys. Objective thought is completed and explained by a subjec- e thinker whose plans and methods science interprets.

5. Induction itself requires design, or "a plan or method in the urse of Nature" as its postulate. Professor Newcomb says that e fundamental postulate of the scientific philosophy is "founded a limited series of observations, and extending by induction to e whole course of Nature." But he forgets that he has already ovided a postulate still more *fundamental*—if this is not an Hi- rnicism—in asserting "a plan and method" in Nature. More- er, what he calls "extending by induction" can be explained and stified only by a belief in interpretable analogies, which are ex- icable only by design, or "fundamental methods of Nature."

6. The course of Nature furnishes constant examples of the in- raction of matter and spirit. Subjective thought makes itself anifest as objective thought through material phenomena. Though

the same media, objective thought and subjective thought are i
terpreted by the rapid processes of natural induction. Moreov
thought or spirit controls matter and produces and prevents, mo
fies and arrests, the operation of physical agencies without hind
ing their activity or interfering with their laws. It is true the mutu
relations of spiritual and material force are very imperfectly und
stood, and the laws of their coaction are inexactly determined, b
the fact that they act in harmony with one another—while both a
potent factors to varying effects—can not be questioned. All this
affirmed in the postulate of *a plan or method* in Nature, and co
firmed by our experiments and observations.

7. In the economy of Nature, spirit is of greater significance th
matter, and the phenomena and effects of the physical universe proce
in subservience to ends which concern rational and sentient being
This is assumed by Science itself, and by Art, the servitor of Scien
What were the unknown and the unused powers of Nature, we
they reflected by no interpreting mind and transfigured by no in
tative or constructive skill? What were these intellectual achie
ments of science and art, if they did not minister to the enjoymen
of sentient souls? What were sentient enjoyment, were it not us
as a motive for gratitude and love and worship in those who,
knowledge, enjoyment, and duty are like God, the Being who
the fundamental postulate of all science, and the moral Ruler
the spirits who interpret his thoughts, his feelings, and his will?

Thus far we have sought to supply what is omitted in what P
fessor Newcomb affirms of the course of Nature. Our enlarged d
nition will enable us briefly to dispose of *his denial*, viz., "in t
action of which no regard to consequences is either traceable
human investigation or necessary to foresee the phenomena."
"a regard to consequences," he must mean consequences as
signed, not merely physical sequences, but psychical or spiritual
fects, more exactly sentient or moral good or evil. When he sa
that these "can not be traceable by human investigation," he m
mean that they can not be tested by a certain class of scientific crite
or processes, i. e., by mathematical formulæ or physical experimen
Taken in this sense his words are true; but if he means that th
presence and agency can not be discerned and proved by evide
as satisfactory as that which is technically called scientific, and inde
by evidence precisely similar to that which is accepted for ma
facts and truths in physical science, we dissent from him altogeth
No man who rightly estimates the variety in the kinds of evide

hich enforces our belief in the various facts and truths of physical ience would deny that design or purpose is as clearly traceable in any of the arrangements and phenomena of Nature as the causes laws that are ascertained by experiment or induction.

In the example of the destruction of a theatre by fire, Professor ewcomb gives three possible answers to the question "why it oc- rred." Overlooking that "why" in such a connection may mean whence," "how," or "for what," as it asks for answers in the rms of *a cause*, *a law*, or *an end*, he insists that only one of two swers can be given, viz., either "the fire was the work of an tion of a Higher Being," or was the effect of any of the ordi- ry physical agencies, and reasons as though the one necessarily cluded the other. In other words, he overlooks the solution that e effect might be caused by physical agencies, and still be de- gned by God.

He subsequently refers to this last position as possible, but he viously regards it as a theory for which theologians are re- onsible and are bound to look after, but which has no scientific lue. Had he but reflected that *events* in Nature and spirit, whether signed or undesigned, are to be distinguished from the *forces* and en from the *laws of Nature*, and that similar forces, acting under ed laws, are capable of an indefinite variety of effects, and that indefinite variety of physical effects may be adjusted to an ually indefinite variety of psychical needs by a designing mind, would have seen that science provides the amplest room for the complishment of the utmost conceivable variety of the designs of Higher Being, and all by means of the forces and laws of Nature.

The example from the motions of the planets he presses to an- her application. In astronomy, he says, we not only can explain e present but can predict the future, and, had we the same insight to the agents and laws of other phenomena, we could in like man- r predict the minutest event in any department of the physical uni- rse. From this he would have us conclude that the possibility of ferring "a visible purpose" is excluded if design is admitted. To is we reply that the constancy of the operations of Nature and the nsequent possibility of foreseeing the minutest consequences are more inconsistent with the belief in design in the future than an sight into these forces and operations of Nature is inconsistent ith such belief at any present moment. But why, then, do theo- gians so vigorously contest "every advance of the scientific phi- sophy toward a complete theory of the course of Nature in accord-

ance with their doctrines?" We reply that, had Professor Nev comb, in this and other discussions of this topic, insisted that th course of Nature as truly manifests design as it does the causes the successions of phenomena, one theologian at least would n have vigorously contested his opinions of design, however unsati factory he might have found some of his conceptions of the sphe and postulates of science.

We ought not to be surprised that Professor Newcomb, bein an astronomer, should so confidently assert that the celestial motio are supposed "to symbolize the whole course of inanimate Nature. But Nature is also animate and ensouled, and the forces and law which control the activities of life and spirit may not be symbo ized by the celestial motions. The eminent Du Bois-Reymond, i his well-known address on the limits of our knowledge of Natur after discoursing of what he calls the astronomical knowledge an foreknowledge of Nature's forces and laws and events, draws sharp line between the field of this *astronomical knowledge* an the agencies and relations in the course of Nature which can neve be thus mastered. In respect to some of these questions he is co tent to say, *ignoramus*—in respect to others, *ignorabimus*. If th is true of the forces and relations of Nature, how much more mu it be true of the relations which the self-existent Creator holds t the phenomena and laws of both matter and spirit as they manife his thoughts and accomplish his designs!

NOAH PORTER.

MR. COOK.

KEPLER relates that one day, when he had long meditated o atoms and their combinations, he was called to dinner by his wif who laid a salad on the table. "Dost thou think," said he to he "that if from the creation plates of tin, leaves of lettuce, grains o salt, drops of oil and vinegar, and fragments of hard-boiled egg were floating in space in all directions and without order, chanc could assemble them to-day to form a salad?" "Certainly not s good a one," replied his fair spouse, "nor so well seasoned as this. (Claude Bertrand, "Les Fondateurs de l'Astronomie moderne," p. 154.

In Baron d'Holbach's parlor, in a company of atheists, the witt Abbé Galiani said: "I will suppose, gentlemen, that he among yo who is the most fully convinced that the world is the effect of chanc is playing with three dice—I do not say in a gambling-house, but i

ıe best house in Paris. His antagonist throws sixes once, twice, ırice, four times—in a word, constantly. However short the dura- on of the game, my friend Diderot, thus losing his money, will nhesitatingly say, without a moment's doubt: 'The dice are aded; I am in a bad house.' What, then, philosopher? Because n or a dozen throws of the dice have emerged from the box so as make you lose six francs, you believe firmly that this is in conse- ıence of an adroit manœuvre, an artful combination, a well-planned guery; but, seeing in this universe so prodigious a number of mbinations, thousands of times more difficult and complicated, ore sustained and useful, you do not suspect that the dice of Na- ıre are also loaded, and that there is above them a great rogue who kes pleasure in catching you."

In a corner of his garden, a Scotch philosopher, the wise Beattie, ew with his finger the three initial letters of his child's name, wed the furrows with cresses, and smoothed the earth. The child as only six or seven years of age, and was learning to read, but ıd been taught nothing concerning God. "Ten days after," says eattie, "the child came running to me all amazed, and told me his ıme had grown in the garden. I smiled at these words, and ap- eared not to attach much importance to what he had said. But e insisted on taking me to see what had happened. 'Yes,' said on coming to the place, 'I see well enough that it is so, but there nothing wonderful in this—it is a mere accident,' and went away. ut he followed me, and, walking at my side, said very seriously: That can not be. Some one must have planted the seeds to make ıe letters.' 'You think, then, this is not the result of chance?' Yes,' said the boy firmly, 'I think so.' 'Well, then, look at your- lf; consider your hands and fingers, your legs and feet, and all our members. Do they not seem to you regular in their appear- ıce and useful in their service? Can they be the result of ıance?' 'No,' was the answer, 'some one must have made them.' Who is that some one?' I asked him, and he replied that he did ot know. I then made known to him the name of the great eing who made all the world; and the lesson was never forgot- n, nor the circumstance which led to it."

These familiar concrete examples emphasize the distinction made rominent by Chalmers, and after him by Mill, between the laws of ıatter and the collocations of matter. "We can imagine all the resent and existing laws of matter to be in full operation," said halmers ("Natural Theology," ii., 11), "and yet, just for want of a

right local disposition of parts, the universe might be that wild, un digested medley of things in which no one trace or character of a designing architect was at all discernible." Mr. Mill says ("Logic," iii., 12, 16) that "collocations as well as laws are necessary to the operation of Nature," and he does not overlook the profound truth that "the laws of Nature do not account for their own origin." Professor Newcomb glances at this distinction, but apparently does not see that in doing so he makes a concession which flatly contradicts his theory. "The celestial motions," he tells us, are "phenomenally conditioned by the law of gravitation *and* by the initial circumstances of the motions." The question is, What accounts for those "initial circumstances"? Is any "regard for consequences" traceable in them? The word "and" in the above sentence of Professor Newcomb's is in fatal conflict with the word "solely" in his postulate.

A slovenly observation of facts and a lack of rigor in applying to the explanation of facts the principle that every change must have an adequate cause are the most ordinary sources of skepticism as to the existence of design in Nature. A specialist may be lynx eyed and yet wall-eyed.

Is there in the universe intention not my own? Every one answers, "Yes—in other human beings." But, precisely the same argument which proves to me that a human being other than myself has had an intention in any given work proves that a Supreme Intelligence has had an intention in what is called Nature. It is inconsistent with sound doctrine for me to deny that other human beings have intentions. It is for the same reason inconsistent with sound doctrine for me to deny that the Supreme Intelligence has intentions, or that Nature has final as well as efficient causes?

1. Let cause mean all that is necessary to explain an effect.

2. In a statue of Hercules we shall have, therefore, according to Aristotle's distinctions between causes, first, a material cause in the marble; an efficient cause in the chisel of the sculptor; a formal cause in the shape of the statue; and a final cause in its destination to be set up to adorn a temple.

3. All these causes may coexist. Neither in man's work nor in Nature does the operation of efficient causes shut out that of final causes.

4. The fullest proof that the course of Nature is governed by efficient causes would be no disproof that it is also governed by final causes. To prove that a statue is made by a chisel is no disproof that it was made in order to represent Hercules, and to be set up in a temple.

5. It is the absurd claim of many physicists, who have no

udied philosophy, that efficient and final causes exclude each other, ut the better educated of physicists make no such claim.

Huxley says : " The teleological and mechanical views of Nature e not necessarily mutually exclusive. The teleologist can always fy the evolutionist to disprove that the primordial molecular ar- ngement was not *intended* to evolve the phenomena of the uni- rse."

6. Without here raising the question whether the theory of evolu- n is true or false, it is evident that it concerns only a question of ocess, or answers the question *How?* and not the question *Why?*

7. But the question *How?* does not exclude the question *Why?* d so the theory of evolution does not render final causes either npossible or useless.

8. Combinations of repeated and multiplex phenomena, such that ey converge to one effect, exist in countless numbers in Nature.

9. Convergence of phenomena in repeated and multiplex cases is self a phenomenon, and requires a cause.

10. When a certain coincidence of phenomena is remarked con- antly, it is not enough to explain each phenomenon by referring it its antecedent ; it is necessary to give a precise reason for the incidence itself. (See Janet, " Final Causes," book i., chapter i., d book ii., chapter i.)

11. Certain combinations, as for example of the parts of the eye, e intelligible only on the supposition that millions of forces have mbined so as to produce sight.

12. There is here a strange accord of the past with the future.

13. It is a fact of observation that this accord of the past with e future exists in Nature in cases innumerable.

14. It is to be false to the principle of causality to leave unex- ained this accord of the past with the future.

15. As a cause must include all that is necessary to explain an fect, the plurality of causes is itself a proof that involution and volution under natural law are an eternal equation.

16. But the strange accord of the past with the future in the rowth of the eye will be fortuitous, or without adequate cause, if is not granted that the combination of parts has taken place under ntrol of a tendency that from the first has in view the sight, which rings up only at the last. The combination of millions of forces *as* to produce sight is intelligible only on the principle that they ave been combined *in order* to produce sight. " When the ques- on is about an organic evolution which is in the future," says laude Bernard, " we no longer comprehend the property of matter

at long range. The egg is to become something; but how co ceive that matter should have as a property to include operations c mechanism which do not yet exist?" John Stuart Mill, in a wel known passage of his essay on "Theism," admits that the argumer just stated concerning the eye is in strict accordance with the pri ciples of inductive logic.

17. This reasoning does not start from the hypothesis that sigl is an end, nor that the eye is an adaptation of means to an end, fc either of these presuppositions would involve a vicious circle.

18. The reasoning starts from effects merely as effects, and fro the observation that they are possible only because a certain strang accord exists between the past and the future, and this in the actio of millions of forces.

19. The observation of facts, therefore, gives us as a criterion c final cause the agreement of the present and past with the futur and the determination of the former by foresight of the latter.

20. The demonstrated accord of the past and the future in th growth of the eye and the innumerable similar examples transform the effects into ends, the causes into means, and the combination c the two into an adjustment of means to ends or *design*.

Professor Bain, the most self-consistent of the British materia istic school, admits that inertia is as clearly a property of matter a extension ("Mind and Body," last chapter). By inertia is mear the incapacity to originate force or motion. Nevertheless, this ph losopher would give to matter a spiritual as well as a physical sid and yet he admits that the only possible union of spiritual and phy ical qualities in "one substance" is that of "close succession" i time. This latest and subtilest attempt to avoid the self-contradi tions of materialism is equivalent to the assertion that, although door can not be open and shut at one and the same time, yet, if yo will open and shut it fast enough, it may be! The attempt has c course failed, and so the usual argument from the inertia of matte retains all its force:

1. If matter is essentially inert, that is, incapable of originatin force or motion, all force and motion in matter originate in mind.

2. But matter is essentially inert.

3. Therefore, all force and motion in matter originate in mind.

The chasm between the primordial star-dust and the solar sy tem, as well as that between the lifeless and the living forms c matter, can therefore be bridged only by the teleological as distinc from the mechanical theory of force.

JOSEPH COOK.

. CLARKE.

In the paper which opens this discussion on "Law and Design Nature," Professor Newcomb announces in a single sentence a oposition, the truth or falsehood of which, he tells us, is "the sole estion presented for discussion in the present series of papers."

But, as soon as we examine this proposition, we find that it cons not one sole question, but three. The three are independent each other, and do not necessarily stand or fall together. They e these :

1. "The whole course of Nature, considered as a succession of enomena, is conditioned solely by antecedent causes."

2. In the action of these causes, "no regard to consequences is ceable."

3. And no regard to consequences is "necessary to foresee the enomena."

Of these three propositions I admit the truth of the first ; deny e truth of the second ; and, for want of space, and because of its ative unimportance, leave the third unexamined.

The first proposition is so evidently true, and so universally mitted, that it was hardly worth positing for discussion. It is rely affirming that every natural phenomenon implies a cause. e word "antecedent" is ambiguous, but, if it intends logical and t chronological antecedence, it is unobjectionable. So underod, we are merely asked if we can accept the law of universal isation ; which I suppose we shall all readily do, since this law is e basis of theology no less than of science. Without it, we could t prove the existence of the first cause. Professor Newcomb s divided us into two conflicting schools, one of theology and the ier of science. Taking my place in the school of theology, I nk I may safely assert for my brethren that on this point there is conflict, but that we all admit the truth of the law of universal isation. It will be noticed that Professor Newcomb has carefully rded his statement, so as not to confine us to physical causes, nor en to exclude supernatural causes from without, working into the xus of natural laws. He does not say "antecedent physical ises," nor does he say "causes which have existed from the ginning."

Admitting thus the truth of the first proposition, I must resoely deny that of the second ; since, by accepting it, I should rrender the very cause I wish to defend, namely, that we can

perceive design in Nature. Final causes are those which "regar consequences." The principle of finality is defined by M. Janet (i his recent exhaustive work, "Les Causes finales") as "the prese determined by the future." One example of the way in which w can trace in Nature "a regard to consequences" is so excellentl stated by this eminent philosopher that we will introduce it here "Consider what is implied in the egg of a bird. In the myste and night of incubation there comes, by the combination of an i credible number of causes, a living machine within the egg. It absolutely separated from the external world, but every part related to some future use. The outward physical world which th creature is to inhabit is wholly divided by impenetrable veils fro this internal laboratory; but a preëstablished harmony exists b tween them. Without, there is light; within, an optical machi adapted to it. Without, there is sound; within, an acoustic app ratus. Without, are vegetables and animals; within, organs f their reception and assimilation. Without, is air; within, lung with which to breathe it. Without, is oxygen; within, blood t be oxygenized. Without, is earth; within, feet are being made t walk on it. Without, is the atmosphere; within, are wings wit which to fly through it. Now imagine a blind and idiotic workma alone in a cellar, who simply by moving his limbs to and fro should h found to have forged a key capable of opening the most complex loc If we exclude design, this is what Nature is supposed to be doing

That design exists in Nature, and that earthly phenomena act ally depend on final causes as well as on efficient causes, appea from the industry of man. Man is certainly a part of Nature, an those who accept evolution must regard him as the highest develo ment resulting from natural processes. Now, all over the eart from morning till evening, men are acting for ends. "Regard t consequences is traceable" in all their conduct. They are move by hope and expectation. They devise plans, and act for a purpos From the savage hammering his flint arrow-heads, up to a Shak speare composing "Hamlet," a Columbus seeking a new way t Asia, or a Paul converting Europe to a Syrian religion, human indu try is a constant proof that a large part of the course of Nature o this earth is the result of design. And, as man develops into high stages, this principle of design rises also from the simple to th complex, taking ever larger forms. A ship, for instance, sho throughout the adaptation of means to ends, by which comple adaptations produce a unity of result.

And that there is no conflict between the action of physical ıses and final causes is demonstrated by the works of man, since ɔy all result from the harmonious action of both. In studying man works we ask two questions—"How?" and "Why?" We ɔ, "What is it for?" and "How is it done?" The two lines inquiry run parallel, and without conflict. So, in studying the rks of Nature, to seek for design does not obstruct the inves- ation of causes, and may often aid it. Thus Harvey is said to ve been led to the discovery of the circulation of the blood by king for the use of the valves of the veins and heart.

The human mind is so constituted that, whenever it sees an ɛnt, it is obliged to infer a cause. So, whenever it sees adapta- n, it infers design. It is not necessary to know the end proposed, who were the agents. Adaptation itself, implying the use of ans, leads us irresistibly to infer intention. We do not know o built Stonehenge, or some of the pyramids, or what they were ılt for; but no one doubts that they were the result of design. is inference is strengthened if we see combination toward an end, l preparation made beforehand for a result which comes after- rd. From preparation, combination, and adaptation, we are led believe in the presence of human design even where we did not ˈore know of the presence of human beings. A few rudely shaped nes, found in a stratum belonging to the Quaternary period, in ich man had before not been believed to exist, changed that ınion. Those chipped flints showed adaptation; from adaptation ɜign was inferred; and design implied the presence of man.

Now, we find in Nature, especially in the organization and in- ncts of animals, myriads of similar instances of preparation, com- ıation, and adaptation. Two explanations only of this occurred antiquity—design and chance. Socrates, Plato, and others, were l by such facts to infer the creation of the world by an intelligent thor—"ille opifex rerum." Democritus, Epicurus, and Lucretius, ɔribed it to the fortuitous concourse of atoms. But modern sci- ɛe has expelled chance from the universe, and substituted law. place, observing forty-three instances in the solar system of ınets and their satellites revolving on their axes or moving in ɛir orbits, from west to east, declared that this could not be a mere incidence. Chance, therefore, being set aside, the question takes other form: "Did the cosmos that we see come by design or by w?"

But does this really change the question? Granting, for exam-

ple, the truth of the theory of the development of all forms of lif under the operation of law, from a primal cell, we must then as "Did these *laws* come by chance or by design?" It is not possib to evade that issue. If the universe resulted from non-intellige forces, those forces themselves must have existed as the result chance or of intelligence. If you put out the eyes, you leave blin ness; if you strike intelligence out of the creative mystery, y leave blind forces, the result of accident. Whatever is not from i telligence is from accident. To substitute law for chance is mere removing the difficulty a little further back; it does not solve it.

To eliminate interventions from the universe is not to remo design. The most profound theists have denied such interruptio of the course of Nature. Leibnitz is an illustrious example of thi Janet declares him to have been the true author of the theory evolution, by his "Law of Continuity," of "Insensible Perceptions and of "Infinitely Small Increments." Yet he also fully believed final causes. Descartes, who objected to some teleological statement believed that the Creator imposed laws on chaos by which the wor emerged into a cosmos. We know that existing animals are evolv by a continuous process from eggs, and existing vegetables by like process from seeds. No one ever supposed that there was le of design on this account in their creation. So, if all existing thin came at first by a like process from a single germ, it would n argue less, but far more of design, in the universe.

The theory of "natural selection" does not enable us to dispen with final causes. This theory requires the existence of forc working according to the law of heredity and the law of variatio together with a suitable environment. But whence came this a rangement, by which a law of heredity was combined with a la of variation, and both made to act in a suitable environment? He we find again the three marks of a designing intelligence: prepar tion, combination, adaptation. That intelligence which combin and adapts means to ends is merely remanded to the initial st of the process, instead of being allowed to act continuously alon the whole line of evolution. Even though you can explain by t action of mechanical forces the whole development of the sol system and its contents from a nebula, you have only accumulate all the action of a creative intelligence in the nebula itself. Becau I can explain the mechanical process by which a watch keeps tim I have not excluded the necessity of a watchmaker. Becaus walking through my neighbor's grounds, I come upon a water-ra pumping up water by a purely mechanical process, I do not arg

at this mechanism makes the assumption of an inventor superflu-
s. In human industry we perceive a power capable of using the
nd forces of Nature for an intelligent end; which prepares be-
ehand for the intended result; which combines various condi-
ns suited to produce it, and so creates order, system, use. But
observe in Nature exactly similar examples of order, method,
l system, resulting from a vast number of combinations, corre-
ions, and adaptations of natural forces. Man himself is such a
ult. He is an animal capable of activity, happiness, progress.
t innumerable causes are combined and harmonized in his physi-
frame, each necessary to this end. As the human intelligence
the only power we know capable of accomplishing such results,
alogy leads us to assume that a similar intelligence presides over
like combinations of means to ends in Nature. If any one ques-
ns the value of this argument from analogy, let him remember
w entirely we rely upon it in all the business of life. We only
ow the motives which govern our own actions; but we infer by
alogy that others act from similar motives. Knowing that we our-
ves combine means designed to effect ends—when we see others
apting means to ends, we assume that they act also with design.
nce we have a right to extend the argument further and higher.
The result of what I have said is this: The phenomena of the
verse can not be satisfactorily explained unless by the study both
efficient causes and of final causes. Routine scientists, confining
mselves to the one, and routine theologians, confining themselves
the other, may suppose them to be in conflict. But men of
ger insight, like Leibnitz, Newton, Descartes, and Bacon, easily
the harmony between them. Like Hegel they say: "Nature is
less artful than powerful; it attains its end while it allows all
ngs to act according to their constitution"; or they declare
h Bacon that "the highest link of Nature's chain is fastened to
foot of Jupiter's chair." But the belief in final causes does not
ly belief in supernatural intervention, nor of any disturbance in
continuity of natural processes. It means that Nature is per-
led by an intelligent presence; that mind is above and around
tter; that mechanical laws are themselves a manifestation of
ne providing wisdom, and that when we say Nature we also say
d.*

JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

* In this brief paper it is not possible even to allude to the objections which have
n brought against the doctrine of final causes. For these objections, and the
wers to them, I would refer the reader to the work of Janet, before mentioned.

DR. McCOSH.

WHATELY describes the "Fallacy of Interrogation" as consi
ing "in asking several questions which appear to be but one;
that whatever one answer is given, being, of course, applicat
to one only of the implied, may be interpreted as applied to t
other." Professor Newcomb has unconsciously fallen into this f
lacy. He evidently looks on the questions he puts as one, a
speaks of his "postulate," his "position," his "fundamental propo
tion." But he has mixed up no fewer than three questions, whi
are not the same, with each other, which have no necessary conn
tion, and are not to be satisfied with one reply. In such cases, lo
cians enjoin that, in order to detect the ambiguity, each question
answered separately. Thus, if some one were to ask me, "Did y
write such an article, without a meaning, and was this wise?"
might have to reply that I did write the article, with a meanir
and that this was wise. The Professor has in fact three question
(1.) "The whole course of Nature considered as a succession of pl
nomena is conditioned solely by causes." This is not the same
(2.) "In the action of which causes no regard to consequences
either traceable by human investigation or necessary to foresee t
phenomena." (3.) "Is the above postulate consistent with sou
doctrine?"

I answer the *first* question affirmatively, only I do not favor t
terribly metaphysical word "conditioned" used by scientists in t
present day so constantly and so vaguely. With me as with Mill
physical condition is merely one of the elements of a complex cau
The Professor evidently sets before him a scowling theologian w
will not allow him to find out a physical cause of the phenomena
Nature. I admit without reservation that in the Course of Natu
every occurrence proceeds from an antecedent cause. "This i
principle founded on a limited series of observations and extend
by induction to the whole course of Nature." I am not requi
here to take up the subject of miracles—say the miracles of heal
wrought by our Lord to show that he came to cure the evil in
world. A miracle I define as an event produced by causes not
Nature but beyond it. Miracles are acknowledged by all to be co
paratively few and exceptional, and they accomplish their end
cause they are so. Leaving out miracles, and creation, which
longs to the same order, I hold that in the course of Nature ev
occurrence is produced by antecedent causes.

I do not very well know what he means by the *third* questi

at his postulate is consistent with "sound doctrine," a phrase hich he acknowledges to be "vague." If he means by it simply truth," then I hold as to whatever is established by induction, not at it is consistent with, but that *it is* sound doctrine. If he means r it religious doctrine, we might have to begin with settling what sound doctrine. I hold very emphatically that truths of science e to be determined solely by inductive evidence. I believe that in e end no truth of science will be found inconsistent with the uths of religion. They may appear to be so, but this only because e have misinterpreted Nature or misinterpreted Scripture. The ound is now cleared. I admit the *first* question. The *third* is mewhat out of place. But I admit it if the *second* is properly an-ered. It is sound doctrine in science and in nearly all religions at God is traceable in his works.

The *second* question is the only one in dispute between us. "In e action of Nature, is there no regard to consequences traceable human investigation, or necessary to foresee the consequences?" gain we have two questions under the appearance of one. But e two are connected and may be answered together. The inquiry a very important one. It is not exactly, "Is there a God?" but is "whether his existence is shown by his works." He who serts that there is no regard to consequences traceable in mundane ion is setting aside that argument for the Divine existence which e Scriptures sanction (Ps. xix. 1, Rom. i. 20), and which the great dy of mankind have acknowledged to be valid.

Of course I allow that physical causes do not in themselves have y regard for consequences, and that they do not foresee phenom-a. The chemical elements are as ready to combine to produce son as to produce food, and they do not know or feel the pain or asure resulting from their action. I do not believe, with panthe-s, that intention and end are immanent in Nature. But, discover-g these in the dispositions and adaptations of agents, I argue a se above them, with a plan and purpose. The title of his paper 'Law and Design." He evidently regards "Law" and "Design" inconsistent with each other, as opponents and rivals. In oppo-on, I hold that—

I. *There is design in law.* The word law as applied to physi-phenomena is vague. Nature in its ultimate analysis seems to sist of bodies with their properties. These bodies are supposed consist of atoms, and these combined make masses. Do we ow the ultimate properties of bodies molecular or molar? All

bodies fall under our notice in masses, and the properties are i combination. In their combination they act in an orderly manner and this seems to be what is meant by law. They are called b such names as laws of phenomena, general laws, coördinations, an appear as uniformities, types, periodicities. They are all composit and are the result of a number of properties adjusted to each othe Such are the seasons, the forms of plants and animals, the evolutic of children from parents, and, it may be, of one variety or speci of plant or animal from another. Their regularity implies a pla and consequently design. In particular they are suited to man- or, if any prefer it, man is suited to them ; or, as I prefer it, th two are suited to each other. Some people unreasonably compla that things should proceed according to regular laws ; as, for i stance, that fire should always burn, and would rather that Gc should make them act according to circumstances, and interpose stop fire from burning a poor man's house or a cathedral. But und such a Divine government no one could foresee the future or pr vide for it, could know that fire would prepare his food for eatin could have even a motive to partake of food, for he could n know whether food would nourish him.

There are cases in which we can see that there is law whi enables us to "foresee" and "predict," and this not by traci effects to causes, but simply by discovering a preordained ord Professor Peirce tells that at a meeting of a scientific associati Agassiz was asked to draw the form of a fish, such as must be in certain period were one to cast up, and that he went to the boa and drew the form. Professor Sedgwick, who was present, nc took off a napkin and showed fishes of that very epoch, and t form was found to be the same. Here we have a prediction, n by the law of causality—for the same causes differently dispos might have produced a very different form—but by the law of t leology, or rather homology, implying a plan devised by intel gence.

II. *There is design in the adaptation of one object and agent another*, whereby special ends are accomplished. It is not needf that I should dwell on these. We have them in Paley, in t Bridgewater Treatises, in the works of Sir C. Bell, Brougham, a many others, accessible to all. We see them in every organ of t body, in the joints, the muscles, the eye, the ear, the hand ; and the discovery of them every one spontaneously looks for a cau in a designing mind—we feel that we have to abnegate our intel

ence if we do not yield to the conviction. An eminent French phi-sopher, M. Janet, in a work on "Final Causes," lately translated, as defended the arguments and answered objections. There is no ntithesis, as the Professor seems to think there is, between efficient nd final cause. Aristotle, who introduced the phrases, discovered oth, as did also Bacon, and the profoundest thinkers of ancient nd modern times. I presume that the Professor sees both the effi-ent and final in his own telescope: the former in the undulations light and the glass suited to each other; and the latter in the uses being made to serve an end. The argument is *a fortiori* hen we discover the efficient causes in the light, the coats and umors and cones made to form an image on the back of the eye.

The argument is from the evidently designed concurrence of tural causes. Chance, in its largest sense, is an event (1) without cause, or (2) without a purpose. The scientific philosopher knows at there is no physical occurrence without a cause. The religious ilosopher believes that there is no event without a purpose. Is ere, then, no such thing as chance? I believe that there is no event thout a cause and a purpose too. But there may be *coincidences* events in which there is no design. I do not know that there ust be design when, in a promiscuous company, half the people ve the same Christian name, in the resemblance of certain rocks the head of Bonaparte, or in so many eminent men having been rn in 1769. But surely where there is room for chance there may room for design; where there is room for undesigned coinci-nces there may be room for designed concurrences. When I no-e a combination of independent agencies to effect a beneficent d, such as the eye, the ear, the hand, I see clear traces of a pur-se. I place under the same head the provisions which have been de beforehand, and from the beginning, for the encouraging of tue, for the restraining of evil, for hastening on the cause of re-ion and humanity, for answering prayer, and for relieving dis-ss.

Professor Newcomb puts the case of the burning of a theatre, d supposes that, on inquiring into its meaning, three answers ght be given. I do not accept his answers, and I propound three ers, wishing my readers to compare his with mine: 1. The oc-rrence was produced by causes which we should inquire into, and ich we may or may not be able to discover. 2. These causes re set agoing by God, and have fulfilled his purpose. 3. We y or may not be able to find out the purpose. In all cases reli-

gion, by its highest authority, forbids us to argue the existence o wickedness because the persons have suffered. "Suppose ye th these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans because the suffered such things? I tell you nay." This does not preclude u when the wickedness has been proved, from discovering an intende connection between the sin and its punishment. I can believe bot in a physical agency and a moral purpose.

I may remark here that there seems, among some of our scie tists in the present day, to be a derangement of mental vision pr duced by their gazing exclusively on some one object. God h given to every man two eyes; and there are benefits derived fro binocular vision—it enables us, as the Irishman said, to look roun a corner, and see more than one side of an object. But by lookin so long through a microscope some seem to have become one-eye There is no good end to be gained by setting the two schools t which the Professor refers, the scientific and the theological, again each other. The business of the physicist may be simply to di cover mechanical force, and of the physiologist to trace the pr cesses of life, and of the psychologist to discover the faculties o the mind. The business of the theologian is to discover the oper tions of God. He is a *narrow* man who in inquiring into Natu can discover only mechanical force—while he overlooks vital an psychical agencies. He is also a narrow man who on finding the efficient causes overlooks that evidently designed concurrence o efficient causes which constitutes final cause. On the other han the religious man is so far a narrow man who will not allow scie tists to discover physical cause. The truly enlightened man wi delight to discover both, and will see no inconsistency betwee them. In particular, while seeing efficient causes manifesting th power of God, he also discovers benignant ends exhibiting the wi dom and goodness of God.

JAMES MCCOSH.

NOTE.—A rejoinder by Professor Newcomb will appear in th next issue of the "Review."—EDITOR.

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I.

MON TESTAMENT.*

ÉPITRE A CHLOÉ.

PAR FRANÇOIS MARIE AROUET DE VOLTAIRE.

QUOI, ma Chloé ! le seul nom de ma mort
T'a pu causer de si vives alarmes !
De ta raison j'attendais plus d'effort ;
Sois digne en tout de me coûter des larmes.
Sur cette mort que la main de l'Erreur
Peint si terrible au timide vulgaire,
Apprends enfin le secret de mon cœur,
Et que l'amour te console et t'éclaire.
Jusqu'à présent sur mille tours divers,
Tel que Zéphire jouant dans la prairie,

* From an unpublished autograph MS. of Voltaire.—EDITOR.

Les jeux, les ris, m'ont inspiré des vers,
Comme ils filaient tous les jours de ma vie.
Plus que jamais dans ces derniers instans,
Crois que je goûte et sens le bonheur d'être.
Cueille les fleurs que t'offre mon printemps ;
Le noir cyprès n'est pas loin de paraître.
Aimable objet dont je suis enchanté,
Pourquoi faut-il qu'une chaîne si belle
Que des amours l'amour le plus fidèle,
Du sort commun ne soit point exceptée ?
Quel plus beau titre à l'immortalité !
Mais puisque tout dans la nature entière,
Du faible arbuste au cèdre fastueux,
De la cabane au palais somptueux,
Ressent du temps l'atteinte meurtrière :
Ecoute-moi : je veux dans ce moment,
L'œil éclairé des rayons de la joie,
Le désoler en lui cédant sa proie,
Et de ma mort parler en badinant.
Vois quels seront à mon heure dernière
Mes derniers vœux et mes derniers désirs.
Belle Chloé ! la coupe du plaisir
Change en nectar une liqueur amère.
Que prétendaient ces monarques stupides
En écrasant l'Egypte et ses enfants

De leurs tombeaux, énormes pyramides,
Masses d'orgueil, coupables monuments,
Qu'admire encore un peuple de savants,
De rien douteux, admirateurs avides ?
Là s'abîmait dans une urne d'airain,
D'un roi sans nom la dépouille mortelle ;
Là se perdait une utile parcelle
De ce grand tout où rien n'existe en vain,
Où par un ordre immuable et fidèle
Tout fut placé dans un commun rapport ;
Où l'homme enfin n'est même après sa mort
Qu'un des anneaux de la chaîne éternelle.
Belle Chloé ! n'interrompons jamais
Les saintes lois qu'impose la Nature ;
Nous, les suivons sous ces ombrages frais,
Sous ces berceaux tapissés de verdure.
Mais penses-tu que je borne mes vœux
A t'adorer, te servir et te plaire ? . . .
Tromper la mort, voilà ce que je veux !
Oui, ma Chloé, que sa main menaçante
Tranche mes jours auprès de ces lilas ;
Je ne crains rien, sa rage est impuissante,
Et je vivrai même après mon trépas.
Hélas ! l'instant où je te parle encore,
De mes instants peut être le dernier.

Par toi, Chloé, par tout ce que j'adore,
Accorde-moi la grâce que j'implore !
L'amour en vain pourrait-il te prier ?
Assure-moi de ma métamorphose,
Que, déposé dans ce jardin charmant,
J'y reparaisse au retour du printemps,
Dans un œillet, dans un bouton de rose.
Mais, ma Chloé, qu'il soit cueilli par toi.
Viens me choisir au retour de l'aurore,
Que ton beau sein se pare encore de moi,
Que je le baise et le parfume encore.
J'aime à penser pour moi, pour mon bonheur,
Que tu diras dans un moment d'ivresse,
" Oui, cher amour, tu vis dans cette fleur ;
Ce tendre éclat, cette vive couleur,
Est de tes feux l'image enchanteresse.
Tu sens encore et la main qui te presse
Et le plaisir d'être près de mon cœur."

[TRANSLATION.]

MY WILL.

AN EPISTLE TO CHLOE.

WHAT! my own Chloe! start thus at a sound?
Pay Death, the phantom, this tribute of fears?
Nay, let thy sense, like thy beauty, be found
Worthy of worship and worthy of tears!
Leavé the wild visions that error can feign
To madden the vulgar with anguish and dread!
Clasped to my heart, let my reason explain
How love may live on in the realm of the dead!
Not such the themes I have loved to rehearse;
Free as the zephyr that plays o'er the plain
Sportive and smiling, I've woven my verse—
Joy was its burden, and laughter its strain.
Yet, brighter than ever the moments appear
Now that the tale of their number is told.
Let us gather the spring, and the bloom of the year;
Dark are the months of the cypress, and cold!

Why should it be, my enchantress, that Fate
Not the most faithful of passions will spare?
Why must our raptures be bound by a date,
Why of things mortal the destiny share?
Nothing around us against it is proof,
Nor shrubs in the vale, nor cedars on high,
Nor thatch of the hut, nor proud palace roof;
All things are doomed but to be—and to die!
Let us then baffle the triumph of Time!
Welcome the blow that we can not delay,

Yield him his prize, with a jest and a rhyme,
Pass, at his summons, but smiling, away!
Lean then and listen, my Chloe, to hear
What my last longing and wishes will be;
Though bitter the draught, 'twill nectar appear
Held to my lips, my beloved, by thee!

What sought the dotards and tyrants that bowed
Egypt, in tears and in sweat, to their will,
Loading the earth with their pyramids proud—
Tombs of their guilt and delusion—that still,
Awful and silent, with reverence thrill
The open-mouthed, wandering, wondering crowd?
There, in the depths of a chamber, inurned,
Sealed, and secluded, and wasting away,
Lies what is left of a monarch who spurned
Nature's beneficent beautiful sway!
Robbing the earth of the dust, that, returned,
Blooms into glory again and the day!
Ah! in this All there is nothing in vain!
Each thing to each everlastingly bound,
This, that was Man, in the natural chain
Finds its own place, and moves on in the round!
Not then by us be the laws disobeyed,
Beautiful Chloe! that Nature decrees,
No! we have followed them, here, in this shade,
Broken with sunshine and stirred by the breeze!

But not alone to bear thy graceful yoke
Or make thee happy—Chloe! is my dream—
Fain would I cheat of Death the final stroke,
And foil the tyrant in his hour supreme!
Here let him find me with uplifted knife!
Here—where our lilacs fragrant breathe and bloom!
I fear him not! he can not take my life!
That life escapes him even in the tomb!

Alas! it may be even while I speak
That my last moment sounds—and all is o'er!
Grant me this boon! the last that I may seek,
Let not my love in vain this grace implore!
Chloe! to thee my future I confide!—
Here in this garden let my burial be!—
Reviving here, with Spring's returning tide,
In May's first rosebud let me bloom for thee!
Here come—and pluck me when the morn shall break—
And Chloe! deck thy bosom with me still!
Ah! let me hope that Chloe, for my sake,
My very inmost self with joy to fill
May whisper gently, while her senses thrill:
"Yes, dearest love! thou livest in this rose!
Its tender bloom, its vivid hues disclose
The image and the presence of thy flame!
And thou canst feel my soft caress the same,
And, clasped upon my heart, thy being glows!"

II.

NATIONAL APPROPRIATIONS AND MISAPPROPRIATIONS.

An eminent French statesman has said: "A nation embodies its spirit, and much of its history, in its financial laws. Let one of our budgets alone survive the next deluge, and in it will plainly appear all that we are."

If our republic were blotted from the earth and from the memory of mankind, and if no record of its history survived, except a copy of our revenue laws and our appropriation bills for a single year, the political philosopher would be able from these materials alone to reconstruct a large part of our history, and sketch with considerable accuracy the character and spirit of our institutions.

Revenue is not, as some one has said, the friction of a government, but rather its motive power. As in the human body every motion is produced by an expenditure of vital force, so in government the exercise of the smallest function is accompanied, or rather is produced, by an expenditure of money.

To collect, from the property and labor of a nation, a revenue sufficient to carry on the various departments of its Government, and so to distribute that revenue as to supply every part of the complicated machinery with adequate motive power, neither, on the one hand, crippling the resources of the people or the functions of the Government, nor, on the other, producing overgrowth and waste by lavish expenditure, is one of the most difficult and delicate problems of modern statesmanship. And this problem presents itself, every year, under new conditions. An adjustment which is wise and equitable for one year may be wholly inadequate for the next.

The expenditures of the Government form the grand level from

hich all heights and depths of legislative action are measured. he increase and diminution of the burdens of taxation depend on their relation to this level of expenditures, which being deter- ined, all other policies must conform to and depend upon it.

The amount, character, and methods of public expenditure form e best test of the wisdom and virtue of a Government. Nearly l forms of official corruption will show themselves, sooner or later, the door of the Treasury in demands for money.

When, in outward appearance, the empire of the second Napo- on was at its height of glory, a quiet student of finance compiled d published what he called "The Balance Sheet of the Empire," hich showed that, during the first fifteen years of Napoleon's ign, the expenditures of his Government had increased $350,000,- 0 per annum.

A large portion of this vast sum had been covered up by the rious devices of book-keeping; but the merciless statistician ipped off the disguise, and disclosed the inevitable ruin to which e empire was hastening. Underneath a gaudy exterior, during e whole reign, the solid foundations of France were being honey- mbed through and through by the waste and corruption of her ances; and when, in 1870, she went down amid the smoke and solation of war, it was only the culmination of a disaster already epared by extravagant and corrupt appropriations.

But it must be remembered that extravagance is a relative m. At one period, the expenditure of a hundred millions a year ay be wanton waste; while, at another period, five hundred mil- ns a year may be niggardly and dangerous economy.

What, then, is the test by which the proper scale of national penditure shall be determined? In time of peace, perhaps the st important test is that of population. Doubtless the annual crease of national expenditures should bear some relation to the crease of population; but it would be unphilosophical, in the ghest degree, to insist that expenditures shall increase in the same tio as the population increases. We know that population tends increase in a geometrical ratio, that is, at a per cent. compounded nually. If the increase of expenditures were to follow the same w, we might well look to the future with alarm. Judged by the st of population alone, the total ordinary expenditures of a grow- g nation ought to increase year by year; but the amount ex- nded *per capita* ought not to increase, but should rather di- inish.

In a nation whose territorial boundaries are fixed, the increa of expenditures may be approximately gauged by the law of i crease of population alone; but in a country like ours the enlarg ment of territory and the extension of settlements must also b taken into consideration.

The expenditures of the Government, when the Union consiste of but thirteen States, form no just basis for judging of its prop expenditures when twenty-five more States and a vast territory hav been added. Under the influence of these two elements—increa of population and extension of territory—the amount of prop and reasonable expenditures ought to increase more rapidly tha those of almost any other nation. And our history confirms th view.

From these elements, the just scale of increase could be readil ascertained, if all our calculations could rest upon the basis of pe petual peace; but war, that anarchic element which Jeremy Be tham calls "mischief on the largest scale," overturns all ordina calculations. Long after the fire and blood of battle have di appeared, the destructive power of war shows itself with relentle force in the columns which represent the taxes and appropriatio to pay its cost.

Far more than half of all the expenditures of civilized natio have been devoted to war and the support of armies and navie Prior to the great wars against the first Napoleon, the annual e penditures of Great Britain were less than £20,000,000. Durin the twenty-four years which elapsed between the beginning of th remarkable struggle and its close, in 1815, at Waterloo, the expend tures of the United Kingdom rose by successive leaps until, in o year, near the close of the war, it reached £106,750,000. The gre increase of the British debt, made necessary by that war, adde to the normal increase of appropriations, rendered it impossible f England ever to return to her former scale of expenditures. took twenty years after Waterloo to reduce the annual budget fro £77,750,000 to £45,750,000, which last sum (the amount for 183 was the smallest Great Britain has expended in any year of th present century. During the forty years of peace which follow Waterloo, her ordinary expenses increased at the rate of about fo million dollars per annum.

The history of the expenditures of the United States is worth of special study. Omitting payments of the principal and intere of the public debt, the annual average may be thus summarize

ginning with 1791, the last decade of the last century showed annual average of $3,750,000; the first decade of the present ıtury, about $5,500,000. During the first twenty years under the nstitution, the annual average of expenditures was a little more ın doubled. Then followed four years, from 1812 to 1815 (both lusive), in which our war with England swelled the annual aver- to $25,500,000. During the five years which succeeded that r the annual average was $16,500,000.

The reduction from the war level continued until 1823, when new peace level of $11,500,000 was reached, and the normal in- ase was resumed. From 1825 to 1830 the annual average was ,000,000; from 1830 to 1835, $17,000,000; from 1835 to 1840— eriod which included the Seminole war—the average was $30,- ,000 per annum; from 1840 to 1845, it was $27,000,000; from 5 to 1850, including the Mexican war, $40,500,000; from 1850 1855, $47,500,000; and from 1851 to 1861, the average was $67,- ,000. This last may fairly be called the peace scale just before rebellion.

From June 30, 1861, to June 30, 1866, the annual average was 3,750,000; while from 1866 to 1871 it was $189,000,000. These ıres, it must be remembered, represent the annual expenditures, lusive of payments of the interest and principal of the public t.

From the foregoing it will be seen that two forces have been in stant action in determining the tendency of appropriations while nation was passing from war to peace: First, the normal increase ordinary expenses, dependent upon increase of population and ension of settled territory; and, second, the decrease caused by payment of war obligations. The decrease due to the latter se is greater immediately after a war than the increase due to former; but the normal increase, being a constant element, will lly overcome the decrease caused by the payment of war debts, a point will be reached from which the annual expenditures will in increase.

In a speech delivered in the House of Representatives, January 1872, I undertook to estimate the reduction that could be made ur expenditures, and to forecast the date at which a further re- tion of the annual amount would cease. I venture to quote a paragraphs from that speech, both as an illustration of the op- ions of the law of expenditure and of the risks one takes who tures a prediction on such a subject:

Duration of War Expenditures.

Throughout our history there may be seen a curious uniformity in t movement of the annual expenditures for the years immediately followin war. We have not the data to determine how long it was, after the war independence, before the expenditures ceased to decrease, that is, before th reached the point where their natural growth more than balanced the t dency to reduction of war expenditure; but, in the years immediately follo ing all our subsequent wars, the decrease has continued for a period alm exactly twice the length of the war itself.

After the war of 1812–'15, the expenditures continued to decline for ei years, reaching the lowest point in 1823.

After the Seminole war, which ran through three years, 1836, 1837, a 1838, the new level was not reached until 1844, six years after its close.

After the Mexican war, which lasted two years, it took four years (u 1852), to reach the new level of peace.

When will we reach our New Level of Expenditures?

It is perhaps unsafe to base our calculations for the future on these ana gies; but the wars already referred to have been of such varied charact and their financial effects have been so uniform, as to make it not unreas able to expect that a similar result will follow our late war. If so, t decrease of national expenditures, exclusive of the principal and interest the public debt, will continue until 1875 or 1876.

It will be seen by an analysis of our current expenditures that, exclus of charges on the public debt, nearly fifty million dollars are expenditu directly for the late war. Many of these expenditures will not appear ag such as the bounty and back pay of volunteer soldiers, and payment of ille captures of British vessels and cargoes. We may reasonably expect that expenditures for pensions will hereafter steadily decrease, unless our legi tion should be unwarrantably extravagant. We may also expect a la decrease in expenditures for the Internal Revenue Department. Possibly may ultimately be able to abolish that department altogether. In the accou ing and disbursing bureaus of the Treasury Department, we may also expe further reduction of the force now employed in settling war claims.

We can not expect so rapid a reduction of the public debt and its bur of interest as we have witnessed for the last three years; but the reduct will doubtless continue and the burden of interest will constantly decre I know it is not safe to attempt to forecast the future; but I venture express the belief that, if peace continues, the year 1876 will witness ordinary expenditures reduced to $125,000,000, and the interest on our p lic debt to $95,000,000; making our total expenditures, exclusive of paym on the principal of the public debt, $230,000,000. Judging from our o experience and from that of other nations, we may not hope, thereafter, reach a lower figure.

Reviewing the subject in the light of subsequent experience,

ll be seen that the progress of reduction of expenditures from the r level has been very nearly in accordance with these expecta- ns of seven years ago.

The actual expenditures since the war, including interest on the blic debt as shown by the official record, were as follows: 1865, 297,555,224.41 ; 1866, $520,809,416.99 ; 1867, $357,542,675.16 ; 38, $377,340,284.86 ; 1869, $322,865,277.80 ; 1870, $309,653,560.- ; 1871, $292,177,188.25 ; 1872, $277,517,962.67 ; 1873, $290,345,- 5.33 ; 1874, $287,133,873.17 ; 1875, $274,623,392.84 ; 1876, $258,- 0,797.33 ; 1877, $238,660,008.93 ; 1878, $236,964,326.80.

Omitting the first of these years, in which the enormous pay- nts to the army swelled the aggregate of expenses to $1,297,000,- 0, and beginning with the first full year after the termination of e war, it will be seen that the expenditures have been reduced, at st, very rapidly, and then more slowly, from $520,000,000 in 36, to about $237,000,000 in 1878.

The estimate quoted above was that in 1876 expenditures would reduced to $230,000,000, including $95,000,000 for interest on e public debt. In 1877, one year later than the estimated date, e actual reduction had reached $238,000,000, including $97,000,- 0 for interest on the public debt.

It is evident that in 1877 we had very nearly reached the limit possible reduction ; for the aggregate expenditures of 1878 show reduction below that of the preceding year of less than $2,000,- 0 ; and the expenditures, actual and estimated, for the current ar ending June 30, 1879, are $240,000,000. It thus appears that 78 was the turning-point from which, under the influence of the ments of normal growth, we may expect a constant though, it ght to be, a small annual increase of expenditures.

But, if the appropriations for 1880, most of which have already en made, are to be taken as an index of the future policy to be rsued by Congress, we are to see a sudden, capricious, and dan- rously large increase.

It has been a slow and difficult work to force down the scale of penditures made necessary by the war. Even as late as 1874, re than fifty per cent. of all the payments over the national nter were made to meet war debts. Besides these payments a ge increase of ordinary expenses was made necessary by the war. om 1860 to 1865, the harbors, lighthouses, and other public works the States that went into rebellion, were of course wholly neg- ted by the national Government. To restore, preserve, and

place them again in a state of efficiency, has required unusual large expenditures since the war.

Several new bureaus, such as that for assessing and collecti internal revenue, and that for engraving and printing the pub securities, have been created; and a large increase of force in t several executive departments has been made necessary, to enal the Government to audit the accounts and disburse the vast pa ments made necessary by the war.

Methods of appropriating Revenue.

In its relation to good government, the amount of expenditu authorized by law is not so important as the methods adopted Congress for regulating the appropriation and disbursement revenues. In the early history of the Government all appropr tions for the year were made in one bill, and in gross sums, to expended by the several executive departments. Though the nu ber of leading officers in each department was fixed by gene statute, yet large discretion was given to the heads of departme both in reference to the number of subordinates to be employ and to the special items of expenditure.

In his annual message of December 8, 1801, Mr. Jefferson call attention to the careless methods of appropriation which had be adopted by Congress, mentioning the fact that many clerks we employed and their salaries fixed at the discretion of the executi departments; and he urged upon Congress "the expediency regulating that power by law, so as to subject its exercise to leg lative inspection and sanction." In the following paragraph that message, the necessity of Congressional control and limitati of appropriations, both as to amount and object, is admirably state

> It would be prudent to multiply barriers against their dissipation, by propriating specific sums to every specific purpose susceptible of definiti by disallowing all applications of money varying from the appropriation object, or transcending it in amount; by reducing the undefined field of c tingencies, and thereby circumscribing discretionary powers over mon and by bringing back to a single department all accountabilities for mon where the examinations may be prompt, efficacious, and uniform.

These wise suggestions were not adopted by Congress at t time, and the loose method of appropriating in bulk was continu for many years.

Until a recent date, Congress frequently empowered the Pr dent to order transfers of appropriations from one branch of

vice to another. But this power was usually conferred for a ited time only. Occasionally a special bill was passed, making propriations for a particular branch of the service; but in the in, during the first forty years of our history, the appropriations re made in one act, entitled "An act making appropriations the support of the Government."

In 1823 the appropriations for fortifications were placed in a arate bill. In 1826 the appropriations for pensions were made a separate bill. The first separate act for rivers and harbors ap- red in 1828, and in 1844 the post-office and deficiency bills were t passed as separate acts.

In 1847 the appropriations were made in nine separate bills: nsions, Fortifications, Indians, Military Academy, Army, Navy, st-Office, Civil and Diplomatic, and Deficiencies.

In 1856 the consular and diplomatic appropriations were em- lied in a separate bill. In 1857 the Legislative, Executive, and licial Bill first appeared in the form which is still maintained.

In 1862 a new bill was added, which has since been known as Sundry Civil Bill, containing the various miscellaneous items embraced in the other bills. Since 1862 there have been twelve ular annual appropriation bills, as follows: Pensions, Legislative, ecutive and Judicial, Consular and Diplomatic, Army, Navy, itary Academy, Post-Office, Fortifications, Indian, Sundry Civil, iciency, and Rivers and Harbors.

In addition to these are the various relief acts making special ropriations. There is also a class of permanent appropriations, norized by general statute, which do not appear in the annual s—such as payments of interest on the public debt and pay- nts on account of the sinking fund.

It will be seen from the foregoing that, on the whole, there has n an increasing tendency to limit the discretion of the execu- departments and bring the details of expenditure more imme- ely under the annual supervision of Congress; and this ten- cy has been specially manifest since the late war.

As all the regular appropriation bills originate in the House of resentatives, the chief responsibility for the amounts authorized for the measures adopted to regulate and restrict the uses to ch the revenues may be applied, rests with that body

Republican and Democratic Appropriations.

During the last four years the Democratic party has had control

of legislation in the House; and a comparison of their manag ment of this subject with the Republican management which pr ceded will not be without interest.

Much credit is deservedly due to the Democrats in the Fort fourth Congress for continuing the work of reduction which h been carried on by their Republican predecessors from 1865 dow to and including the passage of the appropriation bills for the fisc year ending June 30, 1876. On some subjects of reduction th could act more effectively and with less embarrassment than th Republican predecessors. They were less restrained by party ass ciations from reducing the official force in the departments.

The aggregate reduction of expenditures made by the Fort fourth Congress for the fiscal years 1877 and 1878 was $20,000,0 This includes all the reductions made by the executive depa ments, as well as those made by Congress. An apparent thou not a real reduction of $1,500,000 was made by a change in the l relating to official postage-stamps. The last Republican Hou appropriated that sum for official postage for the several exe tive departments, charging the amount to the departments as expenditure, and crediting the Post-Office Department with t face-value of the stamps. This exhibited the whole transaction one side of the ledger as revenue, and on the other as expenditu The Forty-fourth Congress repealed that law, and authorized t departments to make requisitions upon the Postmaster-General stamps, thus making an apparent reduction of $1,500,000, with changing the actual facts in the case.

But the progress made in the direction of economy by the For fourth Congress was far more than neutralized by the action of t last Congress. This will appear from a statement of the appropr tions made during each of the four years of Democratic rule in t House. Omitting permanent appropriations, which do not app in the annual bills, the appropriations voted during the last f years were as follows:

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1877	$124,122,010
For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1878	114,069,483 *
For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1879	146,304,309
For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880	161,808,934

To this last amount should be added $16,500,000, authorized law at the last session but yet to be appropriated, to pay the arre

* No appropriations for rivers and harbors were made for this year.

pensions, which will swell the amount of the appropriations au-
prized for the next fiscal year to $178,300,000. Even this large
ount must be further increased by the deficiencies which will be
uired for that year. The appropriations authorized at the last
sion, not including these deficiencies, exceed by $54,000,000 the
ount voted at the last session of the Forty-fourth Congress, and
siderably exceed those of any year since 1869. Of course, the
ears of pensions, which are estimated by the Secretary of the
asury to amount to $41,500,000, will not appear in the yearly
enditure hereafter; but the Secretary of the Interior estimates
t the application of this law to all new pensions hereafter al-
ed will increase the annual pension bill four or five millions
a year for some years to come.

As I have already shown, it would not have been reasonable to
ect that the last Congress could continue to make reductions in
aggregate expenditures; but the increased amounts which have
a authorized greatly exceed the limits of just economy.

In striking contrast with this increase of expenditures by Con-
s is the remarkable reduction of annual expenditures effected
he refunding operations of the Secretary of the Treasury. Since
first day of March, 1877, the Secretary has sold four per cent.
ds and four per cent. certificates to the amount of $803,095,700,
has redeemed and canceled a like amount of six per cent. and
per cent. bonds, thereby reducing the annual coin interest on
public debt by the sum of $13,638,651. This reduction was
e possible by the legislation which brought resumption of specie
nents, and has greatly strengthened the public credit at home
abroad.

mportant as are the amounts expended for the public service,
legislative methods of making and regulating appropriations
perhaps even more important. I shall notice some of these,
also the efforts that have been made to reform them.

Permanent and Indefinite Appropriations.

From the beginning of the Government there has been a ten-
y on the part of Congress to neglect that clause of the Con-
tion which declares that no money shall be drawn from the
sury but in consequence of appropriations made by law. This
ision has been evaded by appropriating, for a given object, so
a money as may be necessary, leaving the amount indefinite,
to be determined by the discretion of the executive depart-

ments. It was possibly not the purpose of the framers of the Co stitution to compel Congress to act annually on all necessary appr priations. The only express limit in this direction was placed up appropriations to raise and support armies, which should not be f a period longer than two years. As early as April 25, 1808, Co gress passed an act appropriating an annual sum of $200,000 provide arms and military equipment for the militia of the Unit States; and this law has been the only authority for the expen tures which have been made annually on that account ever sin If one appropriation may be made to run for seventy years witho the supervision of Congress, the same method might be applied all other appropriations except those for the army. The gene rule of good government requires Congress annually to superv all its appropriations. One exception is properly made to this ru The payment of the interest on the public debt is made in pur ance of a permanent appropriation, in order that the public cre may not suffer from the neglect of Congress to make provisi promptly, each year, for this class of obligations.

At the close of the war it was found that more than one h of all our expenditures were authorized by general and perman laws, and did not come under the annual scrutiny of Congr Prior to the act of March 3, 1849, the expenses of collecting the r enue from customs were paid out of the gross receipts, and only balance was paid into the Treasury. The act of 1849 was inten to correct this vicious method, which offered so many opportuni for abuse. It required the gross receipts from customs to be p into the Treasury, and estimates to be submitted to Congress the expense of collecting the revenues. By the act of June 1858, a backward step was taken. A permanent semi-annual app priation of $1,800,000 was authorized, and authority was given collectors to apply certain customs fees directly to pay the cos collection. This unwise method of appropriation still continu but since 1861 Congress has placed many restrictions upon the cretion of collectors and other customs officers, by regulating number and salaries of employees.

The Internal Revenue Bureau, established in 1862, has been s ported by annual appropriations made on detailed estimates, sented to Congress in the regular way.

Prior to the passage of the act of June 24, 1874, the expe of the issuing, reissuing, transferring, redemption, and destruc of securities of the United States were paid from the perma

propriation of one per cent. of all securities issued during each cal year. Some years these expenditures amounted to $3,000,000, part of which came under the previous scrutiny of Congress. the act of June 20, 1874, all appropriations for that service were ced in the annual bills on regular estimates sent to Congress.

Under the act of March 31, 1849, an indefinite appropriation s made to pay for horses, vessels, and other property lost in the litary service under impressment or contract; and large sums e been expended which do not appear in the annual bills. By act of July 12, 1870, Congress attempted to repeal these permanent appropriations and require estimates to be submitted for m; but the old law appears by some blunder to have been rected in the revised statutes.

The Abuse of Unexpended Balances.

Prior to 1872, an appropriation once authorized by Congress ained on the books of the Treasury as a continuous appropriin subject to be drawn upon at any time. The result was, that unexpended balances of one year could be drawn against for sequent years; and these balances so accumulated in all the eaus and departments that in the course of years they constid a large and forgotten fund which could be used for a great iety of purposes without the special notice of Congress. In a gle bureau it was found that the unexpended balances—the acmulations of a quarter of a century—amounted, in 1870, to $36,-,000.

By a provision of law, offered by Mr. Dawes, chairman of the mmittee on Appropriations, and approved July 12, 1870, it was cted that all balances of appropriations contained in the annual , and made specifically for the service of any fiscal year, and aining unexpended at its close, shall be applied only to the payt of expenses incurred during that year, or to the fulfillment ontracts properly made within that year. And balances not led for such purposes shall be carried to the surplus fund, and he end of two years from the date of the law by which they e authorized shall be covered into the Treasury. In carrying law into effect, two years afterward, over $174,000,000 of aculated unexpended balances were covered into the Treasury at time; and the temptation to extravagance, which this great l had offered, was removed. By an act of June 20, 1874, the was made still more stringent, and the old abuses which grew

out of unexpended balances may be said to have been wholly su pressed.

In the same connection should be noticed a legislative devi which has often been resorted to to cover up the actual amount appropriations, under clauses which unexpended balances are rea propriated without specifying the amount. The act of 1870 great reduced the scope of this pernicious habit. But indefinite reappr priations by Congress of balances which, under the law of 18 and 1874, can not be used without renewed authority, have recent reappeared in our annual bills. The just and safe method is appropriate specifically the expenditures which Congress is willi to authorize, so that the law shall itself show, as far as possib both the object and the full amount of the appropriation.

Deficiencies.

One of the vicious party devices too often resorted to for avoi ing responsibility for extravagance in appropriations is to cut do the annual bills below the actual amount necessary to carry on t Government, announce to the country that a great reduction h been made in the interest of economy, and, after the elections a over, make up the necessary amounts by deficiency bills. Th device has not been confined to any one party ; for it requires n a little courage to make increased appropriations just before a Co gressional election. But it is due to the Republican party to s that, during the last few years of their control in the House, t deficiency bills were smaller in the amounts appropriated than in a recent period of our history, having been reduced to $4,000,000 f the fiscal year 1875, $2,387,000 for the year 1876, and $834,000 f 1877—the last year for which the Republicans made the app priations. This last sum was the smallest amount of deficiency any year for more than a quarter of a century.

In contrast with this statement is the fact that in the first ye for which the Democratic House managed the appropriations, t deficiencies were $2,500,000 ; the second year, $15,213,000 ; and the third (the current fiscal year), $3,500,000 of deficiencies ha already been appropriated ; and a large deficiency must yet be p vided for.

Contingent Funds.

Notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made to spec and limit the objects of appropriations, the custom prevailed u

74 of appropriating considerable sums to each department under e head of "contingent expenses," the disbursement of which was t to the discretion of the heads of bureaus and executive depart- nts. But in one of the annual bills of 1874 all these appropri- ons were carefully classified; and definite amounts were granted different specific purposes, so that the sums left to be ex- nded at the discretion of bureaus of departments were greatly luced. This practice has since been followed in making up the nual bills.

Recent Examples of Bad Legislation.

In further illustration of reckless methods of appropriation, I e two items in the legislation of Congress, at the last session. the act of July 19, 1848, three months' extra pay was granted to officers and soldiers of our volunteer army who were engaged he war with Mexico, the purpose of the act being to pay each h soldier, on his discharge from the army, a sum necessary cover the time that it would be likely to take him to return ne and secure employment. About $50,000 of this extra pay still due, and a bill was introduced to appropriate a sufficient ount of money to complete the payment. An amendment was ed to the bill, which so enlarged the provisions of the original of 1848 as to grant three months' extra pay to all officers and liers of the regular army, and all officers, petty officers, seamen marines of the navy and revenue marine service, who were, at time, employed in the prosecution of the Mexican war. This tuity had never been asked for, and the provision probably sed without much notice of its real character. As estimated by accounting officers of the Treasury Department, the amount ropriated by this act, thus enlarged, is three and a half million ars, while the sum actually due was only $50,000.

The other instance marks the introduction of a still more dan- ous kind of legislation. A bill was passed on the last day of late session, creating an irredeemable debt of $250,000, the ual interest of which is to be paid to the trustees of a "Print- House for the Blind," at Louisville, Kentucky, an establishment rtered by the State of Kentucky. The act puts the appropria- in the form of a national obligation, which cannot be repealed hout the repudiation of a portion of the public debt.

General Legislation on Appropriation Bills.

Perhaps the most reprehensible method connected with appro-

priation bills has resulted from a change of one of the rules of th House, made in 1876, by which any general legislation germane a bill may be in order if it retrenches expenditures. The construc tion recently given to this amended rule has resulted in putting great mass of general legislation upon the appropriation bills, an has so overloaded the committee in charge of them as to render quite impossible for its members to devote sufficient attention the details of the appropriations proper. If this rule be continue in force, it will be likely to break down the Committee on Appro priations, and disperse the annual bills to several committees, that the legislation on that subject will not be managed by any on committee, nor in accordance with any general and comprehensiv plan.

It is of the first importance that one strong, intelligent commit tee should have supervision of the whole work of drafting and put ting in shape the bills for the appropriation of public money. The committee ought, every year, to present to Congress and the coun try a general and connected view of what we may fairly call ou budget, showing not only the aggregate of expenditures, but th general distribution of revenue to the several objects to be sup ported. To accomplish this work thoroughly and comprehensively is all that any one committee can do; and any attempt to lo general legislation upon their bills will be disastrous not only general legislation, by making it fragmentary and incomplete, b especially so to the proper management of our fiscal affairs. Th unwise rule furnished the temptation to the Democratic caucus tack upon the two appropriation bills which failed at the last se sion of Congress the political legislation which has caused the ext session, and has done more to revive the unfortunate memories the rebellion than any political event of the last ten years.

The true policy is to separate all financial questions as far possible from mere partisan politics, and bring to their discussi and management the best intelligence of all parties.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

III.

HE STAGNATION OF TRADE AND ITS CAUSE.

THE nations of the world are suffering severe commercial de-ession. The public press in many countries abounds with unceas-g comments on this painful fact. Public men of every kind, onomical writers, and men engaged in industry, ardently discuss s nature and its consequences. The charitable come forward to lieve the sufferings which it creates, and plunge into discussions the nature and fitting limits of beneficent charity. Writers of eat power debate the causes and the presumptive remedies of this pression. Heavy reductions of wages are demanded by employ-s who have lost all profit, amid a war of strikes, in the name of e stagnation of business. The workmen retort that they are vic-ns of the oppression of capitalists. Traders, under the impulse severe losses and the agitations of despair, challenge the con-ctions of their reason, and, abandoning reflection and judgment, ek help from the delusive follies of protection. A kind of chaos ems to have come over the minds of mankind in this very grave atter.

Amid these sufferings and these anxieties—spread over so many untries—one fact presents itself which is calculated to excite sur-ise. The depression has gone on and has been keenly discussed r years, yet its true nature and the real cause which has generated do not yet seem to have been recognized. Every kind of expla-tion is given of it. It is made to be the offspring of multitudi-us causes ; nevertheless, a clear perception of its true character, d of what has brought it to pass, is still wanting. Even cham-rs of commerce, filled with men of the highest commercial abil-, appear to have some, if not theory, at least special view, of eir own. Statesmen, too, speak of it as a subject which they do t understand. Not, indeed, that the right explanation is abso-ely wanting—in some quarters it has been distinctly pointed

out—but it has not yet reached the stage of a publicly recognize fact. Yet to know what this fearful commercial depression mean and what brought it into existence, are matters of supreme in portance for warning and for cure. There are misdoings on whic responsibility for the calamity mainly lies, and there are mistake practices to be shunned, and right action to be adopted, to brin the suffering to the earliest practicable end.

What, then, is commercial depression? Want of buyers. An how come buyers to be few and weak? Because there is an in mense diminution of the means of purchasing. And in what does th power of buying consist? In goods to give in exchange—with th exception of a relatively small amount of articles previously mad in commodities produced for the very purpose of being exchange with one another. This is the one characteristic peculiarity of th economical life of man. Particular goods, needed by the who community, are made by special makers, and they are distributed t those who require them for use, that is, to consumers, by the make obtaining from each other what they want for their own need The baker makes bread for the town, and he gets from the ha ter, the grocer, the tailor, the supply of his wants. When the v rious producers are fairly occupied with their several industrie many exchanges are carried out, much buying and selling tak place, and trade is said to be prosperous. Commercial depressio is the exact reverse. It is stagnant trade—trade paralyzed, an mills and factories work on a smaller scale or are closed, banl and commercial firms break, wages are lowered, workmen and the families are reduced to destitution. All this misery comes from single cause: there are fewer goods to buy with, less wealth to l exchanged, diminished supplies of food, capital, clothing, and ra materials wherewith to keep laborers at work. They are unable t maintain the full production of those commodities which societ requires. In other words, simply and plainly, commercial depre sion is poverty—poverty among consumers and would-be buyer This poverty first springs up among those who have been deprive of the ordinary products of their industry, and then it passes on t sellers who find that buyers fail them from lack of means wherewit to buy, lack of goods to give in exchange.

Mere truisms these, we shall be told; what help can they bring The knowledge, be it answered, of the malady from which th world is now suffering, of the cure to be adopted, and of the ba practices to be avoided in the future. They are every-day truth

) doubt, but such common truths are emphatically the strength of olitical economy, and of the proper conduct of business. The ractices which they speak of, known as they are to all, are the ry things which occur to no one when unusual pressure steps , and are the very forces which make nations rich or poor. ney reveal the essence of all industry and of all trade, common d obvious though they be. At the present moment they give e to the critical question, How has it come to pass that the ods wherewith to buy have become so few?

Diverse answers are given to this question, which are not tru-ns—very far from it—especially when they fall from the lips of ders. "There is no money to buy with," exclaim shopkeepers; t such an answer does not throw the faintest light on the dark oblem. Nations are not made poor, nor their mines and factories at up, nor emigrant laborers driven back to their old homes, be-use gold and pieces of paper are in one place rather than in an-ner. Money, whatever be included under the term, is a mere ol, absolutely nothing else. It renders no other service to man-d than to place property in different hands; it does not add to diminish commodities. As well explain the badness of the wheat p by talking of the farmer's carts. Whether a country is pros-ous or depressed, the quantity of money contained in it varies very trifling amounts. The means with which every man buys his income, and incomes, be they rent, profits, wages, or divi-ds, are nothing else but the share each man obtains of the com-dities produced. These shares may become much larger or ch smaller by the common stock from which they are taken ng increased or diminished, and yet no change will have taken ce in the quantity of coin in the country.

Money, then, reveals nothing which will help us to understand causes of the commercial depression. A far more favorite lanation is found in the phrase "over-production." It seems ported by such visible evidence. Vast stocks are piled up at es and factories waiting for buyers, but none come. Merchan-e is offered in every market all over the world, but no orders for pment arrive. Production, people say, has been overdone; the ural wants of consumers have been grossly exceeded by specu-ive manufacturers; can any one wonder that purchasers can not rtake them? That there is over-production now going on, with ch harm to traders, is an undeniable fact. The existence of the essive stocks and the dismissals of workmen are proofs of over-

making which can not be gainsaid. How this over-production ha
been brought about will be explained presently. Nevertheless, it
not the cause of the commercial depression; it is the second stag
of the disease, not the first.

It is a common occurrence that particular markets should b
brought under severe reduction of prices and difficulty of sales b
an over-supply of commodities; but this over-supply is local, ten
porary, and speculative. It tends rapidly to cure itself. Me
chants and producers, with heedless eagerness, have taken an exa
gerated view of the capacity of a particular market to dispose of
large amount of their goods. They make ventures, which are esse
tially experiments whether the market will take off the wares ha
arded. Such miscalculations were frequent in the colonial trad
when the colonies were smaller, and the steamboat and the telegra
had not yet come forward to reveal the true state of the market
But these miscalculations speedily cure themselves. Traders a
not permanent gamblers, and this kind of over-production soo
reckons up its losses and ceases.

The depression which now weighs upon the world exhibits fe
tures of a different kind. Its distinguishing characteristic is that
sweeps over many countries. It presses, so to speak, on the who
civilized world. It is easily conceivable that England should ha
produced more goods than China could buy under her circumstance
or India, or America, or Russia. She may have reckoned on th
ordinary demand from one of these countries; it may have fail
her through causes peculiar to each case, and then her goods ma
have found no buyers. The consequences to some may have be
painful—factories for a while over-stocked, and makers and m
involved in temporary trouble. But general over-production, e
tending over many countries simultaneously, is a totally differe
matter; it can not be regarded as possible. The world is far sho
as yet, of that stage when there is already wealth enough—when n
one desires to have more enjoyments, and when he will make n
industrial effort to obtain them. The maximum of necessaries an
gratifications has not yet been reached by mankind. The reverse
true—millions of men and women have not enough to consum
They want more and work for more, and this means that by pr
ducing more there is more trade, and that all are better off. Th
increased production moves upon the old lines. Each branch of i
dustry furnishes more goods, and these can be sold easily, becau
each producer has a larger supply of his own products wherewi

purchase those of others. Great production on every side can ot imply scarcity of purchasing power and of buyers, but the di- ect contrary. The continuance of production after the means of uying have disappeared may easily become excessive, and generate ischievous effects; but that excess will be the offspring of under- roduction in some quarter which has suspended its ability to trade.

We thus arrive at over-consumption, that is, the consuming and estroying more wealth than is made, as the true explanation of at commercial depression which may be termed universal. Sub- quent partial over-production has aggravated it, but was not its iginal parent. It thus becomes a matter of surpassing interest inquire, if possible, what are the causes which have brought the orld into this condition. How has it happened that so many na- ons have been impelled to consume more than they restored by eir industry, and thereby have landed themselves in impoverish- ent and distress? We may hope to learn from such an inquiry me lessons that may guard against the recurrence of so great a isfortune.

How, then, has it come to pass that the means of buying, that e quantity of goods to exchange, have been so fearfully reduced? et us turn our eyes, in the first place, to India and to China: these untries will furnish us with terrible illustrations of over-consump- on. They were visited with great famines; and there is no over- nsumption severer than that created by famine. The cost of cul- vation is increased, laborers are fed and clothed, tools bought and ed, seed destroyed, a whole year's capital annihilated, and there no crop; no replacement of the things destroyed. The popula- on is ground down to poverty, many perish—as Ireland testified 1847; a second outlay of food and clothing has to be expended r one crop; the power of buying is annihilated. Comforts and xuries became of impossible attainment, and the demand for ods to be supplied to China and India all but vanished from nglish and American markets. How was Manchester to sell cal- o, and Bradford woolen cloth, to the East when there was nothing pay for them—no Chinese and Indian wealth to send back in ex- ange? Depression and its cause here present themselves very viv- ly to the eyes of all who have the will and the intelligence to see.

Let us now turn to the United States: they have instruction to ve us of the highest value. They occupy a prominent place in this cle of depression. In no small degree they set it revolving. The rt which America took in creating the commercial depression was

of her own choosing: China and India suffered from a dispensatio of Providence. America never gave a thought to the obvious la that to consume more than is restored by subsequent industry land man and nation in impoverishment. She constructed railways wit mad eagerness in the wilderness, never stopping to inquire what was that she was doing. She never deigned to ask herself whethe she could afford the cost. What so prolific of wealth as railways Had not Robert Stephenson pointed out years ago that the railway had paid off the national debt of England? These iron roads wer the very contrivance for making the American people rich; the would bring their vast fields and enormous products into close neigh borhood with the markets of the world. Those who had settled, o were intending to settle, in the far West, investors eager to emplo their capital, speculators on the stock-exchanges, all rushed forwar to build railways. They fed and clothed countless laborers, burne huge stocks of coal in making iron, emptied the warehouses an stores of the Eastern States on the busy workers in the West, con sumed and destroyed immense accumulations of wealth. The good perished; but by what were they replaced? By rich agricultura crops, by manufactured products streaming forth from mills an factories? By nothing of the kind. The consumption of wealt made tunnels and embankments, and long lines of rails, and tha was all. The effect for the time, and for long afterward, has bee identically the same as if the energetic laborers of America ha been set to dig holes in the ground and to fill them up again. Her was over-consumption indeed.

But, it will be asked, Does the construction of railroads nece sarily impoverish? No, not necessarily; but the distinction merit the most careful attention from all who wish well to their country Railways, docks, factories, mines, and similar constructions, ar what political economy calls fixed capital, of which the distinguishin characteristic is that their cost, the capital consumed in construc ing them, is not repaid at once, but only after a period more or les long, generally for years. A small portion of what they use up i being made is replaced out of profits each revolving year; the re mainder, though a diminishing quantity, continues to be an uncom pensated loss. If, therefore, the construction of fixed capital is ca ried out to excess, diminution of wealth is the necessary conse quence. But what is excess? What defines it? Excess is wha goes beyond the amount of uninvested savings available at the time But what are savings? The amount of wealth produced, the surplu

yond what restores all the capital laid out in production, profits d wages included. Savings are really surplus income coming in yond what the owner had to spend naturally, or the manufacturer quires to replace all his cost. That surplus may be consumed in y way without harm; it may be thrown into the sea, and no pov- ty is incurred. It is not savings yet; it becomes savings when it not laid out in luxuries or increased enjoyment, but is applied as pital to enlarging the means of future production. The man who s ten thousand pounds a year, which he can spend lawfully with- t injury, if he devotes three thousand pounds to the draining of s estate, spending only seven thousand pounds on his living, ves. He makes his land a more productive machine for wealth, d its produce is permanently larger. Precisely in the same man- r, if a nation construct railways or other fixed capital out of sur- us wealth saved, there is no over-consumption, no impoverish- nt. Every expense of the nation had been provided for—what d been won over and above could be disposed of in any way thout loss. The United States built railroads, not out of savings, t out of capital, and became poorer and depressed.

But the mischief does not end here. Over-consumption brings those leaps and bounds in trade of which Mr. Gladstone speaks. makes a nation bubble over with excitement. The demand for mmodities is unnaturally increased. The railway works call for n and coal, and endless other articles. The supply gave rise to her profits and wages; the movement was felt in every store. xurious expenditure raised its head; multitudes of bankers, ck-brokers, engineers, manufacturers, multiplied their purchases, l enlarged their destruction of wealth. Then burst forth new culations, fresh enterprises, the undulation of excitement and sumption ever expanding. The laborers feel the impulse; and, they are Englishmen, and not Frenchmen, their outlay on drink l personal indulgences will keep pace with the universal move- nt. They marry in greater numbers and at an earlier age, thus ving in this artificial ground the seed of much misery in the fu- e. Then at last comes the rebound. There is no more to buy h, and overwhelming is the collapse. Commercial depression nges the universal misconduct with sufferings whose acuteness ut too well understood.

Such was the course pursued in America, and what have been its sequences? From 1873 until the last bountiful harvest brought k a portion of their lost wealth to the wasteful, a commercial

depression weighed down the country severer yet than that whic overtook England. Coal and iron mines stopped working, blas furnaces were blown out, factories stood still, hundreds of tho sands of working people were reduced to idleness, wages rapidl fell, railway traffic declined, immigrants fell away, destitute labore left the country, strikes broke out into open rebellion, and a wid spread mercantile stringency harassed the whole nation for years.

If we cross the Atlantic to Germany the same phenomena pr sent themselves—the same sequence of cause and effect. In 187 Germany waged a mighty war with France—and what but famin can vie with war in destructiveness to wealth? Think of the mu titudes of men whom it converts from producers into consume only! War replaces nothing that it destroys; impoverishment its inevitable offspring. But did not the indemnity make all rig for Germany? What might not two hundred and twenty millio pounds effect in the way of remedy? Everything, if only they ha reached Germany in the shape of goods, of useful wealth, to r place as capital what had been consumed. But what could gol avail for the relieving of German distress? The currency of Ge many was not deficient, and the new gold could be applied to r restoring process. It could not be turned into wheels for movin machinery, not become food and clothing for a laboring and di tressed people. So long as it remained in Germany, all that it coul accomplish was to put material wealth into different hands, and th it could do and did in very mischievous ways. Far better would have been if it had been locked up and hoarded, if it was bound remain in Germany. A large portion of this gold was applied military purposes, to the building of fortresses. Their cost w enormous; they consumed without reproducing, precisely as t American railroads, with this difference, however, on the bad sid that in the end the railroads will repay their cost and be permane increasers of the national wealth.

Nor was this all the harm that the indemnity gold did. Anoth portion the Government lent to speculators, who retained it with the country. They bought German goods in abundance: prices ros brilliant profits were realized, and the same fatal tale was repeate Luxurious consumption spread; instead of restoring what the w had destroyed by parsimony, prodigality magnified the disaster, a the French gold wore the appearance of a clear contrivance devis by France for avenging her reverses.

France presents a spectacle of a different kind; yet Franc

)o, was a victim of over-consumption. She was devastated by a reat war carried on within her territory. Her fields were laid aste, her food for men and horses destroyed, her factories widely ıspended where contending hosts were struggling, her laborers ılled away from their industry and enrolled in unproductive regi- ents, her capital annihilated in guns and gunpowder. Then came ıe indemnity ; but, fortunately, her thrifty peasants had piled up)ards in their rural homes: it could be lent to the French Govern- ent, and leave France without any injury to her industry or her ractical wealth. But what was not gold had to be sent away in aterial wealth, and each year as it revolves finds France pressed ith an increase of taxation, amounting to thirty millions of pounds erling. If ever nation might have been expected in modern times exhibit the picture of universal ruin it was France. It was far herwise. France astonished mankind with a power of fighting pression, a strength of recovery, unequaled in history. Her peo- e suffer, but with no sense of overwhelming poverty. The piled- load of her taxation is borne with ease. And to what is this nderful sight due? To the practice of the greatest of economical rtues. France saved. She met impoverishment with parsimony. ıe diminished the consumption of enjoyments, to apply the re- urces thereby gained to the maintenance of her capital employed production. These are the realities of practical political economy, d what fruit do they not bear?

England now comes upon the stage. She is found walking in e same path of over-consumption. Since 1870 England has been sy with destroying more wealth than she made, to a degree une- aled by any other country except, perhaps, America. Innumerable e the forces which bear on her commercial position. She trades th all the world, she manufactures for many nations, her industries pend on their power of purchasing; their fortunes she necessarily ares. If her customers thrive, she prospers; if their means of buy- g fail, the blow is felt in every corner of her land. Their pros- rity and their adversity are really also her own.

This community of interest between England and other countries es us round the world in exploring the causes of her suffering. e was a partner or a victim of their over-consumption, besides what e practiced on her own account. One mode of destroying wealth e abstained from: till quite recently, she did not indulge in the er-consumption of war and great armies. Yet war has affected r deeply—war carried on by her customers. At an earlier period

the great war of the American secession created the cotton famine of Lancashire, stripped her of the means of manufacturing, and threw vast masses of her population into destitution. The Austro-Prussian and Franco-German wars, the devastating hostilities carried on by China in the far East, the struggles in Servia and Turkey, the exaggerated armaments of Russia and Germany, wasted an immense capital, and vastly diminished their power of supporting British industry. Further yet, England took a part in the rashnesses of other countries. She gave help in the invasion of the American wilds by railroads; she bought a colossal amount of American bonds which had been issued for their construction—in other words, she gave away her iron and other wealth, and got only paper documents in return. Thus she practically consumed her wealth—for to lend it is to lose it for the time—without replacing it at home with new products obtained from abroad, and consequently shared in the penalty which had fallen on the Americans for over-consumption.

But England did much more in promoting the process of over consumption. She imitated the American proceeding of creating an excess of fixed capital. She poured out loans in splendid profusion upon foreign countries, nominally for the development of their industry by railways and other instruments of production. Some she gave to solvent debtors, others to insolvent; but the effect in both cases was identical as to the diminution of her wealth. For the time, for the creation of depression, it matters not whether she lent to a country which would repay or to one which would not. She parted with her capital: she lessened her stock of goods and of means of reproducing; she sent away that which, if it had remained at home, would have amply restored its consumption. The loans were reckoned as money; but money was not the thing lent. England has no money, no gold and silver, to lend; commodities are all that she can give to borrowers. If she bids them draw bills upon her, she can obtain money, if demanded, wherewith to face those bills by purchasing it with her merchandise. To lend became a devouring passion on the Stock Exchange of London. Peru and Venezuela, Honduras and Guatemala, Turkey and Egypt, swallowed up countless millions of English wealth. The grand colonies came forward with a sounder plea for borrowing. They pointed to their vast, expanding trade, to their tillage and their flocks, and they dwelt on the mighty help which railroads and other machinery could render them in developing the natural resources of their country. England relied on excellent interest and a brilliant future

er hope and her faith were not misplaced; but again she forgot at she was over-consuming—that she was losing more capital than e had to spare or could replace.

Another counter-clap fell at home on the unhappy British ealth. The working-classes were impelled by the loans to figure, d to figure largely, in the universal over-consumption. The loans nt out in commodities, and the commodities were made by Eng- h labor. Ironclads for Turkey, rails and locomotives for Amer- and the colonies, clothing for their men and women, now pros- ring on what they had borrowed, were energetically supplied m England. Sales were enormously increased; labor was in gorous demand by employers reveling in large profits; prices of articles advanced; iron mounted to twenty pounds a ton—the ne iron which now fetches only six pounds—and luxurious en- rment broke out on every side. Who stopped to inquire whether s roaring business was legitimate; whether England was mak- ; for eager borrowers, getting nothing but acknowledgments of t in return? Masters and men were not responsible for these ns; that was the affair of Stock-Exchange men and bankers. that they knew was, that their products were in great demand, l were handsomely paid for. The increase of wages led to a ther immense over-consumption; for English laborers do not e. The wealth of the nation was largely destroyed in drink and uries. But this was not all. The union leaders took advantage the situation to enforce that ignorant policy which has led to so ny disastrous rules for withholding the worth of wages, and pre- ting the workingmen from giving back work worth what they eived. Strikes, with their suspensions of industry, while con- ption was going on at an accelerated pace, followed in numbers. would seem as if men had enlisted themselves in a race how to overish themselves and their country most swiftly.

Nor does this end the catalogue of woes. Profits would not be done by wages in the pleasant function of over-consuming, of ng on the destruction of capital; never heeding that they were oping into poverty. New enterprises were pushed forward; factories and other fixed capital created; new mines opened; stocks accumulated. No one dreamed of the day, so dark upon world now, so slow to set, when over-production would rear its elcome head; when buyers would die away; when markets ly so brilliant would be overloaded, and commercial depression ld reign supreme in the darkness.

Thus opens upon us the second scene in this wonderful drama the second stage in the process of over-consumption—the period o over-production. The curtain was first lifted in America. In 187 the American people found that the poverty-creating practice o building an excess of fixed capital could be carried on no longe The day of reckoning broke upon the promoters of illegitimate rai roads. A severe crisis fell upon the money markets of the Unite States. A shock struck American credit, and Europe would buy n more American bonds with her goods. The concussion propagate itself over the mines and factories of Europe, especially over thos of England, which had supplied so many materials for the America railways. Loans died away, and with them the demand for thos manufactured products in which they were lent. Buyers vanishe The iron and the coal, the cotton goods and the woolen cloths o the new factories were not wanted nor inquired for; profits wer converted into losses; the rate of wages became intolerable. A trade fell away, the thought of a temporary lull, to be followed by revival of the former briskness, fed hope in anxious makers. The shrank from reducing or stopping their works; they recoiled fro dismissing workmen whose services they might soon be eager to r gain. But the sting of their trouble lay in the new works added o to the old ones—the extended factories, the mines sunk down great depths. So they struggled on into over-production. They wer on making, as buyers went on failing—the over-consumption of fixe capital sentenced them to the sufferings of over-production.

But the stern facts of the situation became visible at last. Mil and mines were then closed in numbers—for the laws of trade, lik those of nature, are peremptory. Where buyers are wanting, manu facturing and exchange must cease, whatever men and masters ma say or do. Many men could find no employment, and were throw upon public support—over-consumption thus everlastingly repea ing itself, for these men lived, and did nothing for their livelihoo Wages were reduced and men struck, and fearful was the loss whic the strikes made and are still making. On those who still remaine in the mills, reduction after reduction was successively imposed; f still buyers failed to present themselves in expanding numbers. Th cost of production has been lowered for many goods, but custom ers have not yet recovered their power to buy; time still is wan ing for them to acquire wealth wherewith to purchase.

But the evil of over-production is gradually healing itself. Th stoppage of works and diminution of manufacturing have gone o

some time, and vast accumulations of unsalable stocks have llnigh disappeared. The great evil, indeed, of over-consumption l remains, but not in so acute a form. The trouble which weighs wn the whole commercial world is still excess of mechanical and nufacturing power in the face of decayed ability to buy; but s excess is found now, not so much in the new works erected in day of excitement, as in the ordinary natural manufacturing chinery. The poverty of buyers has been brought down by the r-consumption below the former level: consumption can not pur- se even up to the old customary extent.

If the word production is to be used in this relation—and it is r on the lips of many—over-cost of production would be the ase that would best describe the actual commercial situation. e goods offered for sale are too dear for the means of consumers. controllable forces place them out of their reach, except at lower es, or compel them to go without them altogether. Reduction the cost of production, therefore, is the only outlet by which loyers can escape the abandonment of their business, until er forces have restored to the nations their ancient power of chasing. It is a situation identical with that created by famine. at happened to Ireland in 1847 has now befallen wide regions he civilized world.

And, now, what are the remedies to be applied for the mitiga- and ultimate termination of this depression with all its suffer- ? Many of various kinds are proposed with much passion. especially is advocated with great fervor by the working ses and their advocates. It takes its stand on the assumed fact ver-production. It imputes the blame of the calamity to this ged proceeding, and proclaims that the cure will be obtained its direct opposite. More goods, it argues, are made than umers can be found to buy; and they sink to prices which can meet the cost of production. Reverse the practice—make less, s vehemently urged; work short time—and a cure will be ted. It is admitted that the market can not clear off the goods xisting prices, and that the laborers must receive less remunera- . Let the reduction be taken in five or four days' work a week ad of six—the rate of wage per day will then be kept up. over-production will be stopped, all the goods made will be , and in good time the sunshine will again reappear.

This policy is founded on a complete misunderstanding of the re of that industry which supplies the life of mankind with

those commodities which are summed up in the word wealth. country is rich when much is produced; it is poor, and its peop live at a low level, when there is little made, little to divide amor them. Now, what does this policy counsel? Make less; let the be less wealth. Work four days a week instead of six; let th price of the goods and the rate of wage remain where they a now. And this advice to keep goods dear is urged at a time wh all the commercial distress is the consequence of the one fact th there is little to buy with, little to give in exchange. Are su men unable to perceive the obvious truth that, if every man in nation worked half time and produced half the quantity of goo every man would be only half as well off?

But worse still. The preachers of this policy make two assum tions which are perfectly false. They take it for granted that t cost of production of the goods and their price will both contin unchanged. The very reverse of this will take place: the goo under short time will be dearer to make and will be dearer to se In every manufacturing business there are heavy charges to faced which will not be reduced by working fewer days in t week. Interest on capital will be the same, so also the rent of t buildings, the expense of pumping up the water from the mi the charges for superintendence and office-work, the wear and te of the machinery. These expenses were charged on the prod tion of six days; they will now fall on the goods manufactured five or four, and inevitably they add to their cost of producti and consequently to the price which must be demanded for p ducing them. Many of the buyers who bought the goods of t five days will now be unable to afford them; the over-producti will be increased, the depression more intense, and the necessity a further reduction will become irresistible. And who will be t sufferers? If this principle is sound in policy, it will be applied all trades, and goods dearer in every shop will be the inevita consequence. The working classes are the greatest buyers a consumers in a nation; their money, even if not diminished, v encounter higher prices, and will not go so far in purchasing; th will have condemned themselves by short time to live upon a lo scale, with fewer comforts to enjoy, by their own act. Can it b matter of surprise if the counselors who urged the enforcement short time were described as advising workmen to commit suici

What a contrast does the opposite method of proceeding p sent! The laborer would receive the same diminished wage

ne week, but he works and produces during six days. The price f the goods can be lowered, for the reduction of wages has dimin-hed the cost of production, and there are as many things made as reviously. Fresh buyers come in who could not afford the former rice. Even if the employer earns no profit, he may be saved from ss till the wealth of the country has expanded. More is produced n such a system in the various industries all round. The power buying is thus increased, for there is more to give in exchange. he depression is attacked, face to face, in its very heart; the aste which created that depression is gradually restored by en-rged production, and, with the growth of commodities made, ofits and wages are benefited together.

But there is another additional fallacy contained in the demand r short time. It involves the assumption that a minimum rate of ages can be decreed and enforced at the pleasure of the laborers. o more egregious delusion can befall wretched mortals. In all rchases the buyer is supreme. He decides whether the article all be bought; and, if the price exceeds either his means or his sire to acquire the article, there will be no purchase. Nor will be without other resources. He will betake himself to other lers; he will fall back upon the competition of foreign pro-cers, who work longer hours, and probably with more good will. his is a consideration of very serious import to a nation like Eng-nd, which owes her commercial greatness, and with it the very istence of a large portion of her population, to her command of stant markets all over the world. The demand for a minimum ge, if one could conceive it to be persisted in, might bring count-s English laborers, not only to the workhouse, but to starvation.

The sufferings of stagnant trade have brought home this thought foreign rivals to the feelings of impoverished masters and work-n in many countries. Even in England, the stronghold of free de, the cry for protection is increasingly heard. Not that pro-tion is demanded in plain terms; for the people of England are profoundly convinced that protection is nothing but pure folly. It disguised under the pleasant name of reciprocity, which is simply otection with an excuse for it. "The French refuse to buy our tons," exclaims the embittered cotton-spinner; "let England re-iate by refusing to buy French silks. We shall thus accomplish o things: we shall punish France, and do good to the distressed t-manufacturers of England. They will be protected against npeting strangers with their long hours of working and low

wages. The national industries shall not be extinguished by an in vasion so cruel."

But will this do any good to the cotton-spinner himself? fo there is the rub. In truth, this language is scarcely rational—t be excused by a natural feeling of resentment for a suppose wrong. Reciprocity asks for the imposition of protection whe it dares not say that protection can be defended, least of all by motive which has no connection whatever with the trade in whos behalf it is demanded. Protect the silk-maker because the cotto spinner is hurt: this is reciprocity in its full nakedness. A fe truisms, it is believed, will suffice to make this clear.

The first thing that protection does is, to ask where the goo were made; its action turns upon the nationality of the mercha dise. But what has the place where the goods were made to d with the buying and the selling of them? What rational princip can be pleaded for thrusting in the nationality of the goods b tween buyer and seller? The price and the quality of the goo are the only things which concern them. Be the two men of t same nation, or be they, one a Frenchman, the other an Englishma *Tros Tyriusve*, what matters it? "Oh!" the thoughtless repl "the English buy French goods, but the French will not buy En lish goods in return." Then with what does the Englishman mal the purchase? Trade is nothing but an exchange of goods of equ value. No one, be it man or nation, can buy unless it also sel The English must give the French what their goods are worth, they will never get them. "Exactly so," it is replied. "The Fren may choose to say that they want nothing which England pr duces; they may insist on being paid in money. If so, what is t harm?" Money is ever introducing confusion into this very simp subject. England does not grow gold in her fields. If the Frenc men insist on having gold, then England can not buy the Fren goods, unless some other country has given her gold in exchange f her goods; she passes that gold on to the French, and there the ma ter ends. She has indirectly, but very really, given goods for good she has sold as much as she has bought. There is no loss on eith side; each produces an equal worth of goods to exchange. It ma make the explanation clearer if it be allowed to repeat here a pa sage which bears directly on this subject:

> The truth stands out in clear sunshine. Free trade can not and does n injure domestic industry. Under free trade foreign countries give in eve case as much employment to English workmen and capitalists as if nothi

ad been bought abroad. English goods of the same value must be purchased
y the foreigner, or the trade comes to an end. There must be an equal
mount of English goods made and sent away, or England will never obtain
he foreign commodities. Free trade never does harm to the country which
ractices it; and that mighty fact alone kills protection. Let those who are
acksliding into protection be asked, Can and will the foreigner give away
is goods to any country without insisting on receiving back, directly or in-
irectly, an equal quantity of that country's goods? Let the question be
ushed home, and all talk about injury to domestic industry must cease
"Chapters on Practical Political Economy," p. 307).

But how does protection act? It imposes a duty on the foreign-
ade article, and not on the one made at home. Thus, the price of
he foreign commodity is raised—always to a height sufficient to
ake it dearer than its domestic competitor, or even to exclude it
om the home market altogether. By this intervention, the home
ommodity, which was driven from the market by its naturally
gher price, becomes the cheaper of the two, and commands the
arket in consequence. But who pays the duty, or else the excess
price, of the domestic above that of the foreign article if it had
een allowed to come in free? The home buyers; that is, the
hole people of the country which imposes protection. They pay
ore to their own countrymen than they would have had to pay to
e foreign maker. The difference is a tax imposed to support cer-
in persons who would be unable to maintain themselves by the
ade in which they are engaged. Clearly, then, it is a poor-rate
id by the protecting nation at its own cost, given to the home
akers, an impoverishment of the public wealth, which they con-
me and destroy without giving any compensation for it beyond
hat the foreigner would have bestowed at his lower price.

Protection is an erroneous policy; but it raises a fair issue:
all the supplies which a nation wants be made at home or abroad?
nd it can allege reasons plausible at first sight. But reciprocity, as
is now put, can plead none but childish reasons in its own behalf.
does not say that protection is a wise policy: far from it. But it
ys, in England, for instance: "The American diminishes our trade
putting a duty on English iron. He diminishes his own trade
o, it is true, and he puts a tax on the American people, which they
emselves have to pay. Still, he hurts us: let us hurt him in turn."
But what good will that do us? Will it increase our trade? Will
cure our depression?" "Not at all. But it will punish him; and
us have this gratification, even though we can obtain it only by

taxing ourselves, and in addition contracting our already depresse trade." Is it possible that any one grown up to man's estate ca utter such absurdities?

The demand for reciprocity is the child of a radical misconce tion—of the want of perception of a very simple fact. It mixes u and confounds together into one, two things which have no conne tion whatever with each other. It chooses to regard two separat trades as one; and on this blunder its absurd advice is founded. does not see that the production of silks is a business which stan by itself. England decides not to protect her silks, but to buy t French silks, thereby saving wealth and avoiding the losses whic protection always entails. There the matter ends. The Frenc pursue the reverse policy. They protect their cottons, and will n buy those of England. That is a foolish proceeding, for France pu a tax upon herself, and restricts the trade between France and En land. But what motive does the bad form which France gives t her cotton trade furnish to England for altering the sound organiz tion she has bestowed on the silk trade? That organization w settled on its own merits without reference to anything else but sil How can it be affected by what happens to cotton? How can a ba form given to the cotton-supply be a reason for a bad form al being given to the production of silk? Silk and cotton are perfe strangers to each other, touching at no point. Reciprocity may t for ever, but it will never find a reason why a country having receive a hurt in one trade should, on that account, of her own doing, hu herself in another.

Finally, what is to be done to end the commercial depression Reverse the process which created it. Instead of over-consumin make more wealth. Produce much, with earnestness and continuan of work, restoring the consumption that does and must go on wi new wealth—making an addition to it by saving. The savings will capital, instruments for increased production, and for accumulatin a larger stock of wealth to be divided over the whole people. Th enlarged stock will strike at the heart of the depression, as has bee so manifestly shown by the effects on the commercial stock of t American people of the grand addition made to its wealth by t abundance of its harvests. That was a production of more, effecte by the hand of Providence, but setting up a noble example for im tation and proclaiming the great economical truth that to mak much all round is the root of all prosperity.

BONAMY PRICE.

IV.

THE EDUCATION OF FREEDMEN.

THE short period of fourteen years that has elapsed since the e war has been witness of a more wonderful moral and political volution in these United States than has ever been recorded in story before.

Between four and five million human beings, who had hitherto en deprived of every right of human nature, have been sud- nly precipitated into freedom and invested with the rights of ublican citizens.

There have been instances before of the sudden emancipations oppressed masses, but their results have been so fearful as to fill ughtful minds with a just terror. The French Revolution with sansculottism, its untold horrors, ended perforce in a despotism, l it was not without cause that an English thinker treated of our ancipation act as "Shooting Niagara." We have shot Niagara, l are alive and well. Our ship of state has been through those ghty rapids and plunged down that awful gulf, while nations d their breath, expecting to see her go to pieces. But lo! she s emerged, stanch and steady, and is now sailing on.

That the passengers have been somewhat tumbled about and ken, that here and there a timber has cracked or a joint started, t there have been whirlpools and eddies, and uncomfortable sail- ; we all know. But the miracle of our day is that *the ship is ling on*, in better order than ever before—in better order, for t unwieldy stowage of oppression which she was obliged to carry been thrown overboard, and she sails free!

In order justly to estimate the present state of education and gress among the freedmen of the United States, we must glance

back to the condition in which they were under slavery. A sla could hold no property, had *no* rights, could not testify either a court of justice or a Christian church, could not contract a leg marriage, had no legal rights over his children—in short, was a h man being carefully, legally, and systematically despoiled of eve right of humanity.

To teach a slave to read and write was forbidden, under hea penalties. In some States the penalty for teaching him to read w far heavier than for maiming him or putting out his eyes. As t soil in certain States became exhausted, breeding slaves for a mo southern market became a systematic process, and was report upon in agricultural papers and meetings in much the same ter that might apply to the breeding of horses and mules.

In the Northern States, the colored people were generally disfra chised, and, if not forbidden education by law, were repelled fr the schools by prejudice, and prejudices apparently far more bitt at the North than at the South.

In 1832 Miss Prudence Crandall undertook to open a priva boarding-school for young colored girls, in Canterbury, Connectic The enterprise was denounced in advance, by the people of t place, in a public meeting. When the term opened, with fifte or twenty young girls from Philadelphia, Boston, New York, a Providence, storekeepers, butchers, milkmen, and farmers, with o consent, refused to sell provisions to the school, and supplies h to be brought from expensive distances. The scholars were insult in the streets; the door-steps and doors were besmeared with fil and the well filled with the same; the village doctor refused to vi the sick pupils; and the trustees of the church forbade them to foot in their building. The house was assaulted by a mob wi clubs and iron bars; they broke the glass of the windows and ter fied the inmates. Finally, the State Legislature passed an act ma ing this school an illegal enterprise, and under this act Miss Cra dall was imprisoned in the county jail.

This apparently unaccountable sensitiveness of the Northe mind becomes intelligible when we consider that there were really slaveholders in the Northern as the Southern States. N gro slaves were the assets of every Southern estate, plantati and firm; they were offered as security for debt, and the la commercial business of the North with the South was carried upon this basis. There were abundance of rich slaveholders Northern churches, who felt with the keen instinct of self-int

st anything which interfered with their gains, and who did not ish to have trouble of conscience, and they hated the negro ecause he aroused this uncomfortable faculty. The Northern olitionist proclaimed that to buy, hold, or sell a human being for ains was a sin against God, and, like all other sins, to be immedi-ely repented of and forsaken. Now, when a New York merchant ot a letter from his lawyer, apprising him that he had taken enty thousand dollars' worth of negroes as security for his debt, d returned answer to sell and remit, it was but natural that he ould hereafter be very excitable under such teachings, and de-unce them as incendiary and fanatical. The bitterness of Southern aveholders was tempered by many considerations of kindness for rvants born in their houses, or upon their estates; but the North-n slaveholder traded in men and women whom he never saw, d of whose separations, tears, and miseries he determined never hear.

The great consolatory doctrine that soothed the consciences both Northern and Southern slaveholders was that the negro was unfit r any other condition than that of slavery; incapable of culture, ucation, and self-guidance, and therefore, both North and South, orts to educate him aroused special opposition and resistance.

One of the leaders in this Canterbury affair expressed briefly e sense of the whole pro-slavery party North and South: "We are t merely opposed to *that* school. We mean that there shall *never* such a school set up anywhere in our State. The colored people *ver* can rise from a menial condition in this country; they ought t to be permitted to rise here. They are an inferior race of ngs, and never can or ought to be recognized as the equals of the ites. Let the niggers be sent back to Africa, and there improve mselves as much as they may. The condition of the colored pulation of our country can *never* be essentially improved on this ntinent."

This was the vital point of the conflict, briefly stated. The olitionists set themselves, therefore, to the education of the black e.

Oberlin College, founded in 1835, in Oberlin, Ohio, was the first manent endowed institution avowedly opened to give impartial vileges of education without regard to color. In our national ital a brave, heroic woman, named Myrtella Miner, consecrated life to founding a school for the young colored women of the strict of Columbia, who had hitherto been left to ignorance and

vice. Miss Miner wore out her strength and shortened her life i this cause, but the school she founded still exists, and is doing good work in Washington. In memory of her heroism the ladie hall in Howard University is called Miner Hall. Let her memo be blessed!

In 1855 John G. Fee, the son of a Kentucky slaveholder, founde in the little village of Berea, in Madison County, Kentucky, a scho in which white and colored were to be admitted to equal priv leges.

Young Fee renewed in his experience the virtues and the pers cutions of the primitive Christians. For preaching the duty emancipation and the sinfulness of slavery in his native State, h was disinherited by his father. His whole private patrimony h expended in redeeming a slave woman, whom his father had so away from her husband into Southern bondage. The woman was member of the same Christian church with himself. Her ranso left to Fee only a pittance for self-support, and he became a mi sionary under the care of the American Missionary Society, a s ciety formed on expressly antislavery principles. In his labo young Fee encountered the fury of mob-violence. Two or thr times he was seized, his colored assistant brutally flogged before h eyes, and himself, with rope adjusted round his neck, threaten with hanging, unless he pledged himself to abandon his enterpri and leave the State. With Christian calmness he kneeled dow saying: "I can bear any suffering, but I will give no such pledges and to-day Berea College, with an endowment of between eighty an one hundred thousand dollars, is the monument of his perseveranc

Thus we have seen that until the time of the late war the cond tion of the African race in these States was, for the most part, condition of hopeless bondage to ignorance. The efforts for the education were a few twinkling, scattered stars in a night of ra less darkness.

Here we must not omit to do justice to a large class of conscie tious Christians among the Southern slaveholders, who felt deep and oppressively their responsibility to their slaves, and labore sincerely to impart instruction to them within the limits allowed b law. Occasionally individuals were found who took upon ther selves the responsibility of disregarding the penalties of law, an teaching their slaves to read and write; but, in the very nature the case, such instances were exceptional. Yet undoubtedly th kindly relations engendered between servants and masters and mi

esses, in these efforts to impart Christian instruction, were the ason why there was no painful uprising or insurrection attending e war. Christianity, however imperfectly apprehended, was a nd of peace between masters and servants.

At last came the war, and in the beginning of that conflict e best political friends of the African race, the antislavery Presi- nt and Cabinet, and all concerned in the Government, took pains affirm that emancipation was no part of the object or intention that war.

But it soon became evident that the liberation of the slave *was* e object and intention of "Him that ruleth in the armies of aven." The cause of the African was pleaded according to his shion who hath said, "By fire and sword will the Lord plead th all flesh, and the slain of the Lord shall be many."

The time came when the nation was forced into emancipation a war measure, and, having liberated the slave, she enrolled him her armies. Having done this, the national honor became pledged the protection of the race thus set free, and the right of suffrage d the provisions of the civil-rights bill followed as a necessary nsequence.

For years patriots, statesmen, conscientious and Christian men, d toiled and agonized over the inscrutable problem, *How* could very be abolished without ruin to the country? Madison, Jef- son, Washington, all had their schemes—all based on the idea it after emancipation it would be impossible for the whites l the blacks to live harmoniously together. Sudden emancipa- n was spoken of as something involving danger, bloodshed, and lence; and yet, as no one could propose a feasible system of paration, the drift of the Southern mind had come to be toward efinite perpetuation and extension.

Our emancipation was forced upon us—it was sudden; it gave time for preparation, and our national honor forced us to give, only emancipation, but the rights and defenses of citizenship. is was the position in which the war left us. We had four lion new United States citizens in our Union, without property, hout education, with such morals as may be inferred from the al status in which they had been kept; they were surrounded by ir former white owners, every way embittered toward them, and no wise disposed to smooth their path to liberty and competence. That in such a sudden and astounding change there should have n struggle and conflict; that the reconstruction of former slave

States, in such astonishingly new conditions of society, should hav
been with some difficulty, wrath, and opposition; that there shoul
have been contentions, mistakes, mismanagements, and plenty o
undesirable events to make sensation articles for the daily pres
was to be expected.

But wherever upon God's earth was such an unheard-of revol
tion in the state of human society accomplished with so little th
was to be deprecated?

For in this year, 1878, certain propositions of very great signi
cance bear assertion, and can be maintained by ample proof:

1. The cotton crop raised by free labor is the largest by son
millions that ever has been raised in the United States. That se
tles the question as to the free-labor system.

2. The legal status of the negro is universally conceded as
finality by the leading minds of the South.

3. The common-school system has been established throughou
the Southern States, and recognized in theory by the wisest Sout
ern men as to be applied impartially to whites and blacks.

4. All of the large religious denominations are conducting ed
cational movements among the freedmen on a large scale. The
are scattered through the Southern States, under the patronage
differentd enominations, thirty-nine chartered and endowed instit
tions for the higher education of colored people as teachers, mini
ters, physicians, farmers, and mechanics. Besides these, there a
sixty-nine schools of a lower grade. It is calculated that in the la
sixteen years twenty million dollars has been contributed and i
vested in the work of educating the freedmen.

5. Leading and influential men at the South are in many cas
openly patrons of these educational efforts. Several of these ins
tutions have been generously assisted by the States in which th
are founded. The last reports of all these institutions represe
them as in a successful and flourishing condition.

6. The colored race is advancing in material wealth and pro
perity.

The bounds of an article are too limited for the abundance
proof that might be cited under these heads.

We shall do our best to select from this abundance, and in t
first place we shall consider what is being done for the education
the colored race by the common-school system.

In 1867 Congress created a National Bureau of Education
Washington, to collect statistics upon education and diffuse su

formation as shall aid the citizens of the United States in the tablishment and maintenance of efficient school systems.

The first report of the Commissioner, in 1870, contains this ssage (p. 13):

The information contained in the accompanying papers, in regard to edu-tion in the States where emancipation has lately taken effect, contains fea-res in marked distinction from those where freedom has been longer uni-rsal. It is gratifying that slavery exists nowhere any longer in the land, close the door effectually against universal education. It is gratifying to serve the avidity with which those lately slaves have sought the primer l the means of higher instruction. It is gratifying to know that the large-irted Peabody and many benevolent associations have done so much to ilitate and encourage education among all classes in the South. It is tifying to reflect that the Government, through the Freedman's Bureau, accomplished results so vast in this direction, being able to show that in y last, in *day- and night-schools, regularly and irregularly reported, 149,- pupils had been in attendance.* It is gratifying to know that under the toration policy of Congress the reorganized State governments have adopt-Constitutions making obligatory the establishment and conduct of free lic schools for all the children of school age, and that laws have been cted and the work of education so generally commenced under them, or-izing superintendence, employing teachers, and building schoolhouses, oducing here and there the germs of systems which have been tried else-re and proved most successful.

The report then goes on to mention each Southern State in detail, m which it appears that a movement for common schools had n set on foot in every one of the Southern States, but was meet-with active and powerful resistance. It was a new movement; States were all poor, embarrassed by the results of the war, and le disposed to submit to any tax for that purpose, and, as usual, se were most opposed who most needed education. The report 1871 shows the same conflict. It reports an earnest desire on part of the colored people for education, and in many sections a d prejudice against any efforts to give it to them. The work building schoolhouses for the colored people and of supporting hers was divided between the Freedman's Bureau and the vari-religious bodies whose missionaries were in the field.

Thus we see that the difficulty of securing common-school pro-on for the colored population was only part and parcel of the ection to the common-school system itself in the Southern States. men who have gallantly fought that battle for the whites were wisest, the most enlightened in their several States, and were

fully sensible of the need of education for the colored race; b they had first to conquer the prejudices of an unenlightened comm nity against *any* system of common-school instruction. In Febr ary, 1878, a Southern Educational Convention was held in Atlant Georgia, with a view to memorializing Congress for aid in popul education. Over a hundred delegates from the eight followi States were present, viz., Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Flori Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Missouri.

A noticeable paragraph in the memorial is the following:

Resolved, That as the educational laws of the several States represent by us make no discriminations in favor of or against the children of any cl of citizens, and as those charged with the administration of these laws ha endeavored, in the past, to have them carried into effect impartially, so we pledge ourselves to use our influence to secure even-handed justice to classes of citizens in the application of any educational funds provided by t national Government.

In another part of their memorial they say:

In the altered condition of society, brought about by the late war, eve man is a voter; and the safety of republican institutions depends upon e tending to the masses the benefits of education.

On the ground of the large addition of population to be taug in the persons of the freedmen, and of the losses by depreciation property consequent on the war, they ask for a larger governmei al aid than would be given to the settled Northern States.

What is to be noticed in this appeal is, that it fully assumes the part of these States the duty of giving equal school privileg to all children of the State, without regard to color or condition. short, in regard to this branch of the subject, our conviction, bas on an examination of the yearly reports submitted to the Natio Bureau, is that, in the main, the leaders of State education at t South have been well disposed to the colored race; that in theo they regard them entitled to an equal share in State education, a have extended it to them in practice so far as the means have be in their power.

We come now to consider what has been done for the freedm by the Christian Church in America.

Very early in the war it was decided to receive and prot fugitive slaves, and our armies became cities of refuge for the "Their advance," says a writer, "was a signal for a rally of slav from all the country round; they flocked in upon the line of mar

y bridle-paths and across fields—old men on crutches, babies on eir mothers' backs, women wearing cast-off blue jackets of Yankee valry-men, boys in abbreviated trousers of rebel gray—sometimes lugging a bundle of household goods, sometimes riding an d mule borrowed from 'massa,' but oftener empty-handed, with thing whatever to show for a lifetime of unrewarded toil. But ey were free! And with what swinging of ragged hats, and mult of rejoicing hearts, and fervent 'God bless you!' they eeted their deliverers!" The year of jubilee, for which they had ayed and waited so many years, was come!

In time, four million of these bondmen were made free by the ır power. The same writer from whom we have quoted thus etches their condition: "They were homeless, penniless, ignoıt, improvident; unprepared in every way for the dangers and ties of freedom. Self-reliance they never had had the opportuy to learn, and, suddenly left to shift for themselves, they were the mercy of knaves ready to cheat them out of their honest nings. They had been kept all their lives in a school of immoity, so that even church-membership was no evidence that one s not a thief, a liar, or a libertine."

Their former masters were so impoverished by their emancipan and other losses of the war that they had little ability—and re so exasperated that they had less disposition—to help them.

But poor, ignorant, and simple as this emancipated mass were, y differed in one respect from the masses liberated by the nch Revolution, and from all other suddenly liberated masses which we have read in history. Their enthusiasm and impulse s not for plunder or for revenge, or for drink, or any form of mal indulgence, but for *education*. They rushed not to the grogp but to the schoolroom—they cried for the spelling-book as for ad, and pleaded for teachers as a necessary of life. This enthusiı to learn on the part of the liberated slaves was met by an equal husiasm to teach on the part of Northern Christians. Every gious denomination sent its teachers—Unitarians and Orthodox e here of one heart and mind, and their teachers followed the rse of the armies, and penetrated wherever they could find proion. Long before the war closed, there were teachers and ools in our camps and in all the region where our armies proed the settlements of fugitive slaves.

The nation took these people as her wards, and appointed a edman's Bureau to superintend their affairs—to regulate their

wages and work, and to provide for them schoolrooms, schools, an teachers.

We have before us, through the kindness of General Howard, volume of the reports of this Bureau from January, 1866, to Jul 1, 1870.

The first report says : "The desire of the freedmen for know edge has not been overstated. Their freedom has given a wonde ful stimulus to all effort, indicating a vitality that augurs well f their future."

The report goes on to say that "all classes, even those advance in life, are beginning the alphabet—coming to evening and Sabbat schools, and may be seen along railroads, or off duty, as servants c steamboats, or in hotels, earnestly studying their spelling-book Regiments of colored soldiers are all improving and learning—ar the officers deserve great respect for their efforts for the educatio of their men. The 128th U. S. Colored Troops, at Beaufort, we found gathered into school in a neat camp schoolhouse, erected b the regiment, and taught by regularly detailed teachers from t line officers—the colonel commanding superintending the arrang ments with deep interest." The report goes through each Southe State in detail, giving an account in each of the general education revival. One passage is specially noticeable:

"Through the entire South efforts are being made by the c ored people *to 'educate themselves.'* In the absence of teache they are determined to be self-taught, and everywhere some elemen ary book, or fragments of it, may be seen in the hands of negro They communicate to each other that which they learn, and wi very little learning many take to teaching. Not only are individu seen at study under the most untoward circumstances, but in ma places I have found native schools, often rude and imperfect, but *th they are*, a group of all ages *trying to learn.* Some young man woman, some old preacher, in cellar, shed, or corner of negro me ing-house, with spelling-book in hand, is their teacher. . . . Agai says the reporter, "I saw schools of higher order at Goldsbo North Carolina ; two young colored men, who but a little ti before had begun to learn themselves, had gathered one hundr and fifty pupils, all quite orderly and hard at study." The rep also speaks of schools taught by colored men at Charleston, Sav nah, and New Orleans. One in the latter city, he says, would b comparison with any Northern school ; he says that in this sch very creditable specimens of writing were shown, and all the ol

lasses could recite or read fluently both in French and English. 'his was a free school wholly supported by colored people. He ıys that he gave special pains to ascertaining facts upon this sub-ct, and reports that schools of this kind exist in all the large aces, and were making their appearance through the entire South-n country. The Superintendent of Schools in South Carolina as-red him that there was no place of any size where such a school as not attempted by the colored people. He remarks, in conclu-on: "This is a wonderful state of things. We have just emerged om a terrific war—peace is not yet declared, there is scarcely a ginning of reorganized society at the South—yet here is a people ag imbruted by slavery and the most despised of any on earth, ıose chains are no sooner broken than they spring to their feet, an ceeding great army, clothing themselves with intelligence. What her people have shown such a passion for education?"

It must be borne in mind that this is a report in 1866—in the ry incipiency of the enterprise. These semi-annual reports to the eedman's Bureau contain a most wonderful and interesting his-y of their progress toward education and competence.

In the last report of the Freedman's Bureau, which closed in 70, they speak of 247,000 children under systematic instruction, th 9,307 teachers and 4,239 schools. They also record in the eedman's Savings Bank, the total deposits of freedmen, from 1866 1870, as $16,960,336.62.

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

V.

SECRET MISSIONS TO SAN DOMINGO.

In response to reiterated urgent appeals from the Republic San Domingo for recognition by the United States Government a for protection against the attacks of its next neighbor, the Repub of Hayti, President Polk's Cabinet in the spring of 1846 resolved send out an agent who should report upon the condition of t Dominican Republic socially, industrially, and politically, its na and military forces, and the real value of certain privileges whi the Dominicans were willing to accord to the Government and ci zens of the United States. This honorable commission having be intrusted to me, I in April sailed from Pensacola in the Unit States brig Porpoise, and on May 6th we dropped anchor off t ancient city of San Domingo. The commander of the Porpoi Lieutenant Hunt, fired a salute in honor of the Dominican flag, a soon we were boarded by a ragged officer from the castle, who ca to borrow the powder necessary for a response.

Our first duty was to pay a visit to the President, General Pe Santanna, a light mulatto about forty years of age, who received in his shirt-sleeves, with a bandana handkerchief bound round head, nor did he appear to be in the least disconcerted by the spl dor of our uniforms.

Only a few years before, San Domingo had been visited by Hogan, who, like myself, had been sent to report on the state of country, and President Santanna was much surprised that our G ernment should now send another commissioner on the same erra However, his Excellency promised to give me every facility traveling over the island, and regretted the inability of his Gov ment to bear the expense; "but," said he, "we have no money."

Indeed, the Dominican finances were in a deplorable condit The small amount of specie in the country was in the hands of J The currency consisted of paper and copper tokens, and tw

aper dollars were equivalent to one in silver. Whenever the Gov-rnment wished to pay off its debts, it would raise the price of cop-er coin. Directly afterward copper would fall and paper would be the ascendant. Those speculators who were informed of the crets of the Treasury made money by both of these operations, but e mass of the people were always sufferers. Everywhere were to seen evidences of the abject poverty to which the people were duced; their once flourishing commerce had been annihilated; ucation was a farce; and even the ceremonial of their religion d fallen into neglect.

Horses were needed for my proposed expedition, but with the st endeavors I only succeeded in procuring five sorry beasts, not er forty-four inches in height—in fact, not much larger than good-ed mastiffs. The price paid for these animals was, in appearance, orbitantly high—twenty-five hundred dollars currency for the lot—d the transaction reminded me of the stories told of our grand-hers going to market with a basketful of Continental money. One my horses was burdened with the currency requisite to pay my ily expenses. I had thousands in one-dollar notes, each the size a sheet of commercial note-paper. But this large sum, when re-ced to its real value, amounted only to seven hundred and twenty-e Spanish dollars, which, however, I found to be in excess of my nts; and I was even enabled to indulge in all the luxuries afford-by the wayside inns—bananas, yams, ginger, tea, and occasionally egg.

A detailed account of my peregrinations through the Dominican public would be instructive, while many of the ludicrous inci-nts would require the humor of a Mark Twain to do them jus-e; but my space is limited, and I can deal only in generalities.

From its historical associations the city of San Domingo is one the most interesting in the New World, and Irving and other iters have invested it and its surroundings with an air of romance. t, for those who see it in its present condition, unless their imagi-ive faculty is strongly developed, the romance appears to have nished.

The great cathedral, commenced in 1514 by Diego Columbus, in ich the ashes of the great navigator once rested, still remains, ides ten or twelve churches and chapels; and the ruins of the uit College, of the palace of Diego Columbus, and of the convent San Francisco, to this day attest their former grandeur.

The outer walls of the city are a fine specimen of Spanish engi-

neering, though allowed to go to ruin, and the sea-wall, with i once imposing line of guns, must have bidden defiance in the olde time to many a hostile squadron, though it could not resist the a tack of Drake, who nearly destroyed it in 1586.

Good houses are few and far between, the streets are ill pave and hardly safe after nightfall, and the people, sunk in poverty, a only interesting from the humility with which they bear their mi fortunes. So much for the city of to-day.

The harbor of Osima, once the emporium of an important con merce with Spain, now has not water enough to admit a ship of wa and is accessible only to very small merchant vessels.

Before leaving the city for the interior, I received the followin communication from the Dominican Secretary of State, who did a in his power to facilitate my investigations :

SANTO DOMINGO, *May* 14, 1846.

SIR: I have received your note of the 14th inst., in which you request passport to travel through the interior of our republic. . . .

My government not only is disposed to grant the passport you have so cited, but also charges me to perform whatsoever you may esteem necessa to the success of your enterprise; and accordingly we offer you a guide accompany you. . . .

As one of the objects of your Government is to inform themselves of t disposition of this Government and people with respect to friendly and co mercial relations between the two countries, the undersigned is authoriz to inform you that, inasmuch as this Government has no other desire than see the advancement of the country in the path of civilization, they will ne lect no means compatible with the national honor to obtain the closest re tions with all civilized people, and above all with those who, on account their physical position and their political institutions, are apparently d tined to form only one family; and as regards the people you can judge fr your own observation their good feelings and their morality.

God preserve you many years!

[Signed] RICARDO MIURA.

To D. D. PORTER, Commissioner from the Government of the United States.

On the 15th of May, 1846, I left the historical city of San D mingo, accompanied by an officer of the Government as guide, far as the town of Azua, and a muleteer to take care of my anima and with the prospect of hearing nothing from home until I arriv at Porto Plata, on the north side of the island, where the Porpo was to call for me in one month's time in case I did not join h earlier at Samana Bay.

There was a very small specimen of a newspaper published

he city, but no post to carry it through the country, and therefore was not likely to be much edified by the press, whose motto might ell have been, "Here no one writes because no one reads, and no ne reads because no one writes." In fact, to all intents and purposes, I was penetrating an unknown region, where nothing from ie outside world would be likely to reach me even at the stopping-laces on my route.

Once outside the city walls, I plunged into a wild, uncultivated ountry, dotted with the ruins of once flourishing *haciendas* which ttested the wealth and magnificence of the old *hidalgos*. Here ie followers of Columbus and their descendants had lived in luxury id state, but now there was nothing to mark the site of their once lendid abodes but shapeless heaps of stones.

A few miles from the city we crossed the Hayni and the Nigua ivers, two small streams. In one of them we saw two mulatto oys washing out gold—the only sign of human life visible in the ountry around. Their gleanings for the day amounted in value to rhaps twenty-five cents, but it was *gold*, and with them that was paramount consideration, for this mixed Spanish race seem to herit the mania for the precious metals from their Castilian pro-nitors.

Along the banks of these rivers fluttered flocks of birds of gor-ous plumage, and numerous wild fowl swam so near our horses as e forded the streams that I could have shot them with my pistol, r the natives having no guns do not molest them, and birds of all nds are consequently quite tame.

The few people residing along the road were negroes of the wer order, who lounged at the entrances to their reed huts, too dolent to cultivate the fertile soil on which they dwelt.

Yams and bananas were supplied by nature; each family pos-ssed a few pigs, a goat or two afforded them milk, the bread-fruit ee furnished shade and the staff of life, and the flower of the fur-ee material for mattresses. The people were cleanly in person and urteous in manner, and with Spanish hyperbole "placed every-ing they owned in the world at our disposal"; but the perform-ice did by no means square with the profession.

Toward evening we reached San Christoval, twenty-five miles om San Domingo. I rode up to the quarters of the commanding ficer of the troops of the district, an ancient negro, to whom I livered my circular letter of introduction from President San-nna.

The General scrutinized the document very carefully, examine the seal a dozen times, and at length shouted lustily for his secre tary, Don José Brune, who rushed on the scene in a state of undres befitting the climate, followed by the regiment of six soldiers an the sentry on guard.

The whole command now strove in vain to decipher the lette and after an hour had passed the document was stuck in the sentry hat-band, while the General disappeared to take his *siesta.*

I took possession of his front room, and was soon fast asleep i my hammock, closely watched by the sentry, the first duty, no doub that he had performed for an indefinite period.

The old General was, no doubt, much put out by my coming, b cause it interfered with the trial of a lawsuit which he had taken ou of the hands of an *alcalde.* The subject of litigation was a tre pass committed by a poor old donkey, and, from what I saw of th mode of meting out justice by the military authorities on the occ sion, I concluded that Coke and his precedents would be considere superfluous in this part of the world.

At daylight next morning, I started to visit the mines of Sa Christoval, twenty-six miles from the town. After a brisk ride of fiv hours we reached a settlement called Tabblasso, where I was hosp tably entertained by the natives. Wandering rather incautiousl into the forest, I was attacked by five dogs, and so roughly used b them that it was three days before I was able to travel, my wound being in the mean time dressed with leaves and roots from th woods, according to the medical system of the people.

These dogs afford one of the principal means of livelihood for th natives in the interior of San Domingo, who depend largely upo the flesh of the wild boar for food. I was present at one boar-hu near Tabblasso, where forty dogs overcame a huge boar with tusk as sharp as knives. The animal squealed as lustily as any other the pig family, and I knew from sad experience exactly how he fel

It took five hours of hard riding to bring us to the mine of Sa Christoval. This is the only copper mine I visited while on th island, though I passed near several others of note. All the mines are reputed to be of great value. That of San Christov possesses ore veins of considerable extent, and from seven to fou teen feet in thickness, which yield to the blowpipe from thirty forty per cent. of pure copper. Gold has been found in the copp in sufficient quantity, it is asserted, to pay for working the min The only mode of transporting the product to San Doming

venty-five miles distant) would be by panniers on the backs of iles.

The copper mine in the mountain of Maimon is spoken of as the est in the Antilles—the ore yielding from forty to eighty per nt. of pure copper, and there are many other mines of this metal good repute ; in fact, the island is filled with minerals.

It was with regret that I bade adieu to the little valley of Tabsso, and, after a ride of eleven hours over a parched but fertile untry, I reached Bani, fifty-five miles distant. The population of s district of San Christoval was, as near as I could ascertain, 00 souls, 3,960 of whom were women. One third of the populan might pass for white, a somewhat larger proportion were mutoes, and the remainder negroes of the most pronounced type, om all authorities agreed in declaring to be anything but a ssing to the country.

Some of the so-called whites are the proprietors of vast estates, tending from the seacoast on the south side to the river Yuna, nprising rich alluvial soil, covered with the choicest woods of e tropics, and valuable mineral lands. This land could have been ught at an average price of one cent an acre, and dear enough it s at that when we consider that it was constantly liable to the stile incursions of the negroes from the west end of the island.

The road over which I was now passing had shortly before been versed by a Dominican army, who consumed nearly everything able on the route, so that we began to suffer greatly for want of d ; but we could get water, and occasionally a few bananas, and we managed to ward off starvation until we arrived at Azua, on e 24th of May, after eight days of the hardest riding I ever exienced.

We passed through several pleasant villages on the way—Bani, th a hundred inhabitants ; Paya, with three hundred ; and sevl times crossed the beautiful Nisao River. All this country is nous for its dye-woods, and its mahogany is the finest in the rld ; but quantities of these valuable products are going to decay want of means to convey them to the coast.

On reaching Azua our first care was to get something to eat, r next to purchase a new supply of horses, for the old set were rn out, not having been properly attended to by my worthless latto muleteer, who merited and would have received a sound reshing at my hands, had such a proceeding comported with the gnity of a United States commissioner.

The village of Azua is beautifully situated in the bight of th great bay of Neyles, in whose harbors the navies of the wor might ride. A large trade in mahogany is carried on at this plac and the surrounding country has many fine plantations, producin sugar-cane, bananas, etc.

From Azua I traveled westward for some days, but, finding th my natives were breaking down under the difficulties of the roa I returned on my course, and took the path from Azua across th mountains of Maniel, which rise 2,000 feet above the sea, and whi were supposed to be impassable for horses. I made the entire mar over these mountains on foot, literally working my passage, for some instances the horses had to be hoisted over declivities. there was any road, our guide would not show it, for the Domin cans look upon the Maniel range as their Gibraltar, in case th should be overcome at all other places by the Haytians. In fact, Leonidas would not require more than his three hundred to ho these heights against a mighty army. Five hundred Haytiens on tried to force the passage, and were slaughtered almost to a man.

The village of Maniel is situated on a fertile plateau of ma thousand acres, producing every article of commerce to be found the island, and, from its height above the sea, enjoying a delightf climate, averaging in the month of May 75° at noon, and not ov 60° Fahr. at night. Here the people lived in perfect comfort, a in as high a grade of civilization as is usually to be found in t interior of a West India Island, or as could be expected where the is an almost total lack of education.

After a sojourn of three days at this secluded place, I started the 30th of May to go up, up, up, over the *Lomas Kemados.* T painful and toilsome journey over these hills—a feat seldom tempted by white men, and dreaded by the hardiest natives— shall never forget. In three days I had accomplished the tas crossing the Banilejos, a rapid stream, fifty-six times in a hea rainstorm. My horses were under water a dozen times, and on we were carried over the rapids and had to swim for our liv The river-bed was the only road, and we had often to pass fr one side to the other to avoid deep water, and to obtain a footi for the horses. Such is traveling in San Domingo.

My fiat currency got extremely wet, in common with everythi else; so I halted at a deserted hut in the forest, and spread it out dry, to the amazement of flocks of paroquets, which hopped abo and seemed astonished at the sight of so much wealth.

The country through which I then was toiling is as much a *ra incognita* to-day as it was three centuries ago. The native o is compelled to force his way through these wilds gladly bids eu to the gloomy forests when once he has left them behind, nor es he trouble his head about their resources. The wealth in these ls is, however, illimitable, the fertility of the valleys unsurpassed, l thousands might here enjoy a degree of luxury unknown to the ater portion of mankind. Oranges, plantains, bananas, coffee, oa, all grow wild. The cotton-bush, yielding cotton of the nan- g tint so much prized in China, is frequently met with. There over forty different trees producing woods fit for furniture and ner-work, and coal crops out at many points from the hillsides. that is needed is American energy and industry.

It would be tedious to recount all the difficulties and dangers I t in the mountains, but I finally reached the valley of the river imon late at night, and took up my quarters in a hut inhabited fourteen negroes, who gave me space to swing my hammock.

On awaking next morning I found to my horror that I had been eping in a hut inhabited by lepers, and, although I had had no- ng substantial to eat for twenty-four hours, I rushed out of the rel, and, calling to my muleteer to follow with the animals, I am across the river in my haste to get as far from the frightful ease as possible.

After I had gone ten miles I was overtaken by one of the negroes om I had so unceremoniously quitted. He brought me my gold tch, which in the hurry of my departure I had left hanging on a l in the hut; which proves that a man may be a leper and yet honest.

The next day, after a toilsome ride, I reached the gold mines of imon, which I had come a good deal out of my way to examine. I saw no evidence that these mines had ever been worked ex- t by digging into the sides of the mountain, the depth of the avations in no case exceeding ten feet, by a width of twenty t. There were no shafts sunk and no machinery, and I could rn nothing on the spot concerning the former yield or the history the mine, although there were marvelous reports of the amount t had been realized here; *when* no one could say.

No doubt in the first settlement of the island the Spaniards ex- cted a considerable quantity of gold from these mines by pressing poor Indians into service and working them to death. The rk must have been of the crudest kind—mere surface-digging—

yet we are informed that single masses of ore, one containi
$3,600 worth of gold, another $4,280 worth, and many smaller spe
mens, were sent to Europe. It is asserted that during the admin
tration of the Spaniards the yield of gold from two mines in t
department of Buenaventura amounted to $1,150,000 yearly ; b
the mines of San Domingo have doubtless never been fairly work
and would yield more to systematic and scientific exploitation th
the Spaniards ever realized by their crude and wasteful metho
Of the other gold mines of the island I can give no account. Th
are mentioned by the various historians ; and Charlevoix, in pa
cular, declares that several districts of the island abound in g
and silver, and indeed minerals of all kinds, which is doubtless t
fact, as we may infer from the geological formation of the count

I have seen quantities of coal cropping out of the ground, a
iron mines enough to supply the West Indies if they could be ma
accessible.

At the house of the proprietor of the gold mines, who is at t
same time the owner of large estates on the Maimon River, w
herds of cattle and every comfort in life, I obtained the first su
stantial meal I had eaten since leaving the city of San Doming
After partaking of this feast I pursued my journey, along the ban
of the Maimon until I branched off on the road to Cotuy, throu
one of the loveliest countries I ever beheld, and struck the Yu
River, which disembogues into the gulf of Samana after innum
able windings through rich valleys, including the district of
Vega, known to the Spaniards as the garden-spot of the islan
With little labor this river could be cleared of its obstructio
and small steamers and flatboats could transport to the sea the i
mense quantities of coffee, sugar, cotton, mahogany, copper, et
which the region should produce, and a city would spring up in t
gulf of Samana equal to any in the West Indies.

I lingered as long as possible on the banks of this beauti
river, swinging my hammock at night under the wide-spreadi
mango-trees, and lulled to sleep by the murmuring waters. T
banks of the Yuna abound in flowering plants that would set
botanist wild with delight, while flocks of paroquets, with th
cheery notes, help to dispel the gloom of solitude.

Sickness may be said to be unknown in this part of the count
as the prevailing breeze from the mountains seems to bring heal
upon its wings. What a climate for our invalids to visit !

Herds of cattle were frequently seen standing in the river sh

vs. White Guinea fowl would fly over our heads by the hundred, th a whirr like the sound of a hurricane, and, as they alighted at listance, much resembled snow-flakes driven by the wind. I have n at least a thousand of these birds feeding together on the bor- r of the forest.

One night I slung my hammock in a schoolhouse at Cotuy, re- ving the hospitality of the master—who had no scholars—and, ough the accommodations were of the rudest description, the ace seemed delightful after what I had just passed through—a e of sixty miles on a sorry horse.

Next morning I was aroused by a tumult outside my lodgings, d, springing from my hammock, I was confronted by a throng of izens, headed by the *cura*, who charged me with being a spy, and manded to see my passports. I soon quieted the suspicions of ese worthy people in a speech of the purest Castilian, and my elo- ence pleased them so much that they presented me with some ms and bananas, and, when I departed, escorted me some distance om their town. In fact, the people everywhere, when informed my official character and the purport of my visit, treated me th the greatest kindness and consideration.

It must not be supposed that I merely followed the highways in y journeyings. I started always on my day's march at 4 A. M., d generally averaged about two and a half miles an hour up to P. M.; but, after a long day's ride and an hour's rest and refresh- ent, I frequently mounted a fresh horse and scoured the country r miles around, guided by the natives, who were anxious to show e everything, until the approach of night reminded me that I ust retrace my steps. In my travels there were few of the towns d villages of the Dominican Republic that I did not visit, and I ok the census of every settlement through which I passed.

From Cotuy my course was through the beautiful district of a Vega, so graphically described by Irving as the land of the acique Guarionex, who lived here with his tribe on a soil unsur- ssed in fertility, from which they derived substantial treasures; hile the purblind Spanish adventurers, heedless of all wealth except e precious metals, wasted their lives in seeking rich placers and olden streams, and starved in the midst of plenty.

As I traveled toward the gulf of Samana I sometimes followed e course of the Yuna, and sometimes crossed ranges of hills seven eight hundred feet in height, sloping into beautiful valleys atered by the tributaries of the Yuna. That river, by the time

it reaches Samana Gulf, becomes quite a respectable stream, na
gable for small vessels for some distance into the interior.

Before I had arrived within sight of the gulf of Samana, two
my horses had died of exhaustion, and the rest were complet
broken down. As for myself, what with swimming rapid strea
plunging through forests, falling among rocks, etc., my clot
were all in rags, and my limbs so swollen as to give me consta
pain, and I had to wrap my feet in rawhide like the natives.

It was absolutely necessary to retrace our steps, and after
toilsome journey I reached the little town of Maccoris, whence af
recruiting and obtaining fresh horses I pushed on to Santiago,
pretty town of five thousand inhabitants, eighty miles from Po
Plata. From Santiago I traveled more than two hundred miles
different points in the La Vega district. Having finished this
connaissance, I judged that I had accomplished the object of
mission, and had examined the country.

The third day after my arrival at Santiago I came across a nu
ber of "Galignani's Messenger," and read there an account of t
opening of hostilities between the United States and Mexico, a
the death of my brother, killed while searching for the body
Colonel Cross.

I purchased the best horse to be procured, and next day set
for Porto Plata, eighty miles distant, which I reached in eighte
hours, stopping but twice on the road to refresh myself and hors

I arrived at Porto Plata on the 13th of June, one day later th
the time appointed, having been constantly in the saddle over so
of the roughest roads one can imagine, and having averaged nea
thirty miles a day, equal to eight hundred and seventy miles, w
at least two hundred and fifty miles of *détours* additional.

On my return home in the Porpoise from Porto Plata, I ma
a full report in duplicate—one for the State and the other for t
Navy Department—but both of these disappeared from the depa
ments prior to the breaking out of our civil war in 1861.

During President Pierce's Administration, an officer of en
neers was sent to the gulf of Samana in the frigate Raritan to
amine into its adaptability for a naval depot and its capacity
defense.

Mr. Jefferson Davis, the then Secretary of War, being a man
large views, no doubt saw the necessity to this country in the futu
of such a naval depot as the gulf of Samana, or he may have h
other ideas which it is unnecessary now to surmise.

Soon after the Southern Confederacy assumed the form of a
rernment, and began to fit out vessels to prey upon our com-
rce, we had to prepare a set of fast cruisers to meet these priva-
rs, for they could scarcely be termed ships of war; and, as the
nter was seizing our vessels in the West Indies, cruisers were
t in that direction.

While Confederate vessels were allowed to obtain coal and pro-
ons in all the West India ports and to sail when it suited their
venience, our ships met with vexatious delays, and, if a Confed-
e vessel was in port, we were not allowed to sail until the enemy
been gone twenty-four hours, during which time the latter
ht destroy a million dollars' worth of property.

I know how this system worked, for I chased the Sumter in a
v, old ship, for ten thousand miles, never being off her track,
always arriving in port a few hours after her departure.

Had I not been detained purposely at every port but one where
aled, I should have captured the Sumter at Para, where I ar-
d twenty hours after she sailed.

There was a great sympathy everywhere for this Sumter, due
bably to the prodigality with which the officers threw money
ut, but probably also it was due to the feeling which always ex-
in favor of the weaker party. This feeling was worth more to
Confederates than tons of coal and miles of speed.

St. Thomas was the only port in the West Indies where we were
ived on an equal footing with the Confederates; in fact, the sym-
hy seemed there to be in our favor, if I could judge by the
rity with which the necessary supplies were furnished to us,
bling us to pursue the Sumter without loss of time.

The difficulties our ships encountered and the losses sustained by
citizens in the West Indies engaged the serious attention of the
inguished statesman who managed our foreign affairs during
civil war with such consummate ability. After the fall of the
nfederacy, it occurred to Mr. Seward that the island of St.
omas would be of great value to the United States in time of
as a naval depot where our vessels could procure coal and pro-
ons without returning home.

I had the honor to enjoy the confidence of Mr. Seward, and he
sulted with me on this subject. I prepared the necessary charts
obtained all the requisite information to enable our Government
reat for the purchase of the island. When the matter was ar-
ged, Mr. Seward requested me to go out in a ship of war and take

possession of the new territory on behalf of the United States, that duty I persuaded him to assign to Rear-Admiral Palmer.

Congress readily voted the money for the purchase, and, ha not been for the terrible earthquake which occurred just at t moment and put an end to the negotiations, St. Thomas and all contiguous islands would have been ours.

Admiral Palmer's flagship was driven on shore by the mig wave which rolled into the harbor of St. Thomas; houses w thrown down, hillsides rent, and the wharves submerged; even character of the bottom of the harbor was changed; and it was c cluded that St. Thomas would be of no use to us. Mr. Sewa therefore, receded from the inchoate bargain just as a man decli to pay for a horse which tumbles in a fit while he is negotiating purchase. The Danish Government found no fault with our acti although naturally disappointed at not receiving the money, wh was of more value to them than their far-distant colony.

Shortly afterward the Swedish Government offered to the Uni States the island of St. Bartholomew, about a hundred miles to windward of St. Thomas, almost as a free gift, with the prov that a few old pensioners should be supported during their li After a full inquiry Mr. Seward declined the offer. St. Barth mew has no ports, and vessels lying in the open roadstead could easily destroyed by ships lying off the island.

Mr. Seward was, however, bent upon obtaining in the W Indies a port of refuge for our ships of war and merchant vess and of all harbors in that quarter the gulf of Samana appeared be in every respect the most eligible place for the purpose. It co mands the Mona Passage, through which all American and Europ commerce passes on its way to the Caribbean Sea, Honduras, co of Mexico, etc. The gulf and its harbors are perfectly healt with north winds and sea-breezes the year round. Then if we co obtain the isthmus of Samana we should have entire control o considerable extent of country and all the harbors on the no side of the gulf. Besides this, the Dominicans wanted us to ha the place, and to manage the affairs of the island.

As soon as Mr. Seward saw his way clear, he determined to se his son, the Hon. Frederick W. Seward, Assistant Secretary of Sta and myself as Commissioners to purchase or lease the gulf of mana, together with the adjacent territory.

In December, 1866, we embarked at Annapolis, Maryland, on boa the U. S. S. Gettysburg, with full instructions and a large amount

:d cash. A few minutes after leaving the dock the pilot ran the
p hard and fast on an oyster-bank ; the wind came out strongly
m the north, and in a few hours a man could walk all around
. I therefore telegraphed for the U. S. steamer Don, into
ich my passengers were transferred, and we got along well
ugh until off Cape Hatteras ; there we encountered a terrific gale,
ich tore the ship almost to pieces and blew one of her masts over
side, where the iron rigging fouling the propeller rendered the
n almost a wreck. We managed to get back to Hampton
ads, and, meeting the Gettysburg coming down the bay, Mr.
vard and myself again embarked in her ; and, after a series of
haps sufficient to dampen the ardor of the most enthusiastic dip-
at, we cast anchor off the city of San Domingo.

We at once opened negotiations with the Dominican authori-
, giving them to understand that we had gold enough on board
edeem all their elastic currency. We told them that we wanted
gulf of Samana, including every harbor and all the isthmus,
h such rights in the adjacent country as would insure the United
tes against any interference from the Dominican Government.
fact, we wanted all the Dominicans were willing to let us have.

I am sorry to say that our mission was unsuccessful, though we
e treated with the greatest courtesy ; and, when we shook the
t of the island off our feet and departed, tears stood in the eyes
the administration at the thought of so much specie being car-
l away which ought to have belonged to them.

The obstacle in the way of our success seemed to be the fact
t the Government of San Domingo had just emerged from a
olution, and a powerful party in the country was bitterly hostile
it. There were still many predatory bands that had not laid
n their arms ; therefore the Dominican Government, although
atly in need of money, and desirous to have us for neighbors,
not dare to accept our proposition. We had no authority to
r the Government protection from foreign or domestic violence,
we could advance no money until the territory of Samana was
le over absolutely to the United States. Mr. Seward, senior,
greatly disappointed, but never gave up the hope of finally
omplishing his purpose.

In his project of acquiring territory in the West Indies he was
y sustained by many of his old colleagues in the Senate, to
om, no doubt, he had confided his views. Even Mr. Sumner,
o so opposed the San Domingo idea of President Grant, ap-

proved Mr. Seward's plan. Other statesmen, too, who had favo
the purchase of St. Thomas, Samana, and Alaska, under the lead
Mr. Seward, afterward took opposite ground, for reasons wh
were doubtless satisfactory to themselves.

President Grant was not slow in following Mr. Seward's init
tive, and in endeavoring to obtain possession of the gulf of Sama
He fully understood its value as a naval and military station, a
earnestly desired its acquisition; besides, the President of the I
minican Republic had laid before our Administration the advanta
such a cession of territory would be not only to the United Sta
but to his own country, which sadly needed money, and had no p
ticular use for Samana.

My readers will doubtless recollect the bitter opposition Pr
dent Grant encountered in his patriotic desire to secure for t
country a cession of territory that would be invaluable to us in c
of war with a naval power, an opposition that could not be justif
on reasonable grounds, but was to the last degree unwise, as, fr
my knowledge of the island and sentiments of the inhabitants, I
certain that it must necessarily become in the future a territory
the United States, unless, in contempt of the Monroe doctrine,
suffer it to fall into the clutches of some European power.

I have merely glanced at what ought to be an interesting s
ject to the people of the United States. A detailed account of t
climate, resources, exports, natural history, etc., of San Domin
would set young America to thinking on the matter of acquirin
foothold in the gulf of Samana.

DAVID D. PORTER.

VI.

SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

In order to have a solid foundation for a comparative study of religions of the East, we must have, before all things, complete thoroughly faithful translations of their sacred books. Extracts no longer suffice. We do not know Germany, if we know the ne; nor Rome, when we have admired St. Peter's. No one who ects and publishes such extracts can resist, no one at all events, ar as I know, has ever resisted the temptation of giving what is utiful, or it may be what is strange and startling, and leaving what is commonplace, tedious, or it may be repulsive, or lastly, t is difficult to construe and to understand. We must face the blem in its completeness, and I confess it has been for many rs a problem to me, ay, and to a great extent is so still, how sacred books of the East should, by the side of so much that is h, natural, simple, beautiful, and true, contain so much that is only unmeaning, artificial, and silly, but hideous and repellent. s is a fact, and must be accounted for in some way or other.

To some minds this problem may seem to be no problem at all. those, and I do not speak of Christians only, who look upon the ed books of all religions except their own as necessarily the out- e of human or superhuman ignorance and depravity, the mixed ure of their contents may seem to be exactly what it ought to be, t they expected it would be. But there are other and more rev- nt minds who can feel a divine afflatus in the sacred books, not r of their own, but of other religions also, and to them the mixed racter of some of the ancient sacred canons must always be ex- nely perplexing.

I can account for it to a certain extent, though not entirely to own satisfaction. Most of the ancient sacred books have been ded down by oral tradition for many generations before they e consigned to writing. In an age when there was nothing cor-

responding to what we call literature, every saying, every prove every story handed down from father to son, received very soo kind of hallowed character. They became sacred heirlooms; sacr because they came from an unknown source, from a distant a There was a stage in the development of human society when distance that separated the living generation from their grand thers or great-grandfathers was, as yet, the nearest approach to a c ception of eternity, and when the name of grandfather and gr grandfather seemed the nearest expression of God.* Hence, w had been said by these half-human, half-divine ancestors, if it preserved at all, was soon looked upon as a more than human ut ance. It was received with reverence, it was never questioned criticised.

Some of these ancient sayings were preserved because they w so true and so striking that they could not be forgotten. T contained eternal truths, expressed for the first time in human guage. Of such oracles of truth it was said in India that they been heard, *sruta*, and from it arose the word *sruti*, the recogni term for divine revelation in Sanskrit.

But besides such utterances which had a vitality of their o strong enough to defy the power of time, there were others wh might have struck the minds of the listeners with great force ur the peculiar circumstances that evoked them, but which, when th circumstances were forgotten, became trivial and almost unint gible. A few verses sung by warriors on the eve of a great ba would, if that battle proved victorious, assume a charm quite in pendent of their poetic merit. They would be repeated in m ory of the heroes who conquered, and of the gods who gran victory. But when the heroes, and the gods, and the victory wh they gained were forgotten, the song of victory and thanksgiv would often survive as a relic of the past, though almost unint gible to later generations.

Even a single ceremonial act, performed at the time of a fam or an inundation, and apparently attended with a sudden and aln miraculous success, might often be preserved in the liturgical c of a family or a tribe with a superstitious awe entirely beyond understanding. It might be repeated for some time on sim emergencies, till when it had failed again and again it survived as a superstitious custom in the memory of priests and poets.

* Bishop Callaway, "Unkulunkulu, or the Tradition of Creation, as existing a the Amazulu and other Tribes of South Africa," p. 7.

Further, it should be remembered that, in ancient as in mod- times, the utterances of men who had once gained a certain pres- e would often receive attention far beyond their merits, so that many a family or tribe the sayings and teachings of one man, o had once in his youth or manhood uttered words of inspired dom, would all be handed down together, without any attempt separate the grain from the chaff.

Nor must we forget that though oral tradition, when once ught under proper discipline, is a most faithful guardian, it is without its dangers in its incipient stages. Many a word may e been misunderstood, many a sentence confused, as it was told father to son, before it became fixed in the tradition of a village mmunity, and then resisted by its very sacredness all attempts at endation.

Lastly, we must remember that those who handed down the an- tral treasures of ancient wisdom would often feel inclined to what seemed useful to themselves, and what they knew could preserved in one way only, namely, if it was allowed to form t of the tradition that had to be handed down, as a sacred trust, m generation to generation. The priestly influence was at work, n before there were priests by profession, and, when the priest- d had once become professional, its influence may account for ch that would otherwise seem inexplicable in the sacred codes the ancient world.

These are a few of the considerations which may help to explain , mixed up with real treasures of thought, we meet in the sacred ks with so many passages and whole chapters which either never any life or meaning at all, or, if they had, have, in the form in ch they have come down to us, completely lost it. We must to imagine what the Old Testament would have been, if it had been kept distinct from the Talmud; or the New Testament, if ad been mixed up, not only with the spurious gospels, but with records of the wranglings of the early councils, if we wish to derstand, to some extent at least, the wild confusion of sublime th with vulgar stupidity that meets us in the pages of the Veda, Avesta, and the Tripiṭaka. The idea of keeping the original genuine tradition separate from apocryphal accretions was an a of later growth, that could spring up only after the earlier dency of preserving whatever could be preserved of sacred or f-sacred lore had done its work, and wrought its own destruc- n.

In using, what may seem to some of my fellow workers, t very strong and almost irreverent language with regard to the cient sacred books of the East, I have not neglected to make f allowance for that very important intellectual parallax which, doubt, renders it very difficult for a Western observer to see thi and thoughts under exactly the same angle and in the same light they would appear to an Eastern eye. There are Western expr sions which offend Eastern taste as much as Eastern expressions apt to offend Western taste. A symphony of Beethoven's wo be mere noise to an Indian ear, an Indian Saṅgîta seems to us wi out melody, harmony, or rhythm. All this I fully admit, yet, af making every allowance for national taste and traditions, I still c fidently appeal to the best Oriental scholars, who have not entir forgotten that there is a world outside the four walls of their stu whether they think that my condemnation is too severe, or t Eastern nations themselves would tolerate, in any of their class literary compositions, such violations of the simplest rules of ta as they have accustomed themselves to tolerate, if not to admire their sacred books.

But then it might, no doubt, be objected that books of suc character hardly deserve the honor of being translated into Engl that the sooner they are forgotten the better. Such opinions h of late been freely expressed by some eminent writers, and s ported by arguments worthy of the Caliph Omar himself. In th days of anthropological research, when no custom is too disgust to be recorded, no rules of intermarriage too complicated to be entangled, it may seem strange that the few genuine relics of cient religion which, as by a miracle, have been preserved to should thus have been judged from a purely æsthetic, and not fr an historical point of view. There was some excuse for this in days of Sir W. Jones and Colebrooke. The latter, as is well kno considered "the Vedas as too voluminous for a complete translat of the whole," adding that "what they contain would hardly rew the labor of the reader, much less that of the translator."* former went still further in the condemnation which he pronoun on Anquetil Duperron's translation of the Zend-avesta. Sir Jones, we must remember, was not only a scholar, but also a m of taste, and the man of taste sometimes gained a victory over scholar. His controversy with Anquetil Duperron, the discov

* Colebrooke's "Miscellaneous Essays," 1873, vol. ii., p. 102.

the Zend-avesta, is well known. It was carried on by Sir W. nes apparently with great success, and yet in the end the victor s proved to be the vanquished. It was easy, no doubt, to pick t from Anquetil Duperron's translation of the sacred writings of roaster hundreds of passages which were, or seemed to be, utter- unmeaning or absurd. This arose partly, but partly only, from e imperfections of the translation. Much, however, of what Sir . Jones represented as ridiculous, and therefore unworthy of Zo- aster, and therefore unworthy of being translated, forms an in- gral part of the sacred code of the Zoroastrians. Sir W. Jones iles at those who "think obscurity sublime and venerable, like at of ancient cloisters and temples, shedding," as Milton expresses "a dim religious light." *

The sacred code of Zoroaster or of any other of the founders of ligions may appear to us to be full of absurdities, or may in fact ally be so, and it may yet be the duty of the scholar to publish, to nslate, and carefully to examine those codes as memorials of the st, as the only trustworthy documents in which to study the owth and decay of religion. It does not answer to say that if roaster was what we believe him to have been, a wise man, in r sense of the word, he could not have written the rubbish which find in the Avesta. If we are once satisfied that the text of the vesta, or the Veda, or the Tripiṭaka is old and genuine, and that is text formed the foundation on which, during many centuries, e religious belief of millions of human beings was based, it becomes r duty, both as historians and philosophers, to study these books, to y to understand how they could have arisen, and how they could ve exercised for ages an influence over human beings who in all her respects were not inferior to ourselves, nay, whom we are customed to look up to on many points as patterns of wisdom, of rtue, and of taste.

Accurate, complete, and unembellished versions alone will enable storians and philosophers to form a true and just estimate of the al development of early religious thought, so far as we can still in a sight of it in the literary records to which the highest human even divine authority has been ascribed by the followers of the eat religions of antiquity. It often requires an effort to spoil a autiful sentence by a few words which might so easily be sup- essed, but which are there in the original, and must be taken into count quite as much as the pointed ears in the beautiful Faun of

* Sir W. Jones's "Works," vol. iv., p. 113.

the Capitol. We want to know the ancient religions such as th really were, not such as we wish they should have been. We wa to know, not their wisdom only, but their folly also; and, while must learn to look up to their highest points where they seem rise nearer to heaven than anything we were acquainted wi before, we must not shrink from looking down into their sto tracts, their dark abysses, their muddy moraines, in order to co prehend both the height and the depth of the human mind in searchings after the Infinite.

There are philosophers who have accustomed themselves to lo upon religions as things that can be studied as they study t manners and customs of savage tribes, by glancing at the entertai ing accounts of travelers or missionaries, and then classing ea religion under such wide categories as fetichism, polytheism, mon theism, and the rest. That is not the case. Translations, it may said, can do much, but they can never take the place of the origina and if the originals require not only to be read, but to be read aga and again, translations of sacred books require to be studied wi much greater care, before we can hope to gain a real understandi of the intentions of their authors or venture on general assertions.

Such general assertions, if once made, are difficult to extirpa It has been stated, for instance, that "the religious notion of sin wanting altogether in the hymns of the Rig-veda," and some impo tant conclusions have been based on this supposed fact. Yet t gradual growth of the concept of guilt is one of the most intere ing lessons which certain passages of these ancient hymns can tea us.* It has been asserted that in the Rig-veda Agni, fire, w adored essentially as earthly sacrificial fire, and not as an element force. How greatly such an assertion has to be qualified, may seen from a more careful examination of the translations of t Vedic hymns now accessible.† In many parts of the Avesta t fire is no doubt spoken of with great reverence, but those who spe of the Zoroastrians as fire-worshipers should know that the tr followers of Zoroaster abhor that very name. Again, there a certainly many passages in the Vedic writings which prohibit t promiscuous communication of the Veda; but those who mainta that the Brahmans, like Roman Catholic priests, keep their sacr

* M. M., "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," second edition, 1859, p. 540, s

† Ludwig, "Rig-veda, übersetzt," vol. iii., p. 331, *seq.* Muir, "Sanskrit Text vol. v., p. 199, *seq.* On the later growth of Agni, see a very useful essay by Ho mann, "Agni, nach den Vorstellungen des Mahâbhârata," 1878.

ooks from the people, must have forgotten the many passages in he Brâhmaṇas, the Sûtras, and even in the Laws of Manu, where ne duty of learning the Veda by heart is inculcated for every Brâhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaisya, that is, for every man except a Śûdra.

These are a few specimens only to show how dangerous it is to eneralize even where there exist complete translations of certain acred books. It is far easier to misapprehend, or even totally to misunderstand a translation than the original, and it should not be upposed, because a sentence or a whole chapter seems at first sight nintelligible in a translation, that therefore it is indeed devoid of l meaning.

What can be more perplexing than the beginning of the *Khân*dogya-upanishad? "Let a man meditate," we read, or, as others anslate it, "Let a man worship the syllable Om." It may seem mpossible at first sight to elicit any definite meaning from these ords and from much that follows after. But it would be a mistake, evertheless, to conclude that we have here only *vox et præterea hil.* Meditation on the syllable Om consisted in a long-continued petition of that syllable with a view of drawing the thoughts away om all other subjects, and thus concentrating them on some higher bject of thought of which that syllable was made to be the symol. This concentration of thought, ekâgratâ or one-pointedness, the Hindoos called it, is something to us almost unknown. Our inds are like kaleidoscopes of thoughts in constant motion, and to ut our mental eyes to everything else, while dwelling on one ought only, has become to most of us almost as impossible as to prehend one musical note without harmonics. With the life we e leading now, with telegrams, letters, newspapers, reviews, pamlets, and books ever breaking in upon us, it has become impossie, or almost impossible, ever to arrive at that intensity of thought hich the Hindoos meant by ekâgratâ, and the attainment of which as to them the *sine qua non* of all philosophical and religious eculation. The loss may not be altogether on our side, yet a loss is, and if we see the Hindoos even in their comparatively monotous life, adopting all kinds of contrivances in order to assist them drawing away their thoughts from all disturbing impressions d to fix them on one subject only, we must not be satisfied with iling at their simplicity, but try to appreciate the object they d in view.

When by means of repeating the syllable Om, which originally

seems to have meant "that" or "yes," they had arrived at a certa
degree of mental tranquillity, the question arose what was meant b
this Om, and to this question the most various answers were give
according as the mind was to be led up to higher and higher object
Thus in one passage we are told at first that Om is the beginnir
of the Veda, or, as we have to deal with an Upanishad of the Sâm
veda, the beginning of the Sâma-veda, so that he who meditates c
Om may be supposed to be meditating on the whole of the Sâm
veda. But that is not enough. Om is said to be the essence of th
Sâma-veda, which, being almost entirely taken from the Rig-ved
may itself be called the essence of the Rig-veda. And more th
that. The Rig-veda stands for all speech, the Sâma-veda for
breath or life, so that Om may be conceived again as the symbol
all speech and all life. Om thus becomes the name, not only of
our physical and mental powers, but especially of the living prin
ple, the Prâ*n*a or spirit. This is explained by the parable in t
second kha*nd*a, while in the third kha*nd*a that spirit within us
identified with the spirit in the sun. He therefore who meditat
on Om, meditates on the spirit in man as identical with the spirit
nature, or in the sun, and thus the lesson that is meant to be taug
in the beginning of the *Kh*ândogya-upanishad is really this, th
none of the Vedas with their sacrifices and ceremonies could ev
secure the salvation of the worshiper—i. e., that sacred works p
formed according to the rules of the Vedas are of no avail in t
end, but that meditation on Om alone, or that knowledge of wh
is meant by Om alone, can procure true salvation or true imm
tality. Thus the pupil is led on step by step to what is the high
object of the Upanishads—viz., the recognition of the self in m
as identical with the Highest Self or Brahman. The lessons whi
are to lead up to that highest conception of the universe, both su
jective and objective, are no doubt mixed up with much that
superstitious and absurd; still the main object is never lost sig
of. Thus, when we come to the eighth kha*nd*a, the discussi
though it begins with Om or the Udgîtha, ends with the questi
of the origin of the world, and though the final answer—name
that Om means ether (âkâsa), and that ether is the origin of
things—may still sound to us more physical than metaphysical, s
the description given of ether or âkâsa shows that more is meant
it than the physical ether, and that ether is in fact one of the earl
and less perfect names of the Infinite, of Brahman, the universal S
This, at least, is the lesson which the Brahmans themselves read

his chapter ; * and if we look at the ancient language of the Upanishads as representing mere attempts at finding expression for what their language could hardly express as yet, we shall I think be less inclined to disagree with the interpretation put on those ancient oracles by the later Vedânta philosophers, † or, at all events, hesitate before we reject what is difficult to interpret, as altogether devoid of meaning.

This is but one instance to show that, even behind the fantastic and whimsical phraseology of the sacred writings of the Hindoos and other Eastern nations, there may be sometimes aspirations after truth which deserve careful consideration from the student of the psychological development and the historical growth of early religious thought, and that, after careful sifting, treasures may be found in what at first we may feel inclined to throw away as utterly worthless.

Let it not be supposed that a text, three thousand years old, or, even if of more modern date, still widely distant from our own sphere of thought, can be translated in the same manner as a book written a few years ago in French or German. Those who know French and German well enough, know how difficult, nay, how impossible it sometimes is, to render justice to certain touches of genius which the true artist knows how to give to a sentence. Many poets have translated Heine into English or Tennyson into German, many painters have copied the Madonna di San Sisto or the so-called portrait of Beatrice Cenci. But the greater the excellence of these translators, the more frank has been their avowal that the original was beyond their reach. And what is a translation of modern German into modern English compared with a translation of ancient Sanskrit or Zend or Chinese into any modern language? It is an undertaking which, from its very nature, admits of the most partial success only; and a more intimate knowledge of the ancient language, so far from facilitating the task of the translator, renders it only more hopeless. Modern words are round, ancient words are square, and we may as well hope to solve the quadrature of the circle as to ex-

* The Upanishad itself says: "The Brahman is the same as the ether which is around us; and the ether which is around us is the same as the ether which is within us. And the ether which is within, that is the ether within the heart. That ether in the heart is omnipresent and unchanging. He who knows this obtains omnipresent and unchangeable happiness."—(*Kh.* Up. iii., 12, 7-9.)

† Cf. Vedânta-sûtras i., 1, 22.

press adequately the ancient thoughts of the Veda in modern Eng lish.

We must not expect, therefore, that a translation of the sacre books of the ancients can ever be more than an approximation c our language to theirs, of our thoughts to theirs. The translato however, if he has once gained the conviction that it is impossib to translate old thought into modern speech, without doing som violence either to the one or to the other, will hardly hesitate in h choice between two evils. He will prefer to do some violence t language rather than to misrepresent old thoughts, by clothing the in words which do not fit them. If, therefore, the reader finds som of these translations rather rugged, if he meets with expressio which sound foreign, with combinations of nouns and adjectiv such as he has never seen before, with sentences that seem too lon or too abrupt, let him feel sure that the translator has had to de with a choice of evils, and that, when the choice lay between sacr ficing idiom or truth, he has chosen the smaller evil of the two.

I shall give one instance only. One of the most important wor in the ancient philosophy of the Brahmans is Âtman, nom. sin Âtmâ. It is rendered in our dictionaries by "breath, soul, the pri ciple of life and sensation, the individual soul, the self, the abstra individual, self, one's self, the reflexive pronoun, the natural ter perament or disposition, essence, nature, character, peculiarity, th person or the whole body, the body, the understanding, intellec the mind, the faculty of thought and reason, the thinking facult the highest principle of life, Brahma, the supreme deity or soul the universe, care, effort, pains, firmness, the sun, fire, wind, air, son."

This will give classical scholars an idea of the chaotic state fro which, thanks to the excellent work done by Boehtlingk, Roth, ar others, Sanskrit lexicology is only just emerging. Some of th meanings here mentioned ought certainly not to be ascribed to â man. It never means, for instance, the understanding, nor could ever by itself be translated by sun, fire, wind, air, pains, or firmnes But, after deducting such surplusage, there still remain a lar variety of meanings, which may, under certain circumstances, b ascribed to âtman.

When âtman occurs in philosophical treatises, such as the Upan shads and the Vedânta system which is based on them, it has gene ally been translated by soul, mind, or spirit. I tried myself to u one or other of these words, but the oftener I employed them th

ore I felt their inadequacy, and was driven at last to adopt self
ıd Self as the least liable to misunderstanding.

No doubt in many passages it sounds strange in English to use
lf, and in the plural selfs instead of selves ; but that very strange-
ss is useful, for, while such words as soul and mind and spirit
ıss over us unrealized, self and selfs will always ruffle the surface
the mind and stir up some reflection in the reader. In English to
eak even of the I and the Non-I was till lately considered harsh ;
may still be called a foreign philosophical idiom. In German the
h and Nicht-ich have, since the time of Fichte, become recognized
ıd almost familiar, not only as philosophical terms, but as legiti-
ate expressions in the literary language of the day. But while
e Ich with Fichte expressed the highest abstraction of personal
istence, the corresponding word in Sanskrit, the Aham or Aha*n*-
ıra was always looked upon as a secondary development only, and
by no means free from all purely phenomenal ingredients. Be-
ınd the Aham or Ego, with all its accidents and limitations, such
sex, sense, language, country, and religion, the ancient sages of
dia perceived, from a very early time, the Âtman or the self, in-
pendent of all such accidents.

The individual âtman or self, however, was with the Brahmans
phase or phenomenal modification only of the Highest Self, and
at Highest Self was to them the last point which could be reached
philosophical speculation. It was to them what in other systems
philosophy has been called by various names, τὸ ὄν, the Divine,
e Absolute. The highest aim of all thought and study with the
rahman of the Upanishads was to recognize his own self as a
ere limited reflection of the Highest Self, to know his self in the
ighest Self, and through that knowledge to return to it and regain
s identity with it. Here to know was to be, to know the Âtman
as to be the Âtman, and the reward of that highest knowledge
ter death was freedom from new births, or immortality.

That Highest Self, which had become to the ancient Brahmans
e goal of all their mental efforts, was looked upon at the same
me as the starting-point of all phenomenal existence, the root of
e world, the only thing that could truly be said to be, to be real
ıd true. As the root of all that exists, the Âtman was identified
ith the Brahman, which in Sanskrit is both masculine and neuter,
ıd with the Sat, which is neuter only, that which is, or Satya, the
ue, the real. It alone exists in the beginning and for ever ; it has
o second. Whatever else is said to exist derives its real being

from the Sat. How the one Sat became many, how what we ca the creation, what they call emanation (πρόοδος), constantly pro ceeds and returns to it, has been explained in various more or les fanciful ways by ancient prophets and poets. But what they a agree in is this, that the whole creation, the visible and invisibl world, all plants, all animals, all men, are due to the one Sat, ar upheld by it, and will return to it.

If we translate Âtman by soul, mind, or spirit, we commit, firs of all, that fundamental mistake of using words which may be pred icated, in place of a word which is a subject only, and can neve become a predicate. We may say in English man possesses a sou man has lost his mind, man has or even man is a spirit, but w could never predicate âtman, or self, of anything else. Spirit, if means breath or life; mind, if it means the organ of perceptio and conception; soul, if, like Kaitanya, it means intelligence i general, all these may be predicated of the Âtman, as manifeste in the phenomenal world. But they are never subjects in the sens in which the Âtman is; they have no independent being, apa from Âtman. Thus to translate the beginning of the Aitarey upanishad, Âtmâ vâ idam eka evâgra âsît, by "This (world) veril was before (the creation of the world) soul alone" (Roer), o "Originally this (universe) was indeed soul only" (Colebrooke would give us a totally false idea. M. Regnaud in his "Matériau pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde" (vol. ii., p. 2 has evidently felt this, and has kept the word âtman untranslate "Au commencement cet univers n'était que l'âtman." But whi in French it would seem impossible to find any equivalent f âtman, I have ventured to translate in English, as I should ha done in German, "Verily, in the beginning all this was Self, o only."

Thus again when we read in Sanskrit, "Know the Self by t self," âtmânam âtmanâ pasya, tempting as it may seem, it wou be entirely wrong to render it by the Greek γνῶθι σεαυτόν. T Brahman called upon his young pupil to know not himself, but h Self, that is, to know his individual self as a merely tempora reflex of the Eternal Self. Were we to translate this so-call âtmavidyâ, this self-knowledge, by knowledge of the soul, v should not be altogether wrong, but we should nevertheless lose that distinguishes the Indian from the Greek mind. It may not good English to say to know his self, still less to know our sel but it would be bad Sanskrit to say to know himself, to know o

lves ; or, at all events, such a rendering would deprive us of the reatest advantage in the study of Indian philosophy, the opportunity of seeing in how many different ways man has tried to solve e riddles of the world and of his soul.

It is impossible to find an English equivalent for so simple a ord as Sat, τὸ ὄν. We can not render the Greek τὸ ὄν and τὸ μὴ by Being or Not-being, for both are abstract nouns ; nor by he Being," for this would almost always convey a wrong impression. In German it is easy to distinguish between das Sein, i. e., ing, in the abstract, and das Seiende, τὸ ὄν. In the same way e Sanskrit Sat can easily be rendered in Greek by τὸ ὄν, in German by das Seiende, but in English, unless we say "that which is," are driven to retain the original Sat.

From this Sat was derived in Sanskrit Sat-ya, meaning originally dowed with being, then true. This is an adjective, but the same ord, as a neuter, is also used in the sense of truth, as an abstract, d in translating it is very necessary always to distinguish between tyam, the true, frequently the same as Sat, τὸ ὄν, and Satyam, uth, veracity. One example will suffice to show how much the arness of a translation depends on the right rendering of such ords as âtman, sat, and satyam.

In a dialogue between Uddâlaka and his son Svetaketu, in which e father tries to open his son's mind, and to make him see his ue relation to the Highest Self (*Khândogya-upanishad* vi.), the her first explains how the Sat produced what we should call the ree elements,* viz., fire, water, and earth, which he calls heat, ter, and food. Having produced them (vi., 2, 4), the Sat ened into them, not with its real nature, but only with its "living f" (vi., 3, 3), which is a reflection (âbhâsamâtram) of the real t, as the sun in the water is a reflection of the real sun. By this parent union of the Sat with the three elements, every form pa) and every name (nâman) in the world was produced, and erefore he who knows the three elements is supposed to know erything in this world, nearly in the same manner in which the eeks imagined that, through a knowledge of the elements, everyng else became known (vi., 4, 7). The same three elements are own to be the constituent elements of man also (vi., 5). Food, the earthy element, is supposed to produce not only flesh, but

* Devatâs, literally deities, but frequently to be translated by powers or beings. M. Kunte, the learned editor of the Vedânta-sûtras, ought not (p. 70) to have rened devâta, in *Kh.* Up. i., 11, 5, by goddess.

also mind; water, not only blood, but also breath; heat, not or bone, but also speech. This is more or less fanciful; the importa point, however, is this, that, from the Brahmanic point of vie breath, speech, and mind are purely elemental, or external instr ments, and require the support of the living self, the *g*îvâtman, b fore they can act.

Having explained how the Sat produces progressively heat, h heat leads to water, water to earth, and how, by a peculiar mixtu of the three, speech, breath, and mind are produced, the teach afterward shows how, in death, speech returns to mind, mind breath, breath to heat, and heat to the Sat (vi., 8, 6). This S the root of everything, is called para devatâ, the highest deity, n in the ordinary sense of the word deity, but as expressing the hig est abstraction of the human mind. We must therefore transl it by the Highest Being, in the same manner as we translate deva when applied to heat, water, and earth, not by deity, but by su stance or element.

The same Sat, as the root or highest essence of all material exi ence, is then called a*n*iman, from a*n*u, small, subtile, infinitesim atom. It is an abstract word, and I have translated it by subt essence.

The father then goes on explaining in various ways that this S is underlying all existence, and that we must learn to recognize as the root, not only of all the objective, but likewise of our o subjective existence. "Bring the fruit of a Nyagrodha-tree," says, "break it, and what do you find?" "The seeds," the s replies, "almost infinitesimal." "Break one of them, and tell what you see." "Nothing," the son replies. Then the father co tinues, "My son, that subtile essence which you do not see the of that very essence this great Nyagrodha-tree exists."

After that follows this sentence: "Etadâtmyam ida*m* sarva tat satyam, sa âtmâ, tat tvam asi *S*vetaketo."

This sentence has been rendered by Rajendralal Mitra in t following way: "All this universe has the (Supreme) Deity for life. That Deity is Truth. He is the Universal Soul. Thou He, O *S*vetaketu." *

This translation is quite correct, as far as the words go, bu doubt whether we can connect any definite thoughts with th

* Anquetil Duperron translates: "Ipso hoc modo (ens) illud est subtile: et omne, unus âtma est: et id verum et rectum est, O Sopatkit, tatoumes, id est, âtma tu es."

ords. In spite of the division adopted in the text, I believe it ll be necessary to join this sentence with the last words of the eceding paragraph. This is clear from the commentary, and m later paragraphs, where this sentence is repeated, vi., 9, 4, etc. e division in the printed text (vi., 8, 6) is wrong, and vi., 8, 7 uld begin with sa ya esho 'nimâ, i. e., that which is the subtile ence.

The question then is, What is further to be said about this sub- essence? I have ventured to translate the passage in the fol- ving way:

"That which is the subtile essence (the Sat, the root of every- ng), in it all that exists has its self, or, more literally, its selfhood. is the True (not the Truth in the abstract, but that which truly l really exists). It is the Self, i. e., the Sat is what is called the f of everything."* Lastly, he sums up, and tells Svetaketu that only the whole world, but he too himself is that Self, that ya, that Sat.

No doubt this translation sounds strange to English ears; but, as thoughts contained in the Upanishads are strange, it would be ng to smooth down their strangeness by clothing them in lan- ge familiar to us, but, for that very reason, failing to startle us, l, failing to startle us, then failing to set us thinking.

To know one's self to be the Sat, to know that all that is real eternal in us is the Sat, that all came from it and will, through wledge, return to it, requires an independent effort of specula- thought. We must realize, as well as we can, the thoughts of ancient Rishis, before we can hope to translate them. It is not ugh simply to read the half-religious, half-philosophical utter- es which we find in the sacred books of the East, and to say they are strange, or obscure, or mystic. Plato is strange, till know him; Berkeley is mystic, till for a time we have identified selves with him. So it is with these ancient sages, who have me the founders of the great religions of antiquity. They can er be judged from without, they must be judged from within. need not become Brahmans, or Buddhists, or Taosse altogether, we must for a time, if we wish to understand, and, still more, if are bold enough to undertake to translate their doctrines. Who-

* The change of gender in sa for tad is idiomatic. One could not say in Sanskrit âtmâ, it is the Self, but sa âtmâ. By sa, he, the Sat, that which is, is meant. commentary explains sa âtmâ by tat sat, and continues tat sat tat tvam asi 43).

ever shrinks from that effort will see hardly anything in th sacred books or their translations but matter to wonder at or laugh at; possibly something to make him thankful that he is as other men. But to the patient reader these same books will, spite of many drawbacks, open a new view of the history of human race, of that one race to which we all belong, with all fibers of our flesh, with all the fears and hopes of our soul. can not separate ourselves from those who believed in these sac books. There is no specific difference between ourselves and Brahmans, the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, or the Taosse. Our p ers of perceiving, of reasoning, and of believing may be more hig developed, but we can not claim the possession of any verify power, or of any power of belief which they did not possess as w Shall we say, then, that they were forsaken of God, while we his chosen people? God forbid! There is much, no doubt, their sacred books which we should tolerate no longer, though must not forget that there are portions in our own sacred boo too, which from the earliest ages of Christianity have been objec to by theologians of undoubted piety, and which can now of prove a stumbling-block to those who have been won over by missionaries to the simple faith of Christ. But that is not question. The question is, whether there is or whether there is hidden in every one of the sacred books, something that could up the human heart from this earth to a higher world, someth that could make man feel the omnipresence of a higher Pow something that could make him shrink from evil and incline good, something to sustain him in the short journey through l with its bright moments of happiness, and its long hours of terr distress.

There is no lesson which at the present time seems more im tant than to learn that in every religion there are such preci grains; that we must draw in every religion a broad distinction tween what is essential and what is not, between the eternal the temporary, between the divine and the human; and that, tho the non-essential may fill many volumes, the essential can often comprehended in a few words, but words on which "hang all law and the prophets."

MAX MÜLLE

VII.

EVOLUTION AND THEOLOGY.

*A REJOINDER.**

In the last number of this Review four distinguished represent-
es of the theological school of thought discuss the compatibil-
of the views of Nature on which the scientific philosophy of the
sent day is founded with sound doctrine in general, and with the
trine of design in Nature particularly. To form a clear concep-
of the field occupied by the discussion, we shall recapitulate
circumstances which gave rise to it, beginning with some pre-
nary considerations of a general character.

All reasoning is useless unless the person to whom it is addressed
its the premises on which it is based; and all profitable dis-
ion must either commence with some common basis on which
parties agree or must be directed toward finding such a basis,
then ascertaining at what point their lines of thought begin to
rge. Now, in the discussion of the theory of evolution in its
ous phases, which has been going on for the last twenty years,
point of divergence has never been clearly brought to light.
theory in question, as we shall endeavor to show hereafter, is
ded on a certain fundamental postulate respecting the course
Nature. This postulate, being, as is supposed, proved by induc-
from present observations, has been used as a general key for
aining the operations of Nature during unlimited ages past, and
forming a theory of those operations which it is supposed may
good through the whole universe of phenomena. In entering
this daring flight of thought, scientific thinkers have met with
easing opposition from a school which we may term that of the-
y. But an examination of the objections of this school fails to
w where their line of thought begins to diverge from that of
school of science. They have either built their arguments on

* See, in our preceding issue, the symposium on "Law and Design in Nature."

an entirely independent foundation, or they have attacked the c clusions of the other school at special points, without making clear whether they admitted or denied the general principles which these conclusions were founded. The first step in a profita discussion of the subject must, therefore, be to state those pri ples, and ascertain whether the two parties agree respecting t validity.

It was with this object that the writer opened the discussion propounded the question which will be found in our last num He entered the list not as a partisan of either school, but only a independent thinker desirous of ascertaining the truth. To him doctrines of the one school appeared clear and simple, while th of the other did not. He therefore propounded the fundame postulate of the scientific philosophy in its most comprehen form, explained it in all its bearings, illustrated its scope by ex ples and suggested special questions by answering which a deci conclusion might be reached. The eminent thinkers whose vi follow were then asked to explain how far they considered the tulate to be consistent with sound doctrine. They were not, as of them seems to suppose, expected to accept the whole or n On the contrary, they were left at liberty to accept or reject portion, and to state any definite limits within which they woul willing to admit it, but without which they were not willing to so. In order that they might proceed in a way to be fully un stood by the opposite party, the propositions on which they asked to pass judgment were explained point by point. Finally they might object that they were incompetent to express opin upon scientific questions, and especially to decide whether a scien doctrine, that of evolution, for instance, was or was not proved, ought not to be asked to commit themselves to theories of the l of which they might be doubtful, they were not asked to ac anything as absolutely proved, but only to state whether it w be consistent with sound doctrine to accept it.

Such was the case as it will be found presented. After a careful study of the answers, the writer confesses himself unab form a clear idea whether his interlocutors accept or deny the tulate, and can not reach any other conclusion than that they unwilling to commit themselves decisively one way or the o At least one or two evade the question presented in a manner w it is extremely difficult to account for on any other ground. instance, Dr. Porter begins by describing the opening write

ing his views of the position of the theological school, and as ing of success in doing so. But if the reader will refer to the and second pages of the opening article he will find that the ter makes no attempt to state the position of the theological ool. On the contrary, he makes it clearly known that the *raison re* of the whole discussion is that he does not know what the posi- of the school in question is, and desires it to be explained. Then Porter goes on to speak of the arguments arrayed by his sup- d opponent against a purely theological doctrine. Here again s equally at fault. No attempt was made to argue in favor of position taken by the scientific school, and it was distinctly an- nced in the opening of the paper that no such attempt would be e. Although the question of evolution is almost purely a scien- one, that of the relation of evolution to religious doctrine is and belongs to a class with which the scientific thinker as such competent to deal. The most he can do is to assist in the prep- ion of some logically coherent principles on which both parties he discussion may unite. What follows of Dr. Porter's paper so little reference to the questions actually propounded that only ngle point need now be touched upon. He criticises the various cts of the postulate, and especially its limitation to the succes- of phenomena. This objection is difficult of comprehension. ne opening paper it was distinctly stated that the object of such nitation was to ascertain whether the two schools agree about nomena. Admitting the existence of another universe than that henomena, does this afford a sufficient reason for declining to ess an opinion about the latter?

So far as any clear, consistent, and decisive expression of opinion the admissibility of the postulate is concerned, all the answers of the same class. All, indeed, have this in common—that they e vigorously for the truth of a proposition which, so far as the er is aware, has never been denied on scientific grounds— ely, that there is design in Nature. But they leave their an- s to the special question propounded to be inferred from the ral tenor of their reasoning. In answer to the bearer of the of truce who asks to know what terms of peace can be ob- d, a general alarm is sounded, and the theological artillery ders forth in every direction, but the flag-bearer receives no er from which he can clearly see how the war is to end. All an do is to make a study of the returns, and see what he can er from them respecting the views of the other party. On the

minuteness of this study will very largely depend the nature of conclusions he reaches. The cursory student, taking for gra that the smoke and din of battle necessarily imply a conflict tween two opposing forces, may infer that the postulate is unco tionally rejected. But the more careful reader who knows the sition of the enemy and the grounds on which the supposed def is conducted, may see strong indications of a readiness to surre all that part of the field which can reasonably be claimed by scientific philosopher.

To appreciate the situation we must bear in mind that the q tion was that of the compatibility of two schemes of doctrine, of which we may designate in a general way as that of the uni sality of natural law, and the other as that of sound theological trine. As an example of the latter, the idea of design in Nature suggested, but the interlocutors were of course expected to take term in its widest sense. It was therefore to be expected that t who believed law and design to be inconsistent would, as the gians, reject the postulate ; while those who held the two to be c patible would be ready to accept it, or at least to assure the re that there was no occasion to oppose it on theological grou But, curiously enough, instead of taking either of these views find that all make a show of opposing the postulate, and yet unite in saying that there is no incompatibility whatever betw natural law and design. That is, they argue on both sides of question propounded in such a way as to leave the reader in d which side they are on.

It is true that between these two mutually destructive posit an apparent avenue of escape is kept in view by the theologi The turning-point of opposition to the postulate is found in portion of it which asserts that human investigation can t no regard to consequences in the operation of natural causes, it seems to be taken for granted by all that this, in terms, excl design from the universe. Surely there must here be some apprehension. It is evident that, if, from the proposition tha design can be traced in Nature by human investigation, our the gians draw the conclusion that none can exist, they can justify inference only by taking as the major premise of their argument general proposition that there can be no design in the univ except such as human investigation can trace. In other words, t assume that man may by scientific investigation become acquai with the ends which the Author of Nature designed to accomp

vidently this is the only ground on which the inference which the eologians seem to regard as self-evident can be based. Yet it can rdly be supposed that they will openly maintain this claim; in- ed, Dr. McCosh expressly admits that there may be cases in nich we can not find out the purpose of the Creator.

We can hardly suppose, therefore, that this portion of the argu- ent against the postulate was founded on anything but an inad- rtence. We are, however, relieved from the necessity of further gument on this point by the subsequent course of our interlocutors demolishing the only foundation on which their argument of in- mpatibility could be based. This they do by further arguing that ere is no incompatibility between natural law and design, and do a manner so complete and satisfactory that their scientific oppo- nts are relieved from all necessity for maintaining the orthodoxy their doctrines. True, there is still one point on which it would em that the contest might be maintained—namely, that the sci- tific side conceives of natural causes as acting without regard to nsequences, while theologians do not so conceive them. But is not of the very essence of all law that consequences shall be dis- garded in its enforcement? We conceive that if we accept the ndamental conception of law entertained by all men, no power natever, not even the Power which made it, or that which executes can hold it at his arbitrary will or can execute it in different ways cording to the result to be obtained. A law which could be wield- in this way would be no law at all. A human judge must not gard a man's business or family in passing sentence, and, just so far he is allowed a discretion in the matter, so far he is relieved from e prescriptions of law and not governed by it. In other words, s action is governed partly by law and partly by his own judg- ent. If the idea of the laws of Nature expressed in the scientific ilosophy is correct, then they are absolutely inexorable, leaving thing to an arbitrary judgment, and thus fulfill a condition to nich human laws only approximate. If, then, in arguing the com- tibility of natural law and design, our theologians entertain what e conceive to be an almost universal idea of law, their argument altogether on the side of the scientific postulate. If, on the other nd, they have a different idea of law, and infer that a result can one thing or the other according to the consequences to follow, d yet be determined by law, they entertain an idea of law which ust at least need further definition and illustration.

The question reduces itself to this: Can a law which is enforced

with an absolute disregard of consequences fulfill a purpose? Ea
of our four theologians argues so vigorously both on the negati
and affirmative sides of this question, that the scientist might pr
dently refrain from attempting a decision.

Important though this question of abstract definition may l
and much as we might desire to know what definition of law t
theological school would give us, we are relieved from the necessi
of such an inquiry by the circumstance that the whole question c
be settled by a decision of special concrete cases. Now, it is r
markable that, although the views and arguments presented by
the theological interlocutors may be clear and satisfactory so f
as regards abstract generalities, they almost entirely refrain fr
answering any of the special questions suggested by the writ
which would enable us to infer their opinion of the question und
discussion. Perhaps the most decisive concrete question present
was that of the adaptability of the theories of the motions
the planets, where seeming absolute certainty in regard to t
future is attained, with the general doctrines of design and Pro
dence. Either of two replies might have been made to this qu
tion: It might have been maintained that the courses of t
planets did not symbolize the whole course of Nature, but th
there are certain limits of time beyond which our inductions w
not hold, or certain realms of Nature where things are not det
mined by laws of the same fixed character as those which det
mine the motion of the planets. Or, on the other hand, it mig
have been maintained that results as certain as the future conju
tions and oppositions of the planets, and the past and future pat
of eclipses, were especially designed. Of course, these two answe
might have been further limited in various ways, but the reader w
find no meeting of the question in either way. Dr. Porter alo
discusses it, and he jumps to the conclusion that the first writ
would have us conclude that the possibility of inferring a visi
purpose is excluded if design is admitted. He then presents wh
appears to be an unqualified acceptance of the second of the abo
suggested answers. Then, in reply to what would seem the ve
pertinent question, why the theologians contest a question the tru
of which they do not deny, he replies that they would not do so
the scientific men would insist that the course of Nature manife
design as truly as it does the succession of phenomena. So far
his position can be inferred, it seems to be about this: If you w
admit and maintain our proposition, we will maintain and adm

ours ; but, since you refuse ours as having no scientific value, we e bound in retaliation to attack yours.

This decisive question is carefully avoided by all three of the her disputants.

What we have said of the different conclusions which the reader ill reach according as he reads rapidly or studies the papers closely, ill be most clearly seen in the contributions of Drs. Clarke and cCosh. The latter, after an introduction which is very clear so r as the general principles stated are concerned, attacks the second estion as the only one in dispute between us: "In the action of ature is there any regard to consequences traceable by human instigation, or necessary to foresee the consequences?" He regards is as equivalent to the inquiry whether the existence of God is own by his works, and of course contests what he supposes to be e scientific view. Most curious of all, however, is his remark that e opening writer evidently regards law and design as inconsistent th each other—in fact as opponents and rivals. We say this is rious, because the writer, desirous of saving his interlocutors from sting their arguments by proving the abstract possibility of design in Nature, went out of his way to say that the scientific postue was not opposed to the doctrine that all things are determined Divine will, and were designed to be as they are. It would seem at orthodoxy of doctrine is not to be tolerated in any advocate of e scientific school, but that he must be preserved in his heteroxy, in order that the latter may be duly refuted.

Putting the construction he does upon the question, he of course mbats it, and thus satisfies the casual reader that he can be relied to resist the encroachments of the scientists. Then he proceeds what is really an argument of the most conclusive kind in favor the scientific hypothesis, by showing that under any other system o one could foresee the future or provide for it, could know that e would prepare his food for eating, could have even a motive to rtake of food, for he could not know whether food would nourish n." As this argument is clear and conclusive, we accept it in eference to the first.

The duplex character of the theological position is perhaps own most clearly in the argument of Dr. Clarke. The reader ing assured that, in formulating the postulate, the word "antecent" was intended to mean antecedent in time, will perceive that begins by contesting the postulate on the same ground as his lows, namely, that it excludes design. He then proceeds with a

very vigorous but somewhat old-fashioned argument for desig
Finally, he meets the question which is really the one at issue, D
the cosmos that we see come by design or by law? But he thinl
this question is not the fundamental one, because, admitting it
have come by law, we must then inquire, Did these laws come b
chance or design? But, in thus trying to jump over the head
the only question at issue, he makes what is really a complete chan
of base. Scientific philosophy never raises the question wheth
the laws of Nature came by chance or design, or were eternal. Th
question asked was one respecting the course of Nature under exis
ing laws. The only method which science has of inferring th
course of Nature outside the sphere of immediate observation
founded on the hypothesis that the laws of Nature are invariabl
and the same outside this sphere that they are inside. Therefor
when we come back to the beginning of these laws and ask ho
they commence, you pass completely out of the sphere of scien
and of the scientific philosophy.

It is not of the slightest use to tell the scientific school th
they ought to consider this question. Even if we granted that the
ought to do so, they can still justly claim that we must agree upo
what the course of Nature actually is under the existing laws
Nature before we can discuss the beginning of those laws. Ther
fore the question, did the cosmos that we see come by design
by law, is the living one which Dr. Clarke entirely evades, thoug
indirectly he so far admits it as entirely to destroy the basis of h
opening argument. His position seems in brief to be this: I clai
that the present state of things came by design and not by law
but, since you may possibly prove, after all, that they came by la
I then take refuge in the fact, which you can not contest, that tho
laws came by design. On this latter point the scientific philosoph
will not join issue with him, because he is concerned only wi
things which he believes to be within the realm of natural law.

The most lamentable waste of argument is found in the contr
bution of Mr. Cook. He devotes the greater part of his paper
the refutation of the ancient doctrine that adaptations in the un
verse came by chance—a doctrine which, so far as the writer know
has not been maintained by any one for many centuries, and whic
the school of evolution seeks to dispose of for ever by showin
that they came by law. He shows very clearly, as hundreds ha
shown before him, that the adaptations which we see in Nature n
cessarily require a precise reason for them; but, when he comes

the question whether the reason given by the school of evolution can be accepted, he "passes by on the other side."

The results of our examination of the four answers may be summed up as follows:

Considered as arguments for the abstract proposition that there is design in Nature, they leave nothing to be desired. The scientific philosopher can have nothing to say against them, because, whether he admits them or denies them, it is entirely outside his province to pass judgment upon them.

Considered as throwing light on the question how far the scientific philosophy in general, and that of evolution in particular, can be admitted without rejecting final causes in some of their forms, they must, we conceive, be regarded as unsatisfactory. It is true that, on the whole, they are favorable to the idea that there is no necessary antagonism between the two systems. We find in more than one place statements which, carried to their legitimate logical conclusion, would imply that any man who maintained that the theory of evolution is in any way inconsistent with design in Nature is on the high-road to atheism—a proposition which we think will not be received with favor by all theologians. If this view had been consistently adhered to throughout the whole discussion, there would have been scarcely anything to say in reply, and the reader might safely have been left to compare the attitude of the writers with that of the churches which they represent toward the theory of evolution during the past twenty years.

That they should have avoided giving a direct and unconditional positive or negative reply to the question propounded was to be expected. An affirmative reply and acceptance of the scientific postulate, as at least consistent with sound doctrine, whether proven or not, would have been an admission that the great war which has been waged by theology against evolution during the past twenty years was without justification. A very attractive field of controversy would thus have been abandoned. On the other hand, an unconditional denial of the proposition, as inconsistent with sound doctrine, would have been equivalent to maintaining that the whole progress of science during the past three centuries tended to the discredit of religious doctrines, and that the latter could find no foothold whatever in fields which Science had conquered. Every phenomenon, after being reduced to natural laws and explained on scientific principles, would have become a weapon wrenched from the hand of Theology and turned over to its enemy. It could hardly

be expected that a whole school of thinkers would be ready to take either horn of this dilemma. But the writer will confess that he did expect them to grapple with the problem a little more closely, and to make the exact position of Theology in relation to evolution more consistently clear than they have done.

In the minute examination we have been giving to the arguments and positions of our theological interlocutors, and the remarks respecting the position of the scientific philosophy which have been occasionally thrown in, the reader may have failed to gather a view of the actual line of battle; he may be especially bewildered to learn which side the opposing parties are taking in respect to the general compatibility of natural law and design. We must, therefore, ask him to ascend to a higher plane, and trace the line of conflict from its beginning in a single comprehensive view. If in doing this we shall fail to point out anything which has not been shown over and over again during the past ten years, we can only excuse ourselves by a seeming failure on the part of large numbers of thinking men to grasp the real points at issue.

The whole question turns upon a differentiation made by the human mind in all ages between the processes of Nature and the acts of mind. When a tree was felled, or a piece of coal dug from the earth, the operations were those of a directing mind having an end to gain by them, and were not the result of any law of Nature. It was and is quite obvious that there is no law of Nature prescribing that coal shall be dug from the earth or trees be cut down at certain times. These are acts of will and not processes of Nature. On the other hand, when the fuel burns we have a natural process which is the result of an invariable law of Nature. We have repeatedly given what seems to us the clearest definition of the distinction to be made between these two classes of causes, by showing that the one class go on entirely without regard to consequences, while the other have reference entirely to the results to follow. Thus we have a wide and unbridgable chasm between the operations of mind and the laws of Nature—a chasm which, as just remarked, has been recognized by thought in all ages. We trust that the reader sees clearly this distinction between acts of will, so far as we know them here around us, and natural processes.

In early stages of human thought all natural operations were not looked upon as belonging to the second class. It was very well understood that the acts of visible, conscious beings, whether man or animals, might belong partially or wholly to the first class, and that

the operations of inanimate Nature belong principally to the second class. It is with this definition of the operations of Nature proper—that is, all of those processes which have not been designed by the individual will of man or animals—that we are alone concerned, and which we alone include under the term "course of Nature." The processes involved in this course of Nature were in the beginning of thought supposed to be divided between the two classes already described. Some were supposed to go forward in accordance with invariable natural laws, acting without regard to consequences; while others were viewed as the acts of beings for the most part invisible, possessing the power of modifying these natural processes, and so changing them from time to time to compass their ends. Thus a conception of Nature which has been termed the dualistic has been the one almost universally entertained in all ages. As an example of dualism we remark that in mediæval times the revolutions of the heavens, the falling of heavy bodies, the course of the ordinary breezes, the combustion of fuel, and the deaths of men from common diseases, were all viewed as natural processes; while the appearance of the comet, the rush of the tornado, and the outbreak of the pestilence were viewed as partially the direct result of will, acting independently of the laws of Nature, and so having a supernatural origin.

While this classification on the dualistic system was clear in its general conception, it was by no means clear in its application to special cases. As Nature was investigated, it was found from time to time that operations which had at first been supposed to belong to the supernatural could be fully explained by natural laws. Thus, there was a constant tendency to transfer events from the one class to the other. There were also great changes in the conception of the characters supposed to possess these supernatural powers. From being divided among a great number of spirits, many of the lowest, but none of the highest order, the power was gradually concentrated under the monotheistic system into the hands of a single Supreme Being, Maker of heaven and earth.

As knowledge increased it became more and more evident to careful thinkers that the operations, at least of contemporary natures, all belonged to the class of natural processes, and thus men divided into two classes. These were, on the one side, the devout and religious, who still held that certain occurrences, of which the cause and natural relations were obscure, and in which the interests of mankind were deeply involved, might occur one way or the other

according to the arbitrary fiat of the Supreme Will. The other in cluded the less devout or wholly irreligious, who maintained tha the classification was founded wholly upon our ignorance, and tha an increase in our knowledge of natural laws would result in ex plaining all occurrences by purely natural processes. Thus aros the monistic school, which maintained the absolute unity of Nature and claimed that all events were to be explained by natural law.

This school gradually triumphed in so far that intelligent me gradually ceased to make any specific and well-defined claim tha the course of Nature was modified or turned aside in any visibl manner or in any concrete case by the action of the Supreme Wil But there was one field into which it was entirely unable to ente namely, that of the adaptation of living beings to the circumstance by which they were surrounded. The structure of the human ey hand, and ear revealed a harmony with the world in which we wer placed, and an adaptation to the purposes they were to subserv which must have been the result of an adequate cause. It wa clearly seen that no doctrine of fortuity could account for suc adaptation. The resemblance to the works of ingenious men wh make machinery to carry out preconceived processes was so grea that only one explanation seemed possible. Man and animals wer the direct work of a designing Mind, possessed of a knowledge an ingenuity far exceeding that of man. Thus arose our modern na ural theology, devoted to showing final causes in Nature and relyin for its proof principally upon those adaptations which we see in an imate Nature, which could not have been the result of chance, an which to all appearance could be accounted for only by the doctrin of final causes. Connected with these ideas is the popular cosmog ony of the present day. At some time far back in the ages, matte was created and endowed with certain properties of attraction, re pulsion, and affinity by the Omnipotent, Self-existent Mind. At an other time the heavens and the earth were constructed by Divin art, and the materials so wisely adjusted that their operations shoul go on for ever in exact accordance with a prearranged plan. A another time plants were started growing and imbued with th power of continuing their kind. At another, animals were brough into existence in the same way, each species being an independen creation. The spectator, looking down upon the earth at one time would have seen a tree or forest, at another a lion, at a third a ful grown man, possessed of all his faculties, made out of the dust of th earth, as a watchmaker makes a watch. Perhaps he would als

ave seen the denizens of a higher sphere walking the earth and nging together in joy over the new creation. With this theory associated the sublimest conception which has come down to us rough the ages—that of a day when all the men who have lived on ie earth shall meet face to face ; when every wrong shall be righted; id when a new heaven and earth, free from all the imperfections the present, shall be created.

This theory may be considered as holding supreme sway until ery recently. It could be opposed only on grounds of general cepticism, but could not be supplanted by any other equally defi- te. It is true that, toward the close of the last century, the romulgation of the nebular hypothesis accounted for a large por- on of what had been before considered creation in a different ay. But, beyond making the creation of the world as we find it a tural instead of a supernatural process, the reception of this the- y did not make any radical change in the ideas of men. It was so too recondite in its nature, and too far removed from ordinary eas, to be appreciated by any but the learned. Most of all, the eation thus accounted for was not one which had been supposed show any striking adaptations or marks of design. For this last ason the nebular hypothesis never became a bitter bone of con- ntion between the monistic and the dualistic schools.

Twenty years ago the contest assumed an entirely new phase by ie promulgation of the theory of evolution in Darwin's "Origin Species." The object of this work was to show that all living ings, with their adaptations to external circumstances, were really ie product of natural laws, and were not especially created. The tempt was made to show that these beings had originated in the ery smallest and lowest forms of life, in collections of matter hich could hardly be defined as living or dead, and had attained their present development by purely natural generation. The ocesses of Nature by which this result was brought about were early enunciated and classed with gravitation, chemical affinity, id other previously known laws. Thus the monistic philosophy ught at one step to take possession of almost the whole field hich had hitherto been occupied by natural theology as its exclu- ve domain.

The progress of the new idea was bitterly contested at every ep on the part of Theology. It was clearly seen that, if once ac- pted, it involved the genetic connection of man with the lower imals, and the elimination of the supernatural from creation. Nat-

uralists themselves were at first so much divided that it was difficu to say which side would eventually triumph. But the more car fully the theory was examined, and the more minutely the relatio of structure between allied species of animals were studied, the mo clearly it appeared that they all pointed to the common origin all animal life. The opponents of the theory gradually fell awa and none entered to fill their places. So complete has the revol tion now become, that it is hardly possible to name a biologist distinction who still opposes it. It is taught by naturalists as a established law. It is even used as a key for explaining the stru ture of animals, and among a certain class of thinkers it is rapid becoming the basis of a new theory of the mental faculties, as we as of the material structural organization of man. The mind man is now viewed as containing an epitome of the mental histo of his ancestors, in which those faculties inherited from the bru nature can be differentiated from such as are the product of civi zation. Intellect is thus studied as a slow development throug countless generations.

This almost universal acceptance of evolution, by the men wh ought to be best qualified to judge of its truth, is a fact of to-da to which it would be folly to shut our eyes. How far their view are well founded, and what objections they might be subjected on sound philosophical grounds, are questions upon which it is in possible for us now to enter at length. We shall only remark general terms that, in the present state of biological knowledge, does not seem possible to frame arguments for evolution which a not based on the theory of uniformity in the methods of Natur The theory of special creation has this vantage-ground, that, on adopted, it will account for anything. It is just as easy to suppo one thing created as another—the most complex animal as the mo insignificant mass of protoplasm.

Special creation being thus sufficient to account for anything, th only possible objection to it can be compressed into the single a sertion that that is not the way in which Nature does business. Ev lution presupposes that we have discovered the plan and method Nature by induction from processes that we see going on around u The most general result of that induction is, as the writer conceive formulated in the postulate with which he opened this subjec namely, that the course of Nature, considered as a succession of ph nomena, is determined solely by antecedent causes, in the action which no regard to consequences can be traced by human invest

ators, or is necessary to foresee the result. Evolution itself being ounded on this postulate, we are justified in taking the latter as an xpression of the highest generalization of science, respecting the ourse of Nature. With this generalization, evolution, and every her conclusion respecting things which lie without the range of bservation, must stand or fall.

If we accept this postulate with all its logical consequences, how r must we give up or modify religious doctrine? This is a ques- on which the scientist is entirely incompetent to answer, and which, far, the theologians have utterly failed to answer in a satisfac- ry way. It is one on which the evolutionists differ as widely others. We may contribute a single suggestion toward an an- er, by stating what we conceive to be the relation of the scien- ic postulate to design in Nature, premising that our views have re no scientific weight whatever, and that they are put forward ly because the subject is neglected by those who are more com- tent.

That there is no antagonism between the scientific postulate d the abstract doctrine of design in Nature is an opinion which e writer has repeatedly expressed, both in these papers and else- here. The abstract doctrine alluded to may have various forms. may be supposed that the whole course of Nature is ultimately to nverge toward some end which we are still unable to foresee, but hich is completely planned out from the beginning; or it may be pposed that everything in Nature was designed to be exactly as it s been and as it will be. In these and allied views there is no- ing to conflict with the scientific postulate—nothing, in fact, which s any relation to it. But when we inquire whether we know hat these ends of Nature were and are—whether we can use such owledge in the scientific explanation of the course of Nature, or hether the latter can be scientifically explained without reference design—we reach questions of an entirely different class. It is e thing to say that there is design in Nature, or that all things re designed to be as they are, but an entirely different thing to y that we know these designs, and are able to explain and predict e course of Nature by means of them.

The scientific philosophy entirely excludes design as affording at explanation of Nature which it desires, that is, such an explana- n as will enable men to foresee the course of Nature. It is true at until recently the theory of design did serve a certain purpose explaining the structure of animals, and in giving that foresight

which is the requirement of science. But it was gradually fou
that, as a scientific theory, it wholly failed in the element of gen
ality of application, and led to greater and greater difficulties t
further knowledge advanced. Finally, in the opinion of the lar
majority of naturalists, it was rendered entirely unnecessary by t
theory of evolution, and therefore had to be dropped as a meth
of scientific explanation. It was maintained that nearly or qui
every circumstance, which had before been accounted for on t
theory of design and special creation, could now be better a
counted for on the theory of certain permanent, natural process
determined by invariable laws. Thus it is sought to relegate d
sign entirely to the province of the theologian, who can place
behind all natural laws, but is not to use it as a scientific theory.

The relation of evolution to design may be seen in a yet diff
ent light, by regarding the scientific postulate as expressive simp
of the unity of Nature with respect to plan and method. All de
nitions of the phenomena of Nature, in general and abstract tern
such as we have used in formulating the postulate, are subject
this inconvenience: that we apprehend the meaning of the ter
used only by their unconscious reference to special objects.
our ideas of a man, an animal, a metal, or a color are derived on
by having special objects presented to us to which we have learn
to apply these names, so the ideas which we attach to the m
general philosophic terms are derived in the same manner. W
may, therefore, avoid a possible failure to understand correctly t
idea presented, by dispensing with general definition of the cou
of Nature, and considering the postulate as expressive of the d
trine that Nature always has been what we now see it, and is in
its realms as we see it around us every day. This doctrine is son
times known under the name of *monism*, to distinguish it from t
dualistic conception of Nature, which views the latter as involvi
two distinct classes of causes, the natural and supernatural. Unf
tunately, however, the term has been applied, not only to the d
trine of the unity of Nature, but to that of the unity of mind a
matter, which is an entirely different and, in some aspects, an a
tagonistic one. We have, therefore, preferred the term scienti
philosophy to that of monistic philosophy, in treating of this su
ject.

Which term so ever we use, the result of the doctrine is, th
there is neither more nor less of design in any one process or res
of Nature than in another. It does not deny the striking harmon

ited by Dr. Clarke from Janet, but only maintains that these har-
nonies, like all others, are products of natural laws. It objects to
aking such harmonies the basis of the conclusion intended to be
rawn from them. It is not that the conclusion is necessarily false,
ut that they are no better fitted to sustain the conclusion than are
ther striking harmonies which we see before us every day, and
hich we at once recognize as results of well-known natural laws.
Vithout attempting to penetrate into the origin of the creative
ower, the doctrine maintains that this power was never exerted in
ny more striking manner than it is exerted before our eyes at the
resent time. The creation of all living beings and their adapta-
ons to the conditions which surround them are results of a process
hich we see going on around us every day, and which depend
on laws as certain and invariable in their action as those of chemi-
l affinity or of gravitation. It sees throughout Nature a certain
fe-evolving power which shows itself in various forms, as heredi-
—the continual increase of life—the *vis medicatrix naturæ*.

If you ask, Whence this power? it replies, Whence gravitation?
hence the chemical properties of matter? whence Nature itself?
sees this life-evolving power exerted in a certain relation to sur-
unding circumstances, so that every form of animal life has a ten-
ncy to adapt itself to those circumstances. All life not adapted
its surroundings is necessarily destroyed, thus leaving only what
so adapted. Thus Nature is viewed as one grand whole, the basis
which is involved in mystery in every direction, and which the
ientist studies simply to understand the relation of its phenomena.
verything which lies behind or above this he leaves for investiga-
on by other methods than those with which he is conversant.

Such is the highest generalization of the scientific thinker re-
ecting the method of Nature. Is it only a daring flight of the
agination, and its supposed foundation on observed facts only an
ol of the tribe, which a rigorous logic will show to be entirely
thout justification? This is a scientific question which may yet
om up into greater importance than it has heretofore. Is it con-
tent with religious truth? This is a question for theologians,
d one which we hope they will answer a little more boldly than
ey now do.

SIMON NEWCOMB.

VIII.

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

THE discovery, in 1848, immediately after its annexation to th United States, of deposits of gold of marvelous richness in Califo nia, created an excitement hardly less universal and intense tha that which followed their first discovery in the New World. Cal fornia was another Mexico and Peru, far richer than these in i mineral wealth, and far more inviting in its geographical positio in its general aspects, as well as in climate and in soil. The ne State, with its harbor of unrivaled excellence, was mistress of th Pacific, a name the synonym of everything mysterious and grand; fronted the great empire whose population makes up more than o half of the human race, and which, with all the fabulous wealth the Indies, was now to be brought into immediate connection wi our own. Our new Pacific possession, whose area exceeded that some of the most powerful kingdoms of the Old World, and who wealth of minerals and soil was generously thrown open to the e terprising and adventurous of all nations, became almost instant —by magic, as it were—a State of first-rate magnitude and impo tance. Between the Pacific and Atlantic slopes, however, there w no geographical relation whatever. Between them were vast mou tain ranges, penetrated by no navigable watercourses, and oppo ing impassable barriers to commerce; and which could be cross only by daring but feeble bands of pioneers, sufficient neither numbers nor in wealth to found populous and prosperous comm nities. The new State had to be reached, if reached at all, by t long, expensive and unhealthy routes by way of Panama and Ca Horn. The obvious mode of uniting the two slopes—the tw widely separated geographical systems of the continent—was railroads, the marvelous capacities of which were then beginni to be understood. To the construction of such works an insup

ble obstacle was opposed by the attitude of the Federal Govern-ent. For nearly 2,000 miles the route lay through the public do-ain. According to the popular construction of the Constitution—construction of almost equal force with the Constitution itself—e nation was incapable of aiding such works, or even of granting harters for their construction. So far from being able to add to its eans of well-being by a liberal exercise of its powers, never was ere a more helpless and incompetent organization than the Gov-nment of the United States at that time. The ardent and enthu-astic might demonstrate, beyond question, the almost infinite im-rtance of a railway across the continent; nay, might prove to the tisfaction of all that such a work was the only means by which e Pacific and Atlantic slopes could be united so as to form a litical as well as geographical unit, and that without it the two ust speedily become the seat of rival and perhaps hostile empires—e traditionary policy of the Government could no more be over-led than the stern decrees of Destiny itself. All that the more triotic could do was to submit to the inevitable, and picture to emselves what might have been, had the bettering of the condi-on of the people been one of the purposes for which our Govern-ent was formed.

The period of emancipation at last came. The Southern States, eing that they could no longer wield the Government in the inter-t of slavery, determined upon nothing less than its complete over-row. The crisis was no sooner upon it than the North, then con-ituting the Government, inferring its powers from its necessities, stinctively and instantly made a bold and masterly stroke for mpire as well as for freedom. The Pacific slope was loyal, and the tlantic, without hesitation or doubt, determined to render that loy-ty a matter of interest as well as of sentiment. On the 1st day of ly, 1862, as soon as the exigency of the war would permit, Congress hartered the Union Pacific Railroad Company, committing to it the nstruction of a railroad from the Missouri River to the harbor of n Francisco, California; making at the same time a grant to it of s bonds to be issued at the rate of $16,000, $32,000, and $48,000 r mile, and in ratio to the cost of the several sections to be built; e bonds to be secured by a first mortgage on the road, to bear terest at the rate of six per cent., and to be payable in thirty years. addition, an absolute grant was made of all the odd sections of nd (640 acres) within twenty miles of each side of the line, or ,800 acres to the mile of road. Similar provisions were made in

favor of the Central Pacific of California, a company previousl chartered by that State, and which, by the act referred to, wa authorized to enter upon the construction of the western portion o the main line, and proceed easterly till it met that of the Unio Pacific Company.

By the terms of the act, the corporators of the Union Pacifi Railroad Company (the Central Pacific being already organize under the laws of California) met at Chicago on the 1st day of Sep tember, 1862, for the purpose of forming a provisional organizatio and electing as officers a president, treasurer, and secretary, wh were charged with the duty of procuring subscriptions to th amount of $2,000,000 to the capital stock of the company, upo which, at the time of subscribing, ten per cent. was to be paid. Th officers elected for such purpose were William B. Ogden, of Ch cago, President, Thomas W. Olcott, of Albany, N. Y., Treasure and the writer of this article (then of New York) Secretary. Th officers so chosen immediately began a canvass for subscriptions t the stock, which was diligently pursued till the 25th of Septembe 1863, when, after great effort, the required amount was obtaine Pursuant to the provisions of the charter, a meeting of the sub scribers was then called for the 27th of October following, fo the purpose of effecting a permanent organization of the compan At this meeting the Hon. John A. Dix was elected President, th Hon. John J. Cisco, Treasurer, and the writer of this article, Secr tary.

Although the amount ($2,000,000) of stock necessary to the pe manent organization of the company was obtained, and ten per cen paid in, there was still a general indisposition on the part of th subscribers to make any further payments; the terms of subscri tion creating no obligation therefor. The feeling prevailing in a circles, at the time, in reference to the enterprise, was well expresse by the Hon. J. S. Morrill, of Vermont, then a member of the Hou of Representatives, in a speech in opposition to the measure, which he said:

> I am not to be deceived by any promises that this is to be built and r by any other parties than the United States. Every dollar that it takes construct the road is to be contributed by the United States. There is not capitalist that will invest a dollar in it if he is to be responsible, for any co siderable distance. . . . If it could be constructed, it could not be kept operation except at the expense of the Government. If this road were bu to-day, therefore, and given to the United States, the United States are n

a condition to accept it, even as a gift, if compelled to run it; nor will ey be till the population has so far increased as to give the road some freight id some local business. As a commercial and economical question such road utterly defenseless.*

Mr. J. H. Campbell, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the committe which reported the bill for the road, in a speech in its support, id :

This road never should be constructed on terms applicable to other ads. Every member of the House knows that it is to be constructed through most impassable mountains, deep ravines, cañons, gulfs, and over sandy ains. The Government must come forward with a liberal hand, or the terprise must be abandoned for ever. The necessity is upon us. The ques-on is, whether we shall hold our Pacific possessions and connect the nations i the Pacific with those on the Atlantic slopes, or whether we shall abandon ir Pacific possessions. Gentlemen are not to apply ordinary rules concern-g roads in the Western States to this great enterprise.†

The enterprise was indeed hazardous in the extreme. Vast astes, nearly 2,000 miles in extent, were to be traversed, of which ie far greater part was rainless, and consequently destitute of ood. The rich deposits of coal upon the central portions of ie line, without which, if built, the road could hardly have been m, were not then known. Three lofty mountain ranges had to be ossed, presenting obstacles far more formidable than those ever ncountered by any similar work. For nearly 1,500 miles the line as elevated more than 4,500 feet above the sea. At the time the ad was chartered, no railroad had been constructed within 200 iles of its eastern terminal point, which was nearly 1,500 miles stant from the Atlantic coast. The whole material for the superructure, excepting that for the wood-work of both roads, had be taken from the Eastern States, or from England; that for ie Central Pacific to be transported 12,000 miles by sea before aching San Francisco, the western terminus of this road. The ficers of the provisional organization shared in the prevailing senment, and appealed, in their canvass for stock-subscriptions, to the atriotism rather than the capital of the country, to come forward id save the charter which otherwise would lapse, in the belief that ie Government would make such further provision as would en-

* "Congressional Globe" second session, Thirty-seventh Congress, p. 1708.
† Ibid., p. 1712.

able private enterprise and capital to undertake the work with som reasonable hope of success. As the law stood, not a dollar of th Government subsidy could be made available, as forty miles of th road was to be constructed as a condition precedent to the issue o a proportional amount of bonds. These, when issued, were to hav by way of security, preference over all others. Nothing, cons quently, could be done pending further action of Congress, but t make surveys to determine the route proper to be adopted.

The exigency was promptly met, Congress passing, on July 1864, an act which provided for an issue of bonds by the compani of an equal amount to those to be issued by the Government, th former to have precedence by way of security. Such provisio practically doubled the means of each company, securing to th Union Pacific fully $50,000 per mile in place of $25,000 as pr vided in the original act; and to the Central Pacific a still larg sum per mile, from the greater cost of its line. With the means s provided both companies fell manfully to work, constructing th whole line within a period of a little more than five years, joinin their lines on November 6, 1869, in the heart of the continent; th Union Pacific constructing 1,034 miles and the Central Pacifi starting from Sacramento, 743, and anticipating by eight years th time allowed therefor by the act of 1864.

The following statement will show the number of miles co structed annually by each company, and the total mileage for eac year:

YEARS.	Miles construct-ed by Union Pacific.	Miles construct-ed by Central Pacific.	Total constru-ed annually.
1865	40	56	96
1866	265	38	303
1867	245	44	289
1868	350	362	712
1869	134	243	377
	1,034	743	1,777

The road of the Central Pacific was subsequently extende from Sacramento to San Francisco, a distance of 140 miles; th total length of line from the Missouri River to that city being 1,91 miles; and from the harbor of New York, 3,322 miles. Its gener direction is almost exactly east and west, very nearly upon th parallel of 40°, and very nearly upon that of New York, Chicag Salt Lake City, and San Francisco.

When the obstacles encountered are considered, the rapidity th which the Pacific Railroad was constructed has no parallel in e history of any work of the kind. The line crosses three lofty ountain ranges, the Rocky, the Wasatch, and the Sierra Nevada— e first at an elevation of 8,240 feet, the second at an elevation of 00 feet, and the third at an elevation of 7,042 feet above the . The summit of the Rocky Mountains was reached by a comratively easy ascent, 516 miles west from the Missouri; that of e Sierra Nevada at a distance of 125 miles from tide-water at cramento. When the base of this range was reached, 31 miles m Sacramento, the average ascent to the summit equaled eighty-ee feet to the mile. At numerous points it was much more id. The eastern face of the Sierra Nevada is exceedingly preitous, and is everywhere broken by deep ravines or cañons, inlving in the construction of the road numerous and expensive nels and bridges. A most formidable obstacle to the running the trains was snow, which, during the winter season accumues in the passes to a depth of thirty feet. To avoid this obuction, forty miles of line had to be inclosed in sheds. Another eat difficulty, after this range was crossed, was the want of water on the lofty and arid plains between it and the summit of the cky Mountains. The Sierra Nevada, the summits of which ch an altitude of 12,000 feet, arrest the passage inland of rainaring clouds, and condense their moisture on its western face. on the Great Plains the water necessary for running the trains d often to be transported long distances, till wells could be sunk d the water raised through the instrumentality of windmills and am-engines; yet, in face of all these obstacles, such were the gor and capacity with which the work was pushed that, in 1868, 2 miles of road were constructed and put in operation, or nearly o and a third miles for each working-day, and that, too, in the ry heart of the continent, in which there were no people except ttering settlements of Mormons, the road itself being the only ans by which labor, materials, and supplies could be brought ward for its own construction.

The road was no sooner opened, than its value to the Governnt proved to be far greater than the most sanguine had ventured predict. According to the report of the Secretary of War, de under date of March, 1862, the average cost to the Governnt for the five years previous, of transporting the mails, troops,

and munitions of war between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts a intermediate points averaged $7,309,341 annually. The route for t mails was by way of Panama and Nicaragua, through foreign state the time required for their transmission between New York a San Francisco averaged forty days. The cost to the Governme for a far greater amount of service of the same kind performed the railroad does not now exceed $2,000,000 annually. The yea saving, assuming the service not to have been increased, equa $5,309,431 ; the total, for the nine years the road has been in u equaling $46,547,155. The interest accruing on the bonds issu to the two companies equaled, during the same period, $30,750,31 The saving that will be effected previous to their maturity will e ceed the whole amount of their principal sum, and all the inter accruing on the same. But such saving is by no means the or nor perhaps the chief advantage resulting directly to the Gove ment from the construction of the road. The facility with whi troops can, by its use, be thrown either upon the Pacific or into t interior of the continent, relieves it from the necessity of mainta ing permanently large bodies of them at points likely to be menace The road, in fact, supplies the place of a very considerable standi army, with all the vast expenditure and evils resulting from such establishment.

The superiority of the Pacific Railroad over all other highwa may be well illustrated by the results of two memorable expeditio across the continent. In 1804 the Government of the Unit States determined upon an exploration of its Pacific possessio then just acquired through the purchase of Louisiana. In the ea part of May of that year, an expedition known as Lewis a Clarke's, organized under its auspices, and furnished with all t means and material it could supply, started for the Pacific coa taking the route of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. The po of departure was St. Louis. The first season only sufficed for it reach the Mandan villages upon the upper Missouri ; the next cross the mountains and reach the Pacific coast, near the mouth the Columbia River, where it passed its second winter. Eighte months were consumed in reaching the Pacific coast. It reach St. Louis, on its return, on the 23d of September, 1806, having be absent nearly two and a half years. For more than two years tidings whatever had been received from it, and for more tha year it had been given up for lost.

On the first day of June, 1876, an expedition under the auspices Mr. Thomas A. Scott, President of the Pennsylvania Railroad ompany, started from the city of New York, 1,200 miles east of St. uis, for San Francisco, and reached that city in eighty-three hours d fifty-three minutes consecutive running time, the distance be- een the two cities being 3,322 miles. The weight of the train was 6 tons. The rate of speed for the whole distance, including stops, ualed forty miles the hour. The distance between New York and ttsburg, 444 miles, was run by one engine (without stopping) in n hours and five minutes; that between Pittsburg and Chicago, 469 les, in eleven hours and thirty-one minutes; that between Chicago d the Missouri River, 494 miles, in eleven hours and thirty min- es; that between Council Bluffs and Ogden (the western termi- s of the Union Pacific road), 1,034 miles, in twenty-four hours and ty minutes ; that between Ogden and San Francisco, 883 miles, in enty-three hours and thirty-eight minutes. The route was across ur formidable mountain ranges: the Alleghanies, at an elevation 2,250 feet above the sea ; the Rocky Mountains, at an elevation 8,242 feet ; the Wasatch, at an elevation of 7,500 feet ; and the erra Nevada, at an elevation of 7,042 feet. Meals were regu- ly served in one of the cars. Another was divided into commo- ous sleeping-apartments ; so that the party traveled with every xury the best public-house could supply, and reached San Fran- co with no extraordinary fatigue. No more striking illustra- n can be given of the progress in the science of locomotion, d none of the value of the Pacific Railroad as an instrument of mmerce and social intercourse, and as an arm of the Government. ith the use of the telegraph, time is no longer an element in the nsmission of intelligence between the Atlantic and Pacific slopes. ith the railroad, a day will now accomplish, in the transmission persons and merchandise between them, that for which, within e memory of man, a year would hardly suffice.

At a comparatively early period the movement of the population and of the United States necessarily followed the line of navigable ntercourses, not only as a means of reaching new lands, but of nding their products to markets which were either upon the Atlan- coast or in the Old World. Where such natural avenues did not ist, canals were for a long time regarded as their proper substitute. nese works gradually gave place to railroads. A canal could not constructed across the continent; neither could a railroad, at the

time, without the aid of the Government. The railroad accor
plished, a million square miles of new territory which had been pr
viously inaccessible was at once opened to the enterprise and cap
tal of the country. They were no sooner made accessible, than
was discovered that the sterility of the soil was fully compensat
by their wealth in the precious metals. To reach these depos
branch lines were speedily opened, the resources of the sectio
traversed supplying, in great measure, the means therefor. The
laterals have already a mileage threefold greater than that of t
main line. But this is by no means all: no sooner was the constru
tion of the Pacific Railroad assured, than great numbers of lin
were projected, in all the extreme Western States and Territori
for the purpose of forming a connection with it. The followi
statement will show the area of these States, the present extent
the mileage of their railroads, the construction of which is in gre
measure due to that of the Pacific Railroad, and the progress
such mileage, with that of their population, from 1860 to the prese
time:

STATES.	Area, Sq. Miles.	RAILROAD MILEAGE.			POPULATION.		
		1860.	1870.	1879.	1860.	1870.	187
Minnesota	83,531	...	1,092	2,532	172,023	439,706	750,0
Iowa	55,045	731	2,683	4,325	674,913	1,194,020	1,650,0
Kansas	81,318	...	1,501	2,521	107,206	364,399	750,0
Nebraska	75,994	...	705	1,341	28,840	122,993	300,0
Colorado	104,500	...	157	1,238	34,277	39,864	120,0
Dakota	150,923	...	65	305	4,827	14,181	75,0
Utah	84,476	...	257	506	40,273	86,786	130,0
Nevada	104,125	...	593	631	6,857	42,491	100,0
California	188,982	23	925	2,165	379,494	560,247	800,0
Oregon	95,274	...	159	284	52,465	90,923	120,0
Wyoming	97,883	...	459	465	.....	9,118	30,0
Washington	69,994	...	...	206	11,594	23,955	60,0
Indian Territory	.....	...	...	275	.....	.....	....
Total	1,192,045	754	8,596	16,794	1,512,769	2,988,683	4,885,0

The States included in the preceding statement have an area
nearly 1,200,000 square miles, embracing almost every variety
climate and of agricultural and mineral resource. The greater p
of it has been opened to settlement by the Pacific Railroads a
their laterals. Its population now numbers only four to the squ
mile. The ratio of its railroad mileage to population is one of t
former to 290 of the latter. The conditions here presented sh
the almost infinite room and opportunity still before our peop
Extensive portions of this territory can be cultivated by irrigati
the lofty summits sending down an abundant supply of water. T
greater part of what was once supposed to be worthless for agric

re, and which can not be irrigated, is found to be admirably apted to grazing, and is being rapidly occupied for this purpose, e Government allowing its use to the first comers without charge l it can be sold. These lands are rapidly to become the great seat the production of wool on this continent, and promise, in a very ort time, to compete with the Australian product in the markets the world. The spring rains are sufficient for abundant crops of ass. Nowhere else can wool be so cheaply grown. There is no arge for lands. The animals require no provision nor protection r winter, while transportation can now be had at rates which, a v years ago, would have been considered as merely nominal.

The chief attraction, however, at the present time, of the great ion traversed by the Pacific Railroad, is its mineral wealth. The st discoveries of silver within it were made in 1859. At that time e total product of the United States equaled only $200,000 an- ally. The product the past year equaled $46,726,314, of which 1,311,677 was from the States and Territories tributary to the cific Railroad. The following official statement, by the Superin- ident of the Mint will show the product of gold and silver in em for 1877 and 1878 :

STATES.	1877.		1878.	
	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.
fornia	$15,000,000	$1,000,000	$15,260,679	$2,373,387
ada	18,000,000	26,000,000	19,546,513	28,130,350
h	350,000	5,075,000	392,000	5,288,000
rado	3,000,000	4,500,000	3,366,404	5,894,940
gon	1,000,000	100,000	1,000,000	100,000
hington	300,000	50,000	300,000	25,000
ota	2,000,000	.....	3,000,000	.....
Total	$39,650,000	$36,725,000	$42,865,596	$41,311,677

The total amount of gold and silver produced in the United ates in 1877, according to the same authority, equaled $84,050,- 0, of which $45,100,000 was gold, and $38,950,000 was silver. e amount produced in 1878 equaled $93,952,421, of which 7,226,107 was gold, and $46,726,314 was silver. The product of e United States for 1878 equaled one half that of the world; at of the territory opened by the Pacific Railroad for the past ar equaled $84,176,273, or nearly one half of the product of the rld. The rapid increase in the product of silver in the United ates is one of the remarkable phenomena of modern times. Since e discoveries of silver in 1859, its total product in the United

States has equaled $356,367,103. It seems not improbable that
product for the next five years will amount to an equal sum. Th
figures have great significance from their bearing upon the mu
vexed question as to the probable future price of silver. The fall
its value may be readily accounted for by the enormous increase
the product in this country. The same influence is to act with
greater force in the future. With the free coinage of gold, no m
silver can be forced into circulation in this country; so that wh
ever is produced in it, not required in the arts, must be exported.

Nothing has contributed more to the financial or monetary
dependence of the United States than its enormous wealth in
precious metals. In 1876 the Government began to make prepa
tions for resumption of specie payments, which by the act of 18
was to take place on January 1, 1879. On the first day of Janua
1876, the total amount of gold and silver in the national Treasu
equaled $79,824,448; on the first day of January, 1877, $96,51
418; on the first day of January, 1878, $139,518,405, and on
first day of January, 1879, when specie payments were resum
$224,865,477, the accumulations in three years equaling $145,04
029; during the same period the exports of specie over impo
equaled $13,324,963. Resumption can be accomplished in
United States without drawing a dollar from the hoards of the
World, and without creating any disturbance in its financial circl
or—a matter of great importance to us—diminishing its power to c
sume the products of our agricultural and manufacturing industri

It is the peculiar felicity of the United States that not o
does the increase of its population, which is at the rate of
million annually, tend to afford, from a correspondingly increas
consumption, a speedy relief to industries whose production, for t
moment, has exceeded the demand; but that the vast area of
territory, possessing every variety of resource, everywhere ma
accessible, and everywhere capable of being turned to account
labor unassisted by capital, as readily if not as profitably as wh
the two are combined, exerts a constant influence to draw off t
excess of numbers from our overcrowded communities. It is i
possible to estimate sufficiently the value of such a beneficent inf
ence or condition. With us, the greatest evils to which mode
civilization is subject work out their own cure. Self-dependen
another word for independence, which our condition begets, n
only saves us from a vast amount of indigence and vice, but ten

keep alive a manly spirit among our people. No sound man
nong us feels that he can plead, as an excuse for want, our govern-
ent, our institutions, or the oppressions of capital. He can readi-
transplant himself to some plot of government land, his entry
ving him the right to acquire the title at a price which is hardly
ore than nominal, and for which the first crop will ordinarily suf-
e. While the Old World is vexed by questions of labor, and
dustries are destroyed by constant strikes, there never was a pe-
od in this country when so many opportunities opened to labor
d capital as the present, and never one in which the material
ing of our people was so well assured; the chief factor in all this
ing our crowning achievement in the physical sciences—the Pa-
ic Railroads.

These roads were no sooner opened than their financial success
as as striking as were the advantages which they secured, both to
e Government and to the people. California had at the time be-
me a rich and prosperous State, the value of her agricultural prod-
ts far exceeding that of her mines. San Francisco had become
e center of a vast trade. It is and must always be the grand
trepot for the whole western coast of the continent. It is to that
ast what New York is to the eastern. It is only thirty years
ce it was founded, and it now contains a population of 250,000.
o city has greater elements of prosperity or a more promising
ture. With all that has been achieved, only a lodgment has yet
en made upon the western slope of our continent. The Pacific
ands are still in the hands of their original savage populations.
e trade with China, with the Eastern Archipelago, and with
stralia, great as it is, is yet in its infancy. For this trade,
which there is to be hardly a limit, the Pacific Railroad is the
enue to the interior of our continent and to the Atlantic coast.
ready does the Mississippi Valley receive its teas and silks and
ier products of the East over it. The "through" freight over
e roads last year equaled nearly 200,000 tons. The way freight
both roads, consisting largely of high-priced ores, equaled last
ar 1,000,000 tons. This kind of freight is increasing with great
idity, keeping pace with the discovery of new deposits which is
stantly being made, and with the enlarged working of the old
nes. The following statement will show the length, cost, and the
ss and net earnings of the two roads from their opening to the
esent time:

YEARS.	UNION PACIFIC.				CENTRAL PACIFIC.			
	Length of line worked.	Cost.	Gross earnings.	Net earnings.	Length of line worked.	Cost.	Gross earnings.	Net earnings.
	Miles.				Miles.			
1870....	1,034	$106,762,812	$8,125,212	$1,889,330	821	$128,217,180	$7,438,970	$3,774,9
1871....	1,034	112,396,812	7,563,006	3,798,843	997	128,310,180	8,662,054	5,021,2
1872....	1,034	112,001,512	8,659,081	3,260,007	1,158	134,715,180	11,963,640	6,952,8
1873....	1,038	111,620,812	10,666,117	5,184,391	1,221	136,465,180	12,863,640	7,894,6
1874....	1,038	112,843,812	10,834,651	5,441,826	1,216	136,962,180	13,611,030	8,342,8
1875....	1,038	115,767,812	12,481,204	6,481,683	1,213	137,521,180	15,665,081	9,177,8
1876....	1,038	115,355,612	*7,736,573	3,083,807	1,213	137,588,180	15,811,082	7,611,0
1877....	1,042	115,019,012	13,776,714	8,317,091	1,213	137,016,180	16,985,926	8,659,3
1878....	1,042	114,698,012	12,756,354	6,642,946	1,213	137,000,000	17,530,858	5,525,3
1879....	1,042	114,186,812	†7,123,808	4,448,628	.....	.....	.....	.....
			99,712,670	48,548,084			120,582,281	62,959,6

All the controversies that have so far arisen between the Go ernment and the railroad companies relate to the loan to them money or bonds. The loans were by their terms to be due in thir years. No part of the interest was due till the bonds were due. Th were to be secured by a second mortgage on the respective roa The Government, as consideration for the loans, was to retain o half of the transportation charges on its account, and five per ce of the net earnings of the companies, to be applied to any purp it saw fit. It is needless here to repeat the argument urged at t time, or to restate the emergency. Congress would have the ro at any cost. If necessary, it would have made its loans a pres outright to secure an object so much desired. It would glad have agreed to forego all repayment could it have been assu that the line would have been completed in 1869 instead of 18 the time fixed for opening it by the act of 1864. Instead, howev of inquiring what might have been, let us see what is now the le status of the companies.

No sooner was it seen that the road was to be a success, and owners likely to receive some return upon their investment, th Congress began to show a disposition to repudiate the contract i which it had solemnly entered. On the 3d day of March, 1873 passed a law directing the Secretary of the Treasury to make payments to the companies on account of Government transpo tion, in order that the whole amount might be applied to the p ment of its loans. It had the grace, however, to permit the bring of a suit by the companies, in the Court of Claims at Washingt to test the question of the rights of the two. This court g judgment against the Government for the sum of $512,632, be

* For eight months. † For six months ending January 1, 1879.

e half of the charges for transportation on its account for 1874, e period covered by the suit. From this decision an appeal was ken by the Government to the Supreme Court of the United ates, which fully affirmed the action of the court below. A sin- e quotation of ten lines from a very elaborate opinion by Mr. stice Bradley is all that need be given for a full and complete derstanding of the whole matter in controversy:

> The proposition for the Government to retain the amount due the com- y for services rendered, and apply it toward the general indebtedness of company to the Government, *can not be construed into a requirement t the company shall pay the interest from time to time and the principal n due.* It was in the discretion of Congress to make this requirement, then, as collateral to it, provide a special fund or funds out of which the ncipal obligation could be discharged. This Congress did not choose to do, rested satisfied with the entire property of the company as security for ultimate payment of the principal and interest of the bonds delivered to it.

In other words, Government having made the Company a loan money on thirty years, can not change the contract so as to ke it payable in one year. It is bound, like an individual, by at it has undertaken, and is, like an individual, subject to the traints and requirements of law, as determined, not by itself, but the Supreme Court of the United States.

The act which authorized a suit on behalf of the company inst the Government, also directed the Attorney-General to ng a suit on behalf of the latter against the former, for the pur- e of recovering back moneys alleged to have been wrongfully eived by parties connected with the construction of the road— real purpose being to overhaul the famous "Crédit Mobilier," t terrible raw-head and bloody-bones whose flagitious conduct hocked the moral sense of members of Congress, the action of ch in this matter makes one of the most striking and discredit- e chapters in the legislative history of our country.

I have already shown that those who undertook the construction the Pacific Railroad were leaders of a forlorn hope. To be con- ted with it was enough not only to imperil one's money, but to feit one's reputation for business sagacity. It was natural, there- e, that those engaged in such a chimerical scheme should seek e mode by which they could define and limit the degree of their ility. In casting about them, they came across a charter granted the State of Pennsylvania, incorporating a "construction" com- y, in which the liability of its incorporators was limited by

the number of their shares. This charter was secured, and a p
tion of the Union Pacific road built through its instrumentali
There was nothing whatever improper in the purpose which led
the use of this intermediary—nothing improper in its use. T
result, fortunately, showed such use to have been wholly unnec
sary. The stockholders of the Union Pacific would have risk
nothing by becoming full partners in the work of constructi
The enterprise was an entire success. Every person to whom
cent was owing was fully paid. Not a dollar was made by part
interested in the road by the use of the "Crédit Mobilier," tl
would not have been made without it. As things turned out,
would have been better had it never been resorted to; but neitl
in motive nor in act should such resort have reflected the least d
credit upon the parties to it. Nor was there anything in its ope
tions that might not have properly been laid open to the light
day. So much for a great scandal which was no wrong till ma
such by the fear, the jealousy, or something worse, of Congre
which, by its utterly groundless attacks and insinuations, lashed t
whole nation into a paroxysm of passion almost as fierce and
groundless as that occasioned by the famous Titus Oates's Pop
plot, which, for a time, deprived the people of England of all se
and reason, and led them into excesses which rendered the name
their authors the synonym of criminality and folly, and left an
delible stain on the age in which they occurred.

To the suit brought by the Government in the Circuit Court
the District of Connecticut, all connected with the "Crédit Mo
lier" or the Union Pacific, that could be reached, were made parti
Legal ingenuity was exhausted in framing charges, the act givi
the widest tether possible. The world, of the United States
least, was racked for evidence to criminate the defendants.
sooner, however, was argument had in the Circuit Court, than
Government—the plaintiff—was politely bowed out of it, on
ground that no cause of action whatever had been shown or ev
alleged. The defendant owed it nothing. An appeal was tak
to the Supreme Court of the United States, with the same resu
that tribunal reiterating its previous decision that the controve
arose out of a contract for money; that this contract, which h
been kept by the defendant, had been violated by the plainti
and that the latter had no cause of action, and no standing before i

Government having been foiled in the suit brought by the co

ny, the decision in which covered the whole ground of contro-rsy, it would have been supposed that Congress, pending the ion it directed to be brought, would have quietly awaited the ult. Instead of this, it took the law into its own hand, and on 8th of May, 1878, passed the famous "Thurman Bill," which, ong other things (section 4), provided that—

> There shall be carried to the credit of the said (sinking) fund (created by act) on the first day of February in each year the one half of the com-sation for services hereinbefore named, rendered for the Government by said Central Pacific Railroad Company, not applied in liquidation of in-st; and, in *addition* thereto, the said company shall, on said day in each r, pay into the Treasury, to the credit of said sinking fund, the sum of 00,000, or so much thereof as shall be necessary to make the five per um of the net earnings of its said road payable to the United States, un-said act of eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and the whole sum earned by compensation for services rendered for the United States, together with sum by this section required to be paid, amounting in the aggregate to nty-five per centum of the whole net earnings of the said railroad com-y, ascertained and defined as hereinbefore provided, for the year ending he thirty-first day of December next preceding.

The preceding provision was by a subsequent section made appli-le to the Union Pacific Company. The penalty for not making ment of a debt before it was due was the forfeiture of the char-of the companies, although that of the Central Pacific was de-d, not from the United States, but from the State of California! e act in effect said to the companies that, "unless you pay your ts before they are due, your charters, with all your rights, priv-es, and property, shall be taken away," involving, perhaps, entire loss of their investments by the unsecured bond-holders, hout whose contributions the roads could not have been built, which added an equal amount to the value of the Govern-t security, which, without such contributions, might not have the value of a dollar! Such are Congressional ideas of fair y! Fortunately, the will of Congress is not the law of the land. t will is made to depend upon a power higher than its own. en an individual violates a law of the Government, the latter punish him only through the instrumentality of a court of law. nust proceed in the same manner when it would punish one of own creatures—a corporation. It may allege an offense, but is all. By virtue of such corporation, capital may have been ested which Government can no more disturb or seize than it that of an individual. It "may add to, alter, amend, or repeal

the charter of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, having due
gard to the rights of the latter." Who is to pass upon these right
Certainly not a party to them. Congress is not a court of law.
declaration by it that the charter of this company was forfeit wou
not necessarily carry any greater legal force against it than a simi
declaration by the Parliament of Great Britain. Should Congr
declare its charter to be forfeit, and, with no other warrant, proce
to act in the premises, it or its agents would be instantly restrain
by a power higher than its own. We need not, however, enla
upon this point by recapitulating rules or principles familiar
every tyro in the legal profession. The Thurman Bill was sim
a gross and unwarranted assumption of power. It assumed
constitute Congress a judicial as well as a legislative tribunal, a
that too in open violation of the Constitution. Its framers, in se
rating the two by vesting in the Supreme Court the authority
declare what is law, had in their minds a contingency precisely l
the present. But for their wisdom we should be living under a d
potism of caprice or passion, or something worse; not under the
nign reign of law. The Thurman Bill, should it stand, is anarch
is revolution. If not the first, it is the most fatal stab which, in t
country, social order and the rights of property have yet receive

HENRY V. POOR

P. S.—The preceding article was sent for publication before
decision was had in an action to which the Central Pacific was pa
and which presented the question of the constitutionality of the Th
man Bill. The ink which recorded the solemn declarations of
Supreme Court in the two preceding cases, that Government co
not, until it was due, enforce the payment of a debt due to it,
hardly dry, before these declarations were disavowed by the v
tribunal which uttered them; the Court in the latter case hold
that, under the provision authorizing the amendment of the cha
of the company, the Government could enforce the payment o
debt before it was due! It could take every dollar of the net e
ings without reserving a cent for the unsecured bondholders, w
out whose money it could not have had adequate security for
loan. If possible, the Supreme Court has shown far less sens
justice and consistency than Congress itself. There now appear
this Government to be no barrier to the reckless exercise of s
will, passion, caprice, or lust of power on the part either of
executive or legislative departments.

IX.

CURRENT LITERATURE.

1. Smith's Carthage and the Carthaginians.
2. Seeley's Life and Times of Stein.
3. De Broglie's Le Secret du Roi.
4. Sime's Lessing.
5. Howells's The Lady of the Aroostook.

I.

THERE is a strange fascination in what may be called the victims history—in those vanquished and extinguished nations whose erature perished with them, or is suffered to molder in the dust labyrinthine libraries. In such cases the generous and truth-king student feels himself impelled to hold a brief for the de-ted and discredited party, to scrutinize the indictment, and dis-t the evidence brought forward by the stronger side with pecu-r wariness, and, whenever ground for it may be discerned, to in-pret shortcomings and explain untoward facts from the most ient and favorable point of view. Such an attitude was taken Conde, whose "Dominacion de los Arabes y de los Moros en paña" drew for the first time from Arabic sources and in Ara-colors the story of the prolonged triumph and the long agony the Spanish Moslems. A like service for the disinherited of tory was attempted by Gustave Flaubert, when he gave some ars of his life, and the singular power of synthesis and divina-n revealed in Madame Bovary, to the resurrection of Cartha-ian life and the portrayal of the father and the sister of Han-bal. In "Salambo" all the faint and scattered rays cast by story and archæology on the social and domestic aspects of the mic world, and on the personal fortunes of the house of Barca are ndensed into a focus, and made to infuse a notable degree of armth and vitality into the romancer's pages. What was needed, wever, was a comprehensive history written in the same sympa-

thetic spirit, and with the same cautious treatment of Roman ass
tions, and this has at last been furnished, or rather a credital
effort has been made in this direction, by Mr. Bosworth Smith, t
author of a well-known work on "Mohammed and the Mohamn
dans."* Whether the native literature of Carthage has indeed utt
ly perished, or whether part of it may survive, at least in the form
Arabic translations, can not be determined with absolute certain
so long as the great repositories of manuscripts thought to exist
Fez and Morocco are wholly unexplored. The rich contents of t
Carthaginian libraries were turned over by the Romans to Numidi
chieftains, and it appears that Sallust had some of these books
his hands a century afterward. That certain of them may ha
outlived the Roman and the Vandal periods, until northern Afri
once more was conquered by a Semitic race, and may then ha
tempted the Saracenic scholar amid the intense fever of resear
which fired the schools of Cairwan and of Fez, is, at all events, r
impossible. Meanwhile the jejune and partial accounts known
have been written by Greek or Roman authors have, for the m
part, come down to us only in fragments. Of these the most c
eted document, namely, the pro-Carthaginian narrative of the fi
Punic war, by Philinus, a Greek of Agrigentum, we know or
from some criticisms of Polybius. This chronicle, however, a
the lost books or fragments of the other alien historians who treat
of the western Tyre, may yet come to light, and complete the p
ture, such as it is, which the Greek colonists in Sicily or the Roma
who had tested for themselves the patience of Hamilcar, and felt t
weight of Hannibal's arm, could form or chose to paint of th
redoubtable antagonists. There are still extant the text of thr
treaties with Rome, the log-book of an adventurous Punic admir
some precepts of an African agriculturist, a speech or two of
vagabond Carthaginian in one of Plautus's plays, a few inscriptio
buried twenty feet below the surface of the ground, and lately d
lodged by the efforts of archæologists, and a few coins whose num
matic value is questionable. These, with some aqueducts and su
structions too massive to be destroyed, are the only native or sen
native sources from which the story of the great Phœnician emp
city can be constructed. The writings of no native analyst, orat
philosopher, or poet, enable us to know Carthage as we know Athe

* Carthage and the Carthaginians. By R. Bosworth Smith. London: Longma
Green & Co.

Rome; that is to say, from its own citizens. Mr. Bosworth
nith is, of course, constrained to eke out his narrative from a few
apters of reflections by Aristotle, who describes a state of things
tinct at the date of the Punic wars—from the late Roman chroni-
ers who saw everything with Roman eyes—and from a few anti-
uarian remarks of the Greek historian Polybius, who beheld Car-
age only at the moment of her fall, and was the comrade of her
stroyer.

Mr. Bosworth Smith concedes that a universal Carthaginian Em-
re could have done for the world, "as far as we can see," nothing
mparable to that which the Roman domination did for it. But
rhaps we can not see far enough. At all events, the author's ad-
ission seems to have been made *pro formâ;* for we find it sub-
antially effaced by a multitude of counter-considerations adduced
the course of the narrative. The inability of Carthage to as-
nilate or even to cultivate, to any sensible extent, her Berber
bjects proves nothing; for the race has shown itself equally
tractable in Roman, Vandal, Arabic, and French hands. On the
her side may be set some significant facts. That the earlier
ame of government compelled the esteem of Aristotle we know;
d that the subsequent administration of affairs by the Council of
ne Hundred was more wise and equitable than that of the Ro-
an Senate seems to be attested by the almost total absence of
pular insurrection, or of insubordination on the part of military
aders. As to the lenity of the Carthaginian rule in Sicily, we
ve the decisive testimony of Greek subjects who refused to mi-
ate into the Syracusan territory. Certainly we should look in
in for such vouchers of just dealing with Sicilians on the part of
e countrymen of Verres. The character of the Carthaginian policy
Spain is demonstrated by its extraordinary success, which pre-
nts the most suggestive contrast to the prolonged and bloody
cord of the Roman efforts at annexation. Only twice, in fact,
s the unfortunate Iberian Peninsula known the stimulating bless-
gs of just government, and it owed them in each case to Semitic
lers, the chiefs of the house of Barca sharing with the Ommyade
inces of Cordova the honorable distinction. Perhaps the most
riking tribute ever extorted from prejudice and rancor was the
dgment pronounced by Cato the Censor, who, remarking the great
blic works which had survived the Punic commander, and the
verence which kept him in still livelier remembrance, declared
ith surly emphasis that "there was no king like Hamilcar." We

may add that the charges leveled at the Carthaginian character ar most of them refuted by the admissions or the contradictions o their enemies; and that, if we consent to regard the overwhelmin preponderance of evidence, *fides Romana*, and not Punic faith, shoul have become a synonym for oath-breaking. When we weigh thes fragmentary but pregnant data wrung from reluctant witnesses, w can not but regret that Sallust, who had access to the Carthaginia books preserved by King Hiempsal, could not forget, or venture t brave, Rome's inextinguishable prejudices. When the historian o the Jugurthine war reaches the point where he would naturally r cite the story of Carthage, it is with a touch of sadness, not unmixe apparently with shame, that he stays his pen. "Of Carthage, writes Sallust, "I say nothing, for I deem it better to speak no wor about her than to say too little."

II.

THE creation of a German nation on the dual basis of unity ar parliamentary institutions is plainly the most impressive and m mentous phenomenon of our time, but for its interpretation the En lish student needed just such a work as Professor Seeley has no completed.* Any discussion of the events which, since 1866, ha aggrandized the house of Hohenzollern, musts needs be sterile, ar estimate of the social questions now perplexing the German peop must prove the idlest word-shuffling, unless the last dozen years a illumined and deciphered by the reforms accomplished, the pri ciples established, and the movements begun in the first quarter this century. Only by such a retrospect can we account for t splendid results of Sadowa and Sedan as distinguished from the u substantial fruits of Leuthen and of Rossbach. Only thus can v explain the prompt acceptance of Prussian hegemony, the irresis ble drift toward fusion on the part of long-segregated states, ar the peremptory demand for constitutional guarantees and local-sel government. To changes likewise in the structure and regulati of the Prussian commonwealth introduced more than sixty yea ago we must look for the secret of the conditions under whic strangely enough, not France but Germany has become the class ground of Socialism. In a word, German politics of our day c have no significance to him who knows little or nothing of Germ politics in the hour of the national uprising. Without Stein, B marck is inexplicable.

* Life and Times of Stein, by J. R. Seeley. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

The Germans are accustomed to colossal accumulations of data
ung together on the thread of an eventful life—indeed, the volu-
nous work nominally devoted to Baron Stein by Pertz is a notable
stance. But, with the exception of Masson's "Life of Milton," we
ow of no English biography comparable with Professor Seeley's
ok for comprehensiveness of design and abundance of material.
is not so much a memoir of the Prussian statesman as a history
Germany throughout the turbulent and pregnant years from
06 to 1822. Indeed, the requirements of his theme compel the
iter to keep in view the political situation of the whole of Europe
that epoch, seeing that the fortunes of the Napoleonic system
rned on Germany as on a pivot, while the subsequent settlement
that country was the superlative concern of the Congress of
enna. No one who has felt the want of a sufficiently wide and
equate treatment of that critical era in a single English book
ll regret the extensive scope given to the present undertaking.

Professor Seeley is disposed to set Stein on a higher plane of
eatness than that on which the judgment of his contemporaries
aced him ; but probably the majority of German Liberals, at the
esent day, would accept the writer's estimate. Of course, no in-
vidual brain can be supposed to have supplied the whole impulse,
uch less the whole momentum, of any great popular upheaval,
t it seems clear that Stein stood in a much more generative and
namic relation toward the reconstructive *nisus* of Germany than
d any single leader of the States-General or the Convention
ward the French Revolution. And here we may point out some
the capital marks of likeness, and equally decisive marks of dif-
rence, between Stein's reforms and the changes effected by the
st republic in the political and social fabric of France. In the
ld of legislative melioration there is a complete parallel up to a
rtain point. By the abolition of serfdom and the obliteration of
hard and fast lines of status, Stein bestowed a healthy power of
rculation and growth upon the political organism. A conclusive
oof of the new tendencies is the gradual partition of the land
nong peasant proprietors, a process which has been carried to con-
lerable lengths in Germany, though not yet so far as in France.
nat he strenuously favored responsible government for the whole
nfederation is well known, as also that he considered it less
sential in the separate affairs of Prussia. Within certain limits
followed the French Convention in its perilous extension of cen-
alization theories, and he was more amply justified by his situa-

tion, dealing as he did with a loose congeries of provinces owning no common tie except the duty of obedience to the same dynasty. It is, however, the specific merit of his system that he introduced a powerful corrective to centripetal forces by the creation of municipal franchises on a great scale. Thus, at the very time when the habit and even the conception of local self-government seemed to be vanishing in France, it was impregnably rooted in northern Germany. Therefore it is that Stein's reforms, like the evolution of English liberties, having begun at the bottom, were builded on broad and sure foundations; while in France the work of reconstruction, beginning at the top, was and is in constant danger of disturbance and overthrow.

As we have said, Stein's fame was to be chiefly posthumous. When he died in 1831, at the age of seventy-four, there was no such universal sense of bereavement among his fellow countrymen as might have been looked for at the departure of one who should be called the founder of the modern German nation. The great men of the Fatherland were still poets and philosophers, or else they were kings. It had been a rare, exceptional case when Stein himself, in 1808, had for a moment excited popular enthusiasm; otherwise no one had ever heard of a German statesman who was more than a mere official, or whose death could much concern the general weal. It was reserved for Bismarck to change this, and to reflect a part of his own glory on the sterling worth of his precursor.

III.

The volumes of secret correspondence published by the Duc de Broglie,* if they did not actually prompt, go far to justify the view taken of Louis XV., by Victor Hugo in his "Pitié Supreme." The name of the monarch credited with the aphorism, *Après moi le déluge*, was even more closely identified, in common repute, with weakness than with vice, and his extravagant sensuality has been deemed rather the index and complement than the cause of his political ineptitude. The testimony to his natural gifts and the relatively effective training which he was said to have received seemed to be discredited by the irreconcilable facts of his later life and the seemingly complete surrender of oversight and authority in affairs of state to the adroit purveyors for his brutal appetites. It is now known, however, and we owe the information in a distinct conclusive form to the Duc de Broglie, that the son of the Duc de

* Le Secret du Roi, par le Duc de Broglie. Paris: Calmann-Lévy.

Bourgogne discovered to the last some traces in his plans and intentions of his high-minded father, that for twenty years there was no move on the diplomatic chess-board, no change in the map of Europe, which was not scanned, pondered, and discussed in the King's private cabinet by men unknown, or at all events unfeared, by the reigning favorites and responsible ministers, yet commanding the King's confidence in not infrequent moments of good impulse and generous aspiration. It is, indeed, a curious fact that what the unstable sovereign should so long have taken pains to mask from the world was the best side of his character. While he abandoned the public exercise of power to courtiers and concubines, he seems to have continually cherished an inchoate purpose of self-government, and to have sought in secret the frank and austere counsels of able and honest men. In their society and under the seal of communications in cipher the comrade of the Du Barry, and the patron of the Parc aux Cerfs, struggled with a pitiable persistance to keep alive the sentiment of personal dignity, and a lingering regard for the public weal. Thus it is that the Duc de Broglie's book derives a singular interest from the contrast between the giddy demonstrations of license and frivolity on the public stage and the stful whispers of good sense, probity, and patriotic ardor that are breathed behind the scenes. By a strange paradox the record of intrigue and indecency, all the piquant details of scandal circulated in the "Œil de Bœuf" are marshaled in the foreground of history, on the surface of the King's life, whereas the mysterious transactions and clandestine machinations laid bare in his secret papers disclose capabilities, designs, and sympathies of unsuspected scope and dignity.

The documents now brought forward and deciphered by the Duc de Broglie are substantially new, although fragments had been printed, and although the existence of the correspondence was suspected during the lifetime of the monarch interested. But the object of the mysterious business, the nature of the King's secret, with which these papers were concerned, seems to have been quite unknown to contemporary historians, nor were they always able to identify the confidants and instruments of his clandestine projects. It is sufficiently attested, however, by these volumes that the most trusted and efficient among the King's unavowed agents was the Comte de Broglie, great-uncle of the compiler, and brother of that Maréchal de Broglie who will be remembered as the victor over the Prussians in the battle of Berghen. His handwriting appears in

many of the papers now unearthed from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and many of the data disclosed in this correspondence are verified, supplemented, or interpreted by his private letters. The manner, by the way, in which the bulk of these interesting documents came into the hands of the Government is well worth mention. They seem to have been minutes of interviews and instructions taken down by the Comte de Broglie as vouchers for his authority, perhaps without the knowledge of the King, and confided to some faithless depositary, who sold them after the Comte's death, and when the emigration had scattered his whole family. By 1810 they had come into the possession of a well-known antiquarian, one Giraud Soulavie, who offered them to Napoleon I., and they were subsequently purchased of his heirs for four thousand dollars. The authenticity of the papers seemed to be well established, but no satisfactory explanations could be obtained at the time from Soulavie touching the source of his acquisition.

Heretofore, the worst taint on the memory of Louis XV., from a political point of view, has been the indifference of France toward the dismemberment of Poland. It has been supposed that the French sovereign had neither the perspicacity to discern the plot while it was preparing, nor the courage to prevent its execution, and the editor of these volumes justly remarks that the abandonment of an ancient ally to flagitious mutilation betrayed an amount of folly and poltroonery which a spirited and sagacious nation has not yet learned to forgive. Of the two reproaches leveled at the French ruler, it is clear from these pages that only one is fairly chargeable upon him, though its elimination doubtless aggravates the other. The misfortunes of Poland were no surprise to Louis XV. Contrariwise, that unhappy country formed the principal and for some years almost the sole object of his industrious though sterile diplomacy. It seems to have long been the mission of the secret agents to arrange for the accession of a French prince to the Polish throne, with the supplemental purpose of bestowing the protection of France. Regarded in this light, the clandestine machinations here disclosed become a species of monument to the upright intentions at least of Louis XV., while at the same time they attest the incurable infirmity of his character. He came, we must bear in mind, in collision with the most astute and dexterous statesman of his century. Frederick II. had devised the partition of Poland as a means of reconciling and employing conflicting ambitions, and of converting

ree rivals into three accomplices. We may add that another ysterious phenomenon in eighteenth-century politics, the Franco-ustrian alliance, which is commonly referred to the spite of Ma-ame de Pompadour and the weakness of Louis XV., is quite other-ise accounted for by a recent work of high authority. We refer the revelations contained in the "Mémoires et Lettres du Car-nal de Bernis," whose publication lately followed that of the Duc e Broglie's book. It appears that it was Frederick II., and not the rench Ministry, who took the initiative in the rupture between rance and Prussia, and who was really responsible for the Seven ears' war. Returning to the volumes under review, we may state at the mass of materials is admirably assorted and disposed, and appily illumined with interjected note and comment. We need ot say that the style is marked by the lucidity of exposition and licity of epithet that justified the author's admission to the Aca-émie Française, and which we might reasonably expect would rove hereditary gifts in a grandson of Madame de Staël.

IV.

If any man doubt whether Englishmen of the present genera-on are less insular, if not wiser, than were their fathers, let him ead in the "Edinburgh Review" for April, 1806, the criticism on Nathan der Weise." That masterpiece is there pronounced "as enuine sourkraut as ever perfumed a feast in Westphalia." From uch grotesque indifference toward a regnant name in German let-ers we can not but recognize an impressive advance in the discrim-ative and exhaustive survey of the man and of his works pre-ented in Mr. Sime's "Life of Lessing."* In the interval, however, f three quarters of a century, the appreciation of that writer in ermany itself has been signally widened and intensified. During is lifetime Voltaire altogether eclipsed him, and, for a season after is death, Goethe, Schiller, Kant, and Fichte overshadowed his kin-ling fame. Even the perfunctory labors which absorbed much of is time and energies were ill paid. At a date when contempo-ary quill-drivers were earning handsome sums in London and Paris, he sought in vain to win the means of subsistence from ack-work in literature. Well known he was, but his notoriety was due, perhaps, quite as much to acrimonious controversies as to he eager, unquestioning homage of competent opinion. "Minna on Barnhelm," for example, which Lessing's countrymen still wit-

* Lessing, by James Sime. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

ness with so much pleasure, was regarded by Goethe as a meteo whose brilliance would soon fade. So late, too, as 1830 Goethe wrote of "Emilia Galotti," which has been translated into half a dozen languages, and still keeps the boards, that the only respect due to it was "that belonging to a mummy which may give evidence as to the high dignity of the dead." Kant, who was by five years the senior of Lessing, and who became a sort of supreme arbiter in æsthetic science, seems never to have even read the "Laokoon," whose direct or mediate influence on European thought has certainly been noteworthy. And even "Nathan der Weise," the ripest fruit of the author's genius, and now an unchallenged gem of the German theatre, could not be produced until two years after Lessing's death, and even then was played to an empty house on the third night. Of all his compositions, indeed, the notices of plays prepared for a Hamburg newspaper under the name of "Hamburgische Dramaturgie" attracted the promptest and widest attention. It is just this collection of jottings, curiously enough, which at the present day is least read out of Germany, and the credulous student of English and American journals would be surprised to learn how many reputations have been made by dramatic critics through the patient conning and judicious culling of Lessing's hints and formulas.

Upon that considerable class of English readers who would fain know something about Lessing, and ponder at first hand his germinal suggestions, but who at the same time lack the leisure or the patience to learn German, Mr. Sime has conferred a veritable boon. Of all the more admirable and fruitful achievements of his author he exhibits the substantive contents, the vital core of original and characteristic thought, in a condensed and denuded, but perspicuous and accurate form. The summaries, for instance, of the "Laokoon" and the "Hamburgische Dramaturgie" are particularly lucid and complete. As regards Lessing's plays, the biographer could, of course, offer nothing more than an analysis of the plot, coupled with some indications of the dramatist's felicity in portraiture, and a reference to the scope and purpose of the piece. From the other works—philosophical, polemical, and occasional—so much has been drawn as seemed requisite to interpret the writer's personality and his precise attitude toward the intellectual movement of his country and his time. Mr. Sime has worked on the sound principle of allowing his subject to expound himself, and so far as possible in his own words. No doubt, such a method has

ıstrained him to expand his book to somewhat unusual propor-
ns, owing to the extraordinary range of Lessing's acquisitions
l inquiries. The result is not so much a biography as an endur-
monument of critical exposition. These volumes constitute the
t adequate tribute paid by an English student to one of the most
und, vigorous, and unconventional thinkers of the eighteenth
ıtury. Lessing's hold, indeed, upon posterity can hardly fail to
ve more tenacious than Voltaire's, for in the former the revolu-
nary instinct was united with the constructive faculty. These
dencies, so seldom found in association, had at their command
intellect of splendid strength and flexibility—an instrument,
reover, that obeyed the impulse of the two noblest passions, a
e of truth for its own sake, and an undying love of man.

v.

When it was remarked of an accomplished Bostonian that he
ve you the impression of a sick Englishman, the key-note was
uck of a movement which has already borne wholesome fruit in
erature, and is not unlikely to exert a bracing influence on the
ional character. The criticism, by the way, was by no means
eled at the local affectations of a particular community: it was
argument *a fortiori;* it recognized in the society of a given city
re successful adepts in imitative efforts practiced elsewhere with
ısiderable assiduity; and the rejoinder was obvious that it is better,
regards robustness, genuineness, and elevation of type to resemble
invalid Englishman than, let us say, a moribund Gaul or a con-
nptive Italian. Of late, Mr. Howells and Mr. James have under-
ken to interpret the profound concern and secret uneasiness of
nerican society touching the judgment of foreign observers; to
rtray its studious approximation toward the English diction and
int of view, and to indicate the shortcomings in the most pains-
king reproduction. So far as their transcripts of life stopped
ort with the exposure of deficiencies and the dissipation of illu-
ns, they were fraught with the delightful pungency but also with
e sterility of satire. They pointed out in an effective and cap-
rating way the more or less diverting failures to solve a certain
oblem, but they did not squarely pose the fundamental query,
ether the problem, after all, is worth solution. It is because Mr.
owells has gone much further in his latest work—because he has
t only disclosed the inevitable miscarriage of the Anglicizing aim,
ıt has laid bare the mental obliquity of such a purpose, as well

as the species of moral torpidity entailed by it—that we are led t pronounce "The Lady of the Aroostook" * the most virile, healthf and estimable achievement in recent American fiction.

It is the scope and lesson of Mr. Howells's new novel to whic we would especially direct attention. It would be superfluous t dwell on the artistic gifts which have been attested and developed b successive experiments, on the power of sharp characterization an the constructive skill too seldom found united in English novel or on the Protean forms of a humor that knows no sting, but now condensed into a grateful, subacid irony, now sublimated to mild aroma. All these are the recognized professional qualific tions, so to speak, of the advocate who has consented to hold brief in the cause of American ideals, manners, and diction, *versu* English formulas and standards. But we ought to glance at th artist's thorough mastery of the subject-matter—at his exhaustiv and wellnigh irreproachable exhibition of the models whose au thority he disputes. If any American can reproduce the Englis speech in precise conformity to the idiom sanctioned by the be London society, it would seem to be Mr. Howells. This he ha already demonstrated, and he offers cumulative proof in the boo before us. As regards the main texture of the story, where th author speaks in his own person or through the mouths of thos whom he means to be authentic exponents of right colloquial us we can note but three insignificant marks of inadvertence. Onc we light on the word "stylishness," employed as an equivalen to the last century term "modishness," for which we believe paraphrase is now employed in Belgravia. So, too, the verb "t keep," which, if we are not mistaken, is always transitive or reflex ive, is used in accordance with a New England idiom in such phrase as "I can not keep from doing it." To these trivial over sights may be added the occasional employment of "won't" for th third person singular of the future indicative in the negative conjuga tion. Against these microscopic slips may be set the most complet and curious catalogue of American solecisms and archaisms that ha ever in our recollection been collected in a work of fiction. The pre texts and devices, by means of which the writer contrives to floa these curiosities of our Yankee tongue on the swift movement of hi story, are most dexterous and satisfactory. With these revelation

* The Lady of the Aroostook. By W. D. Howells. Boston: Houghton, Osgoo & Co.

re adroitly interwoven suggestions of all those English words and urns of phrase most calculated to startle and depress the modest merican whose energies are given to the secret and patient meliora- on of his native speech. To this end the author introduces two istinct types of the semi-Anglicized Bostonian. On the one hand e have the young man who, as yet unenlightened by foreign travel, ssays to make good his loss by minute research, painstaking syn- esis, and cautious divination—who ransacks English novels, note- ook and pencil in hand, and drinks with hungry ear the colloquial roppings of British tourists. Ascending one step in the scale of al accomplishment, we have the traveled Bostonian who has man- ged not only to remodel in a large measure his vocabulary, but has ven superadded some tricks of intonation—exercising, moreover, ese acquisitions with a facility which might seem second nature t for a strong infusion of self-complacency. When, beside these pes of successive degrees in approximation is placed the genuine ing itself—namely, a well-born Englishman, possessed too of a ma- a for exploring the mysteries of the American language from the oint of view of the philologist—we can not but acknowledge the rfection of Mr. Howells's machinery for evolving the points of keness and difference in the British original and its Boston counter- rt.

After this demonstration of his perfect right to pronounce judg- ent in the premises, Mr. Howells silently inculcates through the tion of this story and by the eloquence of example his conviction at the imitative attitude is essentially abortive and inane. To is end he is careful not to choose for his heroine a daintily-nur- red and closely-environed girl like Miss Bessie Alden, or even an fluent but ill-schooled and frivolous young person whose trans- ressions after all might be confined to occasional walks with mas- uline companions in the public thoroughfares of European cities. e has boldly grappled with the most awkward and unpromising aterials; he has selected a young woman whose social status may e precisely though crudely defined by the epithet "a Yankee hoolmarm," and he has placed her, not in a foreign town with her nfolk within call, but on shipboard—not only unchaperoned, but terly unprotected, without a relative on board or another person her own sex in the ship's company. Among her fellow passen- ers are two more or less Europeanized Bostonians, and a third ite obnoxious individual, properly described in the British dialect an acutely accented specimen of the genus "Cad." Such are

the elements of the situation presented in the cabin of the Aroo took; and it must be admitted that the objectionable features o our indigenous social code are here exhibited in an intensely aggr vated form. In a word, this is an extreme case; and, if Mr. Hov ells has succeeded in subverting the prejudice provoked in some o her fellow passengers by the unconventional isolation and colloqui deficiencies of Miss Lydia Blood, he will have gone far to stem th Anglicizing mania. He will have done much to rehabilitate th robust, unsuspicious simplicity of our native manners, and to pr mote that decisive act of social autonomy suggested by the late M Motley, namely, the affirmation of a distinct American languag and the adoption of independent canons of speech.

MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

X.

WILL ENGLAND RETURN TO PROTECTION?

132 Piccadilly, London, *April* 25, 1879.

My dear Sir: I have no difficulty in replying to your letter of he 31st ult.

I do not think there is any chance of a return in this country to he doctrine of Protection. We export everything but agricultural roduce; to protect our manufactures is manifestly impossible; rom another cause, the protection of our land produce is not more ossible. Half our population exists on imported food; to limit his import by customs duties, in order to raise the price of home-rown food, is a proposition that can not be entertained for a mo-nent. Such a scheme offered to Parliament and the country would lestroy any Government and any party.

We are passing through a time of commercial depression; its auses are apparent to those who examine and consider the facts of ecent past years. But, in times of trouble, ignorant men seize upon nlikely and impossible propositions and schemes for relief. There s no special medicine for this malady. Time, patience, the work-ng of natural laws, the avoidance and cessation of the excitement nd half madness of the past, and a general economy, will bring bout a cure, not without some or much suffering, but without ailure.

We adopted free trade in the year 1846. But our land-owners nd farmers, and multitudes of our people, did not comprehend the rinciples we taught, and now a new generation is on the stage, ill-cquainted even with the facts of forty years ago. There has been o great distress since our Corn Law was abolished; and now, when rouble has come for a time, some of the sufferers, and some of the uack doctors who are always ready to prescribe for the public, cry ut for protection, as if we had never tried it before, and as if it ad been found a specific in other countries.

There is no danger of our going back to protection. The present trouble will pass away. It has been aggravated by the evil policy of our Government, and that also will pass away; and the simpletons who are looking for relief to an exploded doctrine and practice will relapse into that silence and obscurity which become them.

It is a grief to me that your people do not yet see their way to a more moderate tariff. They are doing wonders, unequaled in the world's history, in paying off your national debt. A more moderate tariff, I should think, would give you a better revenue, and by degrees you might approach a more civilized system. What can be more strange than for your great free country to build barriers against that commerce which is everywhere the handmaid of freedom and of civilization?

I should despair of the prospects of mankind if I did not believe that before long the intelligence of your people would revolt against the barbarism of your tariff. It seems now your one great humiliation; the world looks to you for example in all forms of freedom. As to commerce, the great civilizer, shall it look in vain?

Believe me very sincerely yours,

JOHN BRIGHT.

A. THORNDIKE RICE, Esq., *New York.*

THE above letter, as will be seen, was written in reply to one from the editor of the "Review" asking Mr. Bright's opinion as to the nature and extent of the alleged movement in England looking to a readoption of the protective system. Mr. Bright having kindly volunteered his permission, we take great pleasure in giving this interesting communication to the public.—EDITOR.

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